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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985
No. 33 January-February, 1950

The Road to Peace

It will be recalled that after each concession granted to Adolf Hitler, the Nazi propaganda machine would announce to the world that there were new "problems" which demanded immediate solution. This would invariably cause western diplomats to put on an expression of pained surprise—sometimes indignation.

The shock quickly wore off and again concessions were made to Hitler. Again demands by Hitler. Again surprise. Yet, these diplomats were filled with optimism. In his book *Defense of the Peace*, Georges Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister during the late 1930's, relates that "*Mr. Neville Chamberlain furthermore wondered whether the European situation was as black as Daladier believed. He doubted very much that Hitler desired the destruction of the Czechoslovak State or of a re-fashioned Czechoslovak State; he did not believe the Fuhrer wanted an Anschluss.*"

As we now know, Mr. Chamberlain's hopes were unfounded. Hitler obtained new concessions—made new demands—then caused Mr. Chamberlain to express astonishment again.

This routine continued right up to and including the fateful Munich sell-out. During all those years, peoples in western Europe and the United States were fed the delusion that there was no real connection between old concessions and new demands. Their failing to perceive the underlying strategy of the Nazis enabled Hitler to grab a good part of Europe without risk or opposition.

When the people awoke to the fact that appeasement had its own deadly logic, the bombs were already falling on Rotterdam, Coventry and Warsaw. Must we pay the same price again? Shall we allow ourselves to be taken down the road to disaster step by step?

Since the day that the Allied powers declared as their common objective "*the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production*," this wartorn world has witnessed ever-increasing violations of this sacred pledge.

The Germans demanded that denazification cease. The Allied powers hastily acceded to their wish. Even the members of the German General Staff have been spared.

The Germans demanded that the war criminals be spared and the Allied powers forgave these criminal elements, with few exceptions.

The Germans demanded that their cartel empires be preserved and the Allied powers have acceded.

The Germans demanded that there be a halt to the reparations program and the Allies scaled down reparations deliveries to an insignificant level.

The Germans demanded the retention of prohibited industries which are the basis of a war potential, and the Allied powers complied.

The list of concessions, demands, concessions, demands, is by no means complete. But is it not clear that there is an organic connection between the concessions granted and the new demands made? Is it not plain that the logic of this steady retreat from victory points to the rebirth of the German army? The authoritative London *Economist* naively declares "*the problem of the part that Germany should play in its own defense has suddenly sprung to the surface of thought and discussion.*" There is nothing sudden about this development. It is merely the end result of the steady deterioration of our original policies and position in Germany.

Shall we rearm Germany? The question is unreal and when it comes from the lips of the German-Firsters who have such thorough control over the occupation, it is downright dishonest. For the bitter truth is that Germany is being rearmed. You do not build up a modern army without first building up the steel plants, the ball-bearing plants, the synthetic oil plants, the machine-tool plants, the chemical plants—and these are going full blast again.

In addition, the tradition of militarism and Pan-Germanism has also been preserved. Pensions are paid to former members of the German General Staff. Even the little children are being groomed for their future role. Military toys are reappearing this Christmas Season in Germany.

As the Society for the Prevention of World War III has revealed in previous issues, the East German police are being attuned for new tasks of a more portentous nature. According to Western military intelligence sources, the "Police" forces are the precursors for a new German "people's" army. Presumably this army will have to "save" the Germans from the "*imperialist plots of the Anglo-Saxons.*" But what about the West? Are our statesmen Simon-pure? The answer by this time is obvious, we believe. It does not make military sense to preserve a war potential far in excess of Germany's peacetime needs and yet piously assure peaveloving peoples that there is no

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intention to organize a German army.

For weeks, official denials have been crossed up by weasel-worded qualifications. You can pick up magazine after magazine, newspaper after newspaper and you will find reports and rumors about a new West German army. For example, in the November 25th, 1949 issue of the *United News and World Report* we read the following: "*Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, signaled a vital turn in U.S. policy when he traveled to Germany to promise things to the Germans instead of having German officials representing a defeated nation travel to a meeting with U.S. officials to ask for favors, hat in hand. Original U.S. plan to turn Germany into a sheep pasture is revised into a secret plan to rearm the Germans into a powerful nation.*"

It has been said that General Bradley has spoken off-the-record on the practicability of a West German army.

General Lucius D. Clay, who shares in the responsibility for the decline of American prestige and authority in Germany, is openly lobbying for a German army. Some Americans have expressed surprise because ten months ago General Clay told American correspondents that if the U.S. allowed the creation of a new German army "We should never have come over here in the first place." His change of mind stems from the very policies he pursued which laid the groundwork for the rebuilding of Germany's industrial war potential.

According to newspaper columnists, Viscount Field Marshal Montgomery, a recent visitor to this country, has adopted the same line as General Clay.

And what about the Germans? There has been no official denial that Chancellor Adenauer has requested war equipment for 25 German Divisions. As a matter of fact, Adenauer has recently said that he would, under certain conditions, be ready and willing to organize a new Wehrmacht.

Adenauer seems to have a short memory because in the agreement of November 24th, 1949, Adenauer's Government pledged as follows: "*The Federal Government further declares its earnest determination to maintain the demilitarization of the Federal territory and to endeavor by all means in its power to prevent the re-creation of armed forces of any kind. To this end the Federal Government will cooperate fully with the High Commission in the work of the military security board.*"

Adenauer did not wait very long to shatter the illusions of some naive politicians about the new Germany. When Dean Acheson visited the German leaders on November 13th, he expressed his aim to establish a relationship of "*trust and confidence*" and feelings of "*personal regard*" *with the Germans. (New York Times, November 14th*, 1949.)

The Germans are playing their cards carefully. They do not want to make any premature promises until their economic power has been fully revitalized. The Germans do not want to open all their cards until they are in the position where they can dictate the terms and conditions upon which they would agree toward the reestablishment of German armed forces.

The London *Economist*, in discussing the "question" of an army for Germany, recently admitted that an independent German Army "*would be on every score politically disastrous.*" But it then urges a practical plan to "integrate" such an army under the control of the Western Allies. The London *Economist* apparently believes that the Germans will consent to play the role of European Gurkhas. On the other hand, the President of the Bonn Government, Mr. Heuss, told newsmen "*frankly I cannot see the people's police waging a Socialist Unity party crusade to conquer and subdue democratic West Germany, just as I cannot see the West fighting the men from the Soviet Zone. This would not be the German way of handling internal political matters.*"

The London *Economist* should ponder the words of Herr Heuss. And while it does so, it should recollect the fateful September days of 1940 when Goering's Luftwaffe poured tons of bombs on London. Indeed, the Germans will not accept an inferior position. They regard the creation of a German army as an "internal" political matter, for such an army must first and only be at the service of the Germans.

What does this all mean? First let it be said that our Society is dedicated to the prevention of a new holocaust. It does not believe that war is inevitable. Yet the Germans have been able to extract concession after concession on the assumption of the inevitability of a new war. It is therefore understandable that the Germans should have a vested interest in keeping the pot boiling.

Only by maintaining a war-charged atmosphere can the German plan for resurgence succeed. There are people who believe it far more practical to allow the Germans rather than Americans to do the fighting and the dying in a new war. But is it not far more prudent to put an end to German intrigue which thrives on the mounting tensions and cultivates the propaganda of the inevitability of a new war between East and West?

If the Germans were deprived of their ability to pit East against West as they are succeeding in doing today, then the inevitability thesis would not be as plausible as it seems. The German strategy can be checked by an honest and determined effort on the part of the four occupying powers to neutralize Germany. Our concept of neutralization calls for a 4-Power agreement to deprive Germany of those instruments of economic, political and military power which have enabled her to blackmail East and West. (As can be seen, our concept of neutralization has nothing in common with similar projects advocated by the so-called Nauheimer Circle of Professor Ulrich Noack, whose background we have on various occasions exposed in these pages.)

The American Friends Service Committee prepared a report last summer in which it discussed ways and means of reducing tensions between Russia and the West and thereby decreasing the chances of a new war. It, too, advocated the neutralization of Germany "*for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to continue the competition for Germany will almost certainly lead to disaster.*"

It is encouraging to note that responsible groups dedicated to the Brotherhood of Man are aware of the fundamental importance of Germany with regard to the future peace and security of the world. We have said this on frequent occasions: "*For so long as Germany remains a potential asset to one or more of the Allied nations she will be used for ulterior, selfish, political, military and economic purposes. And so long will the world remain insecure. So long as Germany is available for one of these marriages, she will be in a good position to recapture her military strength. Only when we have conclusive proof, supported by acts, that the big powers will not establish any liaison with Germany to use her as an eventual ally in any extra national activity, will there be a reasonable chance of destroying mutual suspicions and of establishing a genuine world collaboration for peace.*"

This statement was published in our magazine, *Prevent World War III*, in April, 1946, long before there was any apparent sign that the Germans were climbing back to positions where they could embroil the world in a new war.

We refused to live in Mr. Chamberlain's dream-world of the 1930's, because we were already aware of the violation of common agreements made by the Allies to eliminate Germany's war potential. Thus all the talk and noise today about new German armies in the East and in the West is not surprising to us.

It must be said that German armies will inevitably be created again if the present policies which are repeating the same blunders made by the Allies after World War I, are continued.

The neutralization of Germany can be a major step towards the prevention of new conflicts. Such a neutralization requires the following steps:

A. *The establishment of a Four-Power disarmament committee to prevent the remilitarization of any of the zones in Germany.*

B. *Four-Power agreement to hold the level of German steel production to peacetime needs—not exceeding present permitted levels.*

C. *Prompt fulfillment of the original reparations program under Four-Power control.*

D. *Four-Power agreement on the elimination from key positions of former Nazis and Hitler supporters.*

E. *Four-Power action to breakup the German cartel empire.*

F. *Genuine international control of the Ruhr to prevent the reestablishment of German economic domination of her neighbors, and, at the same time, give Germany a viable economy for peace.*

The carrying out of these measures and subsidiary steps would take Germany out of the international arena as a major bone of contention between East and West.

The hour is late, but it is up to us, the living, to make our final decision. We must bear in mind that a German army is inevitable if the people consent to policies which preserve a dangerous war potential in her heavy industries. It would be wishful thinking to believe that the creation of German armies, East or West, would be a boon to either side or to mankind in general.

President Heuss has told the truth: An East German army will not fight a West German army or vice-versa. They will unite and when they unite, the betrayal of the peace and the security of the U.S. and her friends abroad will be complete.

> **"All of a sudden there is a rude awakening in this country about a resurgent Germany. It seems to come as a surprise, if not a shock. Evidently it is, but it should not be.**
>
> **"It is the inevitable result of a compromise in Germany on our stated policy by those who executed it, and of circumstances beyond our control, including Russian policy, which has been exploited also by certain powerful interests which opposed our basic policy.**
>
> **"We won the war, but we are losing the peace. . ."**
>
> (*Thomas L. Stokes in the New York World-Telegram*)

Urge a Realistic German Policy

The Society for the Prevention of World War III made public text of a wire sent on November 9 to Secretary Acheson in connection with the Paris meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, and the United States.

It was pointed out that "the reopening of the dismantling issue, under pressure of the Germans and their pro-German friends in the United States, is completely unjustified morally, economically and militarily." The wire further stated: "It is high time that American policies be made by the State Department and not by the Germans."

The Society also stressed the fact that in January, 1949, Dean Acheson categorically stated that the United States Government would not contemplate raising the level of German steel production and reassured Western Europe that the United States had no intention of building up Germany at the expense of her neighbors.

The Society urged that the Secretary of State withhold any decision on the dismantling program until he had "thoroughly considered its far-reaching implications in terms of our future security and leadership." Text of wire follows:

"Hon. Dean Acheson, Personal
Secretary of State
Paris, France

"It is considered judgment of Society for Prevention World War III that reopening of dismantling issue, under pressure of Germans and their pro-German friends in the U. S., is completely unjustified morally, economically and militarily.

"It will give aid and comfort to extremist elements and strengthen anti-American feeling among the peoples of Europe.

"It will whet the never satiated German appetite.

"The Germans will continue to demand greater concessions and thus further undermine security of the U. S. and her friends in Europe.

"Modification of dismantling program would mean greater German steel capacity.

"On January 26, 1949, you stated that U. S. Government would not increase Ruhr steel production beyond ten million seven hundred thousand tons as authorized.

"There is no economic justification for raising German steel level which will reconstruct German war potential.

"It is high time that American policies be made by State Department and not by Germans.

"This will not come about as long as there are among your chief advisers individuals known for their pro-German bias and their past or present ties with German interests.

"The deterioration in prestige and effectiveness of American occupation of Germany stems directly from well-known undermining activities of such individuals who have carried out 'Germany First' policies.

"Respectfully urge withholding any decision on dismantling until you have thoroughly considered far-reaching implications in terms of our future security and leadership.

Society for the Prevention of World War III,
C. Monteith Gilpin, Secretary."
Mark Van Doren, Chairman,

Revealing Documents

The politics of war is a subject which received the closest attention of the German General Staff. During the crucial period of World War II, the General Staff sought to influence the outcome of the military struggle by every possible political means. This explains the secret instructions of *Admiral Walter Wilhelm Canaris,* Chief of the Secret Service of the German High Command to his agents which were found in the files of the German Foreign Office.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Allen Welsh Dulles, former head of the OSS in Switzerland, makes frequent mention of Canaris in his book about Germany's so-called underground. He tells about negotiations he conducted with some of Canaris' agents in Switzerland who were supposed to be anti-Nazi. Whether these agents were anti-Nazi or not is a moot question. But we do know that Admiral Canaris was the "brain" of the German espionage service and a ruthless agent of the German General Staff. He fully understood the importance of the political factor in warfare.

As disclosed in the Canaris documents, the Germans knew that they could not win the war unless they succeeded in dividing their enemies by heightening political tensions and suspicions among them.

If this were merely wartime strategy on the part of the Germans, these documents would only serve as an historical curiosity. But we know that the Germans today have a vested interest in holding tensions between East and West at war pitch. As in war, so the Germans today are fanning the flames of mutual suspicions among their former adversaries. By intensifying the divisions among the victorious powers and pitting East against West, the Germans were evading the responsibilities of their crimes and aggressions. Thus, the Canaris strategy, which was frustrated during the war itself, has re-emerged with greater success in this period of peace. It is the context of present day developments that the Canaris documents assume a sinister significance.

Following is the verbatim translation of two of these documents containing Admiral Canaris' instructions for top German agents abroad.

OKW—Abwehr, Secret State Matter, March 15, 1944

"At a meeting of the representatives of the A. A., S. D. and the department of defense, the following resolutions were adopted for unified action of all the leaders in foreign countries:

1. Utilize to the fullest extent all available possibilities in neutral and enemy countries, in order to strengthen our military effort with political and propaganda campaigns.

2. Our goal is to crush the enemy's plan whose object it is to destroy forever Germany militarily, economically and culturally.

3. The new regulations put into effect by the political leaders for the dissolution and disintegration of the enemy bloc should be carried out more intensively. We must do our utmost to create a state of confusion among our enemies. Such a state of disunity would enable us to sue for a quick separate peace with either side. While it is true that the efforts made in that direction have failed so far due to the implacable hate policy of Roosevelt and Churchill, it does not mean that some day under different conditions, the unnatural front of our enemies could not be broken. Roosevelt's electoral defeat this year could have immeasurable political consequences.

The political and military leaders are of the opinion that Germany has nothing to expect from the Russians; on the contrary, should the war take a turn for the worse, the Slavs may retaliate the harsh treatment we inflicted upon them. Nevertheless, every alley should be explored in order to create a political state of mind which will induce the Russians to negotiate a separate peace with us.

In the event of a negotiated peace, or should we be defeated—on a long range plan Germany has everything to gain by cooperating with the East.

Right now, the chances for a separate peace with the West are a little better, especially if we succeed, through our propaganda campaign and our "confidential" channels to convince the enemy that Roosevelt's policy of unconditional surrender drives the German people towards communism.

The opposition against Roosevelt's alliance with Stalin grows constantly. Our chances for success are good, if we succeed to stir up influential circles against Roosevelt's policy. This can be done through clever pieces of information, or by references to unsuspicious neutral ecclesiastical contact men.

We have at our command in the United States efficient contacts, which have been carefully kept up during the war. The campaign of hatred stirred up by Roosevelt and the Jews against everything German has temporarily silenced the pro-German bloc in the USA. However, there is every hope that this situation will be completely changed in a few months.

If the Republicans succeed in defeating Roosevelt in the coming presidential election, it would greatly influence the American war policy towards us.

The KO-leaders abroad and their staff have innumerable opportunities of constantly referring to Roosevelt's hate policy.

They can at the same time hint to the danger that Germany may thereby be forced to cooperate with Russia. The greatest caution has to be observed in all conversations and meetings by those who as "anti-Nazis" maintain contact with the enemy. When fulfilling missions, they have to comply strictly with instructions.

(sgd.) Canaris

★

Strictly Confidential *Berlin, June 28, 1943.*

To KO-Director, Bern (Switzerland)

We informed the chief of the Swiss Espionage Defense, in a friendly way, not to disturb the connections between certain enemy posts in Switzerland, and our agents, who are camouflaged as anti-Nazis. If there should be any difficulties please inform OKW and SD at once.

(sgd.) Canaris

Copy to Foreign Office
Commissioner for Defense and SD

Editorials

AUCTION FOR GERMANY

The confusion of the German situation, which has been growing steadily in the past year, recently reached a new peak. It is almost unbelievable that the situation should have touched the point where even the question of German remilitarization and of a German army is strongly advocated by certain powerful circles.

Tempora mutantur—times change—but the naivete, if not the stupidity of the period following the first world war prevails again. Or are we witnessing the enfolding of a well calculated plan preferred by the powers that be? It is true that there are other factors in the German problem today which were not present after the first World War. But the hysterical arguments in favor of a strong, rearmed Germany, as advocated at present by wishful thinkers and political opportunists, so soon after the end of hostilities, are fantastic and outrageous.

It is no secret, and the fact has been stated in these pages many times previously, that both Soviet Russia and the Western powers are frantically bidding for Germany. The London *Economist* recently called this bidding an "*Auction for Germany*." The imbecility of this auction, unfortunately, has not been fully realized by those responsible for shaping German policy. Every intelligent political observer knows that Soviet policy in Germany, to quote the *Economist*, "*has been one of long-sighted and realistic conspiracy for power*," while American policy—we still quote the *Economist*—"*had gone through a* 180° *revolution since* 1945." It should have been clear for a long time that in a continuous bidding for Germany's favor, Moscow definitely has more advantages to offer. It also should have been made clear for a long time that in an open bidding the Western powers, for very obvious reasons, could only be the losers. It is mathematically certain that the Western powers, being democracies, would never be able to outbid totalitarian Soviet Russia for the goodwill, friendship and alliance of totalitarian-minded Germany.

There is still time, perhaps, for those of our policymakers who are under the delusion that we can win Germany to our side against Soviet Russia to awake from their wishful dream.

An editorial in a recent issue of the *New York Post* —a paper which consistently opposes Soviet policy of expansion—has given an excellent analysis of this situation.

"*Have we finally been deluded into the belief*," the editorial states, "*that we can compete effectively with Soviet expansionism only by embracing the old Nazi cabal?*"

And it adds:

"*Unquestionably, the Russians are holding hands with their former Nazi adversaries. There is powerful evidence that the Nazi comeback is just as swift or even more phenomenal in the Soviet Zone than in the Western realm. This is no justification for American policy or lack of policy. It proves nothing about the nature of the problem concerning us in Germany. It proves only that the old Nazi contingent is doing quite well on both sides of the German fence. The Nazis were always remarkably flexible fellows; they will play footsie with anyone who takes care of their immediate needs. They can love or hate Bolsheviks, as they proved in August,* 1939, *and June,* 1941. *But they can never make real peace with democracy.*"

The editorial furthermore emphasizes that it is nonsense to think that a strong Germany would prove an efficient "*bulwark against Communism.*" It should not be forgotten that it was a "*strong Germany*" that signed the Nazi Soviet Pact.

Needless to say, we most heartily endorse the viewpoints expressed in this editorial, especially the following:

"(*The Germans*) *will sing anti-Soviet songs in the Western Zone even while their counterparts in the Soviet-ruled territory dream of a grand new alliance with the Soviets. They will profess their devotion to 'free enterprise'—even as they endeavor to rebuild the cartel system. They will bring neither peace nor security to the world.*"

Many times in the past we have pointed out in these pages that it would be criminal for the Western powers to rely on the Germans. To think seriously that if we were to remilitarize and build up Western Germany—even if we were to recreate the German army—the Germans would become our partners and friends and not those of Soviet Russia, is plain nonsense. In this connection, it should be pointed out that even extreme conservatives, to say nothing of right-wing elements in Western Germany, openly play with the idea of a new Russo-German alliance.

It is true that some of their colleagues occasionally show a strong anti-Communist attitude. But is this not done to fool us and to throw sand in our eyes? We need only to mention the strange activities of people like ex-Ambassador Rudolf Nadolny, University Professor Ulrich Noack, etc., men who despite their conservative backgrounds are strong protagonists of a German deal with Soviet Russia.

Even a man like Pastor Martin Niemoeller recently tore off his mask of nationalistic doubletalk and openly stated that if unification is not granted he would rather see Germany become Communist than continue to live in its present divided condition.

The question put to Niemoeller after his return from a three-month visit to Australia was, "*Do you think that, in order to reunify East and West Germany, most Germans would be prepared to pay the price of having a Communist regime?*"

"*Yes*," Niemoeller answered without hesitation. "*Given the alternative of a continual split in Germany or the prospect of reuniting the country under a fallen dictatorship—that of Russia—the Germans would prefer to take the risks of Communism.*"

Such a statement, coming from the mouth of a man generally considered one of the most outspoken of the conservative German nationalists, speaks for itself. No comment is necessary. But we think this significant statement of Pastor Niemoeller should help clarify the situation.

It is our firm belief that Niemoeller's pro-Soviet pronouncement should destroy, once and for all, the myth that if we give them everything they want, the Germans will be a bulwark against Communism.

They never will be a bulwark against Communism because the totalitarian and autocratic features of Communism are much dearer to the hearts of the Germans than the features of democracy. It should be kept in mind—and history will undoubtedly confirm it—that far from being a bulwark against Communism, it was Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Germans who opened the door of Central and Western Europe to Communism.

A SORRY RECORD

December 16th should have been an appropriate day for those who are responsible for the German occupation to search their souls.

It was on that fateful day five years ago that Nazi hordes under Field Marshal von Runstedt (who never was tried for war crimes) lunged forward in a last attempt to ward off their certain defeat. They struck hard at green American GI's who were entrenched in the cold wastes of the Ardennes Forest in Belgium. The Nazi troopers were a hard-bitten desperate gang. For years they had raked Europe with murder and rapine. They were out for more blood—this time, the blood of American GI's.

In their ranks was the first SS Panzer regiment commanded by SS Col. Joachim Peiper. Peiper—one time assistant to Gestapo Chief Himmler—had trained his men well. On the Eastern front, one of his battalions had earned the nickname "the Blow Torch Battalion" after having burned two villages and murdered all the inhabitants. Now, by order of Field Marshal von Rundstedt, this motley gang of cutthroats was going to practice its skills on American troops.

The Battle of the Bulge turned into a glorious Allied victory but not until the Peiper group had mercilessly slaughtered hundreds of American GI's taken prisoners of war. Seventy-three of these criminals were caught and brought to justice before an American Military Tribunal. All of them were found guilty. Forty-three were sentenced to death. But then something amazing occurred.

As if from nowhere, pro-German forces began a concerted drive to save these murderers. Both in Germany and in the United States, they worked through the churches and managed to enlist the services of well-meaning but very naive peoples and organizations. Taking a page out of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, they ceaselessly repeated their lies. They smeared the American prosecution and whitewashed the war criminals. Obviously well financed, these un-American forces were able to reach influential quarters in the government. The executions were postponed. Investigations were made, one after another—thirteen of them—but the essential guilt of these war criminals withstood every lie.

Even General Clay, when commuting the death sentences of 37 of these criminals, admitted that there was no doubt in his mind as to the guilt of those whom he branded "cold-blooded killers." Nevertheless, the pro-German agitators were not satisfied with General Clay's accommodating action and they increased their propaganda barrage which, unfortunately, received a good press. What were these pro-Germans after? Was it merely to spare the lives of the six remaining criminals? In reality, they were trying to smear the prosecutors in the Malmedy massacre case in order to discredit the whole concept of the war crimes trials and the guilt of the Germans.

The thirteenth investigation of the Malmedy case conducted by a Senate Subcommittee under the Chairmanship of Senator Baldwin, not only completely vindicated the American prosecution and confirmed the guilt of the Nazi gang, but it went further. In its final report, the Subcommittee examined the activities of the National Council for the Prevention of War (not to be confused with the Society for the Prevention of World War III) which spearheaded the drive to save these war criminals. The Subcommittee declared that it was "*convinced that its (National Council for Prevention of War) activities in this matter which go far beyond the Malmedy case have been most damaging to the national interests of our country and to the cause of peace. The Subcommittee feels strongly that the proper investigation should be made to determine the real motivation in back of the activities of this organization and the influence it has had on many individuals within the United States who have accepted as fact the allegations publicized by it.*" Scratch a pro-German outfit and you will find a group of willful individuals who do not hesitate to damage the national interests of our country and the cause of peace.

Does this mean that the six remaining war criminals will receive their just desserts? Not at all. It is known that powerful influences around John J. McCloy are pressing him to commute their sentences—perhaps as a Christmas present. Those who say that John J. McCloy would not do such a thing should bear in mind that he has not moved as yet to carry out the sentences in spite of the final report of the Baldwin Subcommittee.

Nor has John J. McCloy carried out the sentences of two other major war crimes cases. In April, 1948, General Otto Ohlendorf, who confessed to the murder of 90,000 men, women, and children, and 13 of his co-criminals, were sentenced to hanging. They are still alive.

Or take the case of Baron von Weizsaecker et al., which involved the leading officials of the German Foreign Office. They were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment by an American Military Tribunal many months ago, but John J. McCloy has not yet confirmed these sentences.

The Society for the Prevention of World War III has repeatedly communicated with John J. McCloy on these matters but all we have received are polite evasions. *Is another Ilse Koch affair in the making? Are the American people going to be faced with a fait accompli about which they can do nothing except bury their faces in shame as they did after Clay's commutation of Ilse Koch?*

The prosecution and punishment of war criminals is tragic enough with only 250 persons in all of the Western Zones still in prison for Nazi activities. Daily reports appear in the press showing that denazification has become renazification and that thousands of top Nazis are again taking hold of positions of power and influence. Even official U. S. reports admit this to be true. Must the American people be subjected to a compounding of this scandalous situation through new commutations and reprieves?

The other day, the so-called Minister of Justice in the Bonn Government, Herr Thomas Dehler, announced that he would ask a general pardon for German war criminals now serving sentences in the U. S. Zone. He said "*sentences passed in 1946 would probably not be passed today.*" He added: "*Things are regarded very dispassionately today.*" Why did Herr Dehler pick the year 1946? It was during that year that the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg passed down its verdict in the major war crimes trial involving Hitler's closest

henchmen, including Goering, von Ribbentrop, and Hess. Is it this trial to which Herr Dehler refers?

Would anyone have dared to dream during the Battle of the Bulge that five years later the Germans would arrogantly speak in defense of their leading war criminals? But why should we be surprised at Herr Dehler's boldness? The Military Government authorities have not raised a finger to remove the majority of top officials in the Ministry of Justice who are out and out Nazis. This disgraceful state of affairs no doubt has encouraged Herr Dehler to believe that the American people are ready to place halos on the German butchers. Herr Dehler told the press that he was going to make his appeal to the Office of the High Commissioner. We wonder how Mr. McCloy is going to receive Herr Dehler. His failure to act on the abovementioned cases may be a significant clue to what he intends to do—that is, if those of us who cherish the memories of our fallen heroes fail to speak up in time.

CARTEL TACTICS

Readers of *Prevent World War III* are familiar with the campaign conducted by powerful pro-German interests to block the delivery of reparations to the victims of German aggression.

During the period immediately following the end of the war, these pro-German hucksters tried to create the impression that the delivery of German plants as reparations was impossible because the greater portion of German industry had been leveled by Allied bombardments. It seemed like a plausible argument to many people and it certainly had its effect on U. S. policy which steered away from the original reparations program. Delivery schedules were reduced and for a while all was serene. But this concession merely whet the appetite of the Germans and their helpers. They saw in the lofty principles of the Marshall Plan a new opportunity to discredit the proposition that an aggressor nation must compensate in some degree for the damages inflicted upon its victims.

No longer did they stress the damages to German heavy industry. Now they were telling the world that Germany's economic war potential was "essential" to the recovery of western Europe. This line of reasoning paid rich dividends. The occupying powers, at the behest of our policy-makers in Germany, consented to further drastic reductions in the schedule of plants earmarked for reparations.

This created quite a stir among Germany's neighbors and prompted the Allied powers in Germany to solemnly pledge that this would be the final cut-back in the reparations program. But, as the saying goes, promises are made only to be broken. Some weeks ago, after a brief discussion, the Allied High Commissioners virtually emasculated what was left of the reparations program. But this time, as their communique shows, there was no explanation—no apologies. Either the Allied High Commissioners were in a hurry to present Germany's victims with a fait accompli so as to check any potential opposition to this unprecedented action, or they were fully confident that public opinion had been so molded and conditioned to the Germany-First policy that it was no longer necessary to give explanations.

To the well-informed, however, the indecent haste with which the Allied authorities have junked the reparations program is the outgrowth of a conspiracy which seems to have been hatched during the height of the war.

The very same cartel interests in the U. S. which, after World War I, made an important contribution to the rebuilding of those heavy industries in Germany which were the bone and sinew of Hitler's war machine, appeared to have played a very active role in this matter.

In defending the Air Force's theories concerning strategic bombing, General Hap Arnold, who directed our Air Force during World War II, said that the Air Force had been well advised as to "the best available information for target selection" in Germany. "We were using as advisers," General Arnold wrote, "men who had been in Germany and Japan; who had helped build their industries, loaned them money, studied their industrial problems, sold them their factory equipment and visited the factories. What better source of advice could we have obtained?"

Is it a coincidence that as a result of the advice given to the Air Force by these "experts" on German industry, more than 75 percent of Germany's war potential escaped the tremendous blows of our Air Force? Is it a coincidence that many of the plants untouched by Allied bombs were precisely those which were later destined for reparations? It is highly probable that the very same interests which "helped" determine the targets for our Air Force were approached by the German cartelists in the Ruhr when they learned that those plants which remained intact were scheduled for reparations.

As we now know, Germany's industrial warlords were sending out desperate SOS signals to their friends in the U. S. Their call for help was answered. The U. S. Steel Corporation, which has had close ties with the German steel cartel in the past, "loaned" some of its top officials, including Mr. George Wolf, to "investigate" the already tattered reparations program.

In previous issues of our magazine, we have dealt with their so-called investigation and demonstrated that Mr. Wolf and his colleagues were far from objective. The Wolf Report on Reparations was just a more refined effort to salvage as much for Germany's warlords as was politically feasible.

The Wolf group was followed by the so-called Humphrey Committee which included persons whose business connections were linked very definitely with the German cartel network prior to the war. It was no surprise, therefore, that the Humphrey Committee, too, should approve drastic modifications of the reparations program using for its argument the biased views of the U. S. Steel officials.

If we include among those experts who "advised" General Arnold during the war the top officials of Dillon, Read, Kuhn Loeb & Co., General Motors, or U. S. Steel, the picture becomes clearer. It was these forces that had a very decisive effect on shaping American policy with regard to the continuation of reparations.

Throughout 1949 the German lobby in Washington remained at the beck and call of these pro-German interests, providing them with all the propaganda necessary to confuse the public.

The German cartel lobby was not only busy in Washington. It was a very real participant in the deliberations of the Foreign Ministers who met in Paris in late November, 1949, to review the reparations "problem." At this meeting the Vereinigte Stahlwerke submitted a memorandum suggesting how the German economic powerhouse could be employed to the advantage of all concerned.

The *London Economist* discussed this memorandum recently, in which connection it said "German heavy industry looks forward to the collapse of plans for expanding steel production in uneconomic areas such as Italy and Norway . . ." The *London Economist* stated that the German cartel interests were trying to make "capital out of the aspirations of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the State Department" to integrate the western European economy thereby relaxing trade barriers. The German steel cartel is all for an "integration" which would "rationalize" the industrial complex of Western Europe.

Realizing, however, that her neighbors are not, as yet, ready to accept the embrace of the Ruhr barons, the German cartelists have suggested a more novel experiment. Thus, the *London Economist* relates "German industry is crying out for capital. Since France itself has little for investments abroad, the idea has been broached from the German side that American funds might be channeled to Germany through France." If this little trick is put over, then all sides would be satisfied, according to the Germans. The nations who grab at this attractive bait will find themselves, in a short time, firmly under the thumb of the German industrialists, as after World War I.

It can hardly be said that the presentation of this memorandum to the Foreign Ministers, at a time when they were discussing the reparations program, was fortuitous. On the contrary, without the liquidation of the reparations program this dream of German economic hegemony would not be completely realized. Thus, the decision of the Allied High Commissioners to preserve in Germany the great steel plants—although not needed for peacetime industry—as well as the rescinding of restrictions on German war industries, represents a decisive victory for the German cartelists and is a long step toward the goal which even Adolf Hitler failed to achieve.

When Chancellor Adenauer, who is very chummy with the industrial warlords of the Ruhr, appeared before the Bonn Parliament announcing the historic decisions of the Foreign Ministers, he was roundly denounced by Kurt Schumacher, the fanatical Nationalist and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party. Schumacher accused Adenauer of selling out to the Allied powers and betraying the true interests of the Fatherland.

His vociferous protestations, however, did not fool those who have watched the antics of the Germans since the end of the war. A leading American correspondent said "Schumacher is playing the role of the 'constructive opposition.' He is attacking Adenauer's policies in order that the Chancellor may indicate to the Allies that his attempts at cooperation are made in the face of considerable political risk and that, therefore, he has earned additional concessions from the High Commission itself." (Shades of Streseman. Ed.)

In short, Schumacher and Adenauer have teamed up in a shrewd public relations operation which is designed to dupe and blind the peoples of the West. The judgment of this American newsman makes sense. It is inconceivable, in the long run, for Herr Schumacher to kick about an agreement which raises Germany's chances to take over Western Europe. Thus new German chains are being forged for the peoples of the West.

HITLER'S GENTLE DIPLOMAT

On March 2nd, 1941, the German Foreign Office circulated a top secret directive among leading German officials informing them of recent negotiations with the Japanese Ambassador Oshima to Germany. The confidential memorandum revealed that during the conversation with the Japanese Ambassador, the Germans re-

"Germany eventually will be a greater problem for the Western powers than Russia, Field Marshal Lord Wavell predicted at a press conference.

"The distinguished British soldier said fear of Germany is the primary cause of the present Russian attitude and conduct. 'The Germans are the most dangerous people in Europe,' he said."

(Report in the New York Herald Tribune from Ottawa, Canada)

The inevitable is coming to pass—the Germans are being set up in business again.

In Western Germany, the United States, Britain and France have joined in restricting the industrial plant dismantling program and in granting economic and political privileges to the new Bonn government.

In Eastern Germany, the Russians are strengthening their puppet government and are creating a German Communist army.

What a disheartening picture this is, so incredibly reminiscent of the twenties and thirties when the victorious allies of World War I loosed the chains of defeated Germany and sowed the dragon's teeth for World War II.

The victors then were moved by a spirit of forgiveness. This time the widening split between the victors has worked to the advantage of the vanquished. Those Germans who have sought a bargaining position between East and West in hopes of eventually recovering Germany's position of power must now be rejoicing. Their dreams now seem attainable.

The same old pledges of demilitarization, of preventing the re-creation of armed forces, of co-operation to keep European peace, are made again, just as they were by Stresemann and Bruening. Those German leaders probably meant to keep the pledges, even as Chancellor Adenauer means to today. The fear is always present, however, that at a critical moment the German spirit of nationalism may find a war eagle to replace Adenauer even as it found a Hitler to follow Stresemann and Bruening. . . .

There may be the very dimmest hope that the Allies of World War II, divided as they are, will find some agreement that there must not be a military resurgent Germany again to peril the world.

One would think that this lesson, twice vividly taught, would be remembered.

(From an editorial in The Milwaukee Journal)

marked that "*A surprise attack by Japan (on the British Empire) was the thing needed to keep America out of the war. America, which is not rearmed as yet, and would not be very willing to expose its fleet West of Hawaii, then could do it even less. . .*" *Ambassador Oshima agreed fully with these lines of reasoning and declared that he would do everything to carry out this policy.*

On December 7th, 1941, Pearl Harbor was bombed. The above quoted memorandum was initialed by Baron von Weiszaecker who was State Secretary of the German Foreign Office.

Writing in the December, 1948 issue of "*Prevent World War III*," Miss Belle Mayer, who was a leading member of the U.S. prosecution in the Farben trial, said "*von Weiszaecker played a key role in persuading the Japanese Government to attack the U.S.*" In her brief, but thorough account of von Weiszaecker's criminal activities, Miss Mayer shows that this German diplomat was at one time a Brig. General in the SS Elite Guard, a prime mover in the Aryanization of Jewish property in France, Belgium and other countries and one who had personally signed orders approving the transfer of thousands of these Jews to concentration camps and approving their extermination.

In accordance with Allied agreements on the prosecution of German war criminals, von Weiszaecker was placed on trial together with a number of other key German diplomats of the Foreign Office. Von Weiszaecker et al were so completely exposed by the American prosecution that the American Military Tribunal had no alternative but to hand down a verdict of guilty.

True, von Weiszaecker received a very light sentence (7 years) but nevertheless justice, in principle, had triumphed.

Von Weiszaecker was not the type of man to give up so easily. As noted by Miss Mayer, he got to work at once on his contacts in the Vatican and in the foreign offices of some of the countries with which Germany had been at war. He succeeded in rallying to his defense many a so-called reputable diplomat. But even their prestige could not wash away the bloodstains on the delicate hands of the Baron.

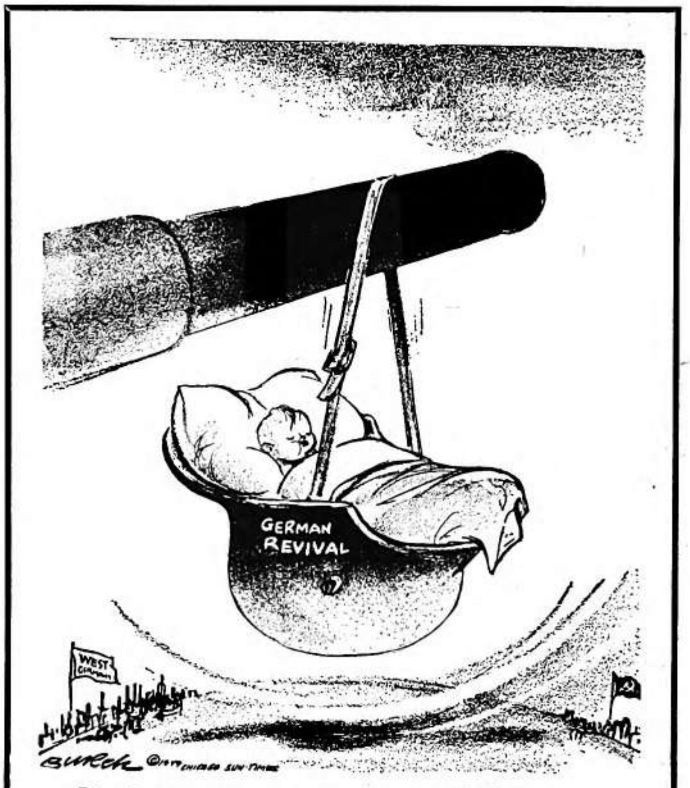
In view of the overwhelming evidence attesting to von Weiszaecker's guilt and his criminal designs against the peace and security of the U.S. and her allies, we did not dream that he could ever secure American lawyers for his defense. It is true that the canons of law make provision for the defense of criminals since a man is supposed to be innocent until proven guilty. But the von Weiszaecker case is now beyond that stage. Tons of official German documents give mute evidence to his diabolical crimes. Under these circumstances we were dismayed to learn that two splendid Americans, and outstanding lawyers have consented to defend a man whose very guilt, as revealed by German documents, belied his profuse denials.

We know that the German war criminals have had one stock alibi when they were apprehended by Allied authorities. The generals, for example, said that they were merely lending professional advice to the Nazi Reich. The judges declared that they were merely agents of Nazi law. The industrial warlords stated that they were merely carrying on their business in conformity with the directives of the Nazi Reich. And the diplomats, including von Weiszaecker, pleaded that they were carrying out the foreign policy of the Nazi Reich. All these criminals have shifted their responsibility to a very nebulous master, the Nazi Reich.

But the Nazi Reich was not merely a philosophical concept, it was the final synthesis of the very activities pursued by the generals, the judges, the diplomats, the industrialists. There would have been no Nazi Reich without the industrial warlords and the von Weiszaecker diplomats.

The von Weiszaecker case is beyond formal and legalistic considerations. The underlying principles which motivated millions to take up the cudgels against the Nazis would lose their meaning if the von Weiszaecker case were judged on that narrow basis.

Ordinarily, we are not concerned with the financial angle of the problems we discuss. In this case, however, it should be pointed out that many a Nazi bigwig has amassed a fortune by participating in the looting of Germany's victims during the war. We know for a fact that the Nazis deposited a good part of these funds for safekeeping in "neutral countries" such as Switzerland, Sweden and Spain. It is entirely within the realm of possibility that the sums von Weiszaecker will pay their American lawyers for their services actually consists of assets stolen from people who were robbed and slaughtered in the concentration camps. We think that these facts should be pondered, for more is at stake than Herr von Weiszaecker. It must be realized that the Weiszaeckers can be dispensed with. But the American people can not afford to forsake their honor or their future security.



ROCK-A-BYE BABY IN THE TREE TOP—

Cartoon by Burch.—Courtesy Chicago Sun-Times.

Neo-Nazis Appeal to the Kremlin

German-language Chicago Buerger-Zeitung publishes sensational Open Letter to Stalin: "...We national Germans do not want to have to do anything with the Yankees, with their capitalistic exploitation and their political arrogance..."

The Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung of Chicago, Illinois, is the official organ of the German-American Citizens' League of Illinois. It is a weekly, printed partly in English, partly in German. The paper is known as one of the foremost pro-German apology mouthpieces in the country. Its tone sometimes reminds one of the rabble-rousing diatribes of the late Nazi Propaganda Minister, Goebbels. Among the *Buerger-Zeitung's* regular contributors are Dr. Otto Strasser and many others of the same ilk.

The *Buerger-Zeitung* has taken the usual attitude of pro-German apologists against dismantling and in favor of the re-creation of a strong united Germany. On the occasion of the German Day Rallies in Chicago, the paper wrote of "*Americans of German blood*"; it fulminated against denazification and against the war crimes trials. In short, it took the well-known stand of extreme German propagandists.

On November 17, 1949, the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung* fired a gun of a sensational nature. Under a screaming headline across the six columns of its front page, the paper ran an article with the significant head "*Offener Brief an Stalin*" (Open Letter to Stalin). At first glance one might have thought this a rehashing of old and well known phrases along anti-Communist lines. But this was not at all the case. On the contrary, the "Open Letter to Stalin" published in the official organ of the German-American Citizens' League of Illinois is nothing but—an offer of the hand of friendship—friendship to Stalin and Soviet Russia!!

In a short preface, the editor of the paper states that he received this document recently and that he considered carefully whether he ought to print it. Finally, he decided to print it because, as he says, the document contains things "which are of the highest importance for the American citizen." The document is signed by one Bruno Fricke and dated October 22, 1949, without any indication of the town or city of its origin. If one may draw conclusions from the text it was probably written in Germany, obviously by a former Nazi. In the very first paragraph of the Open Letter the author states, addressing himself to Stalin:

"*Your intelligence service will tell you who I am. . . . But you could also send a representative of the Tass Agency to identify me. Besides, my person is not at all important in this affair; essential and important and interesting for you is only that I am speaking here as a representative of a great part of my* volksgenossen *and that it would be good for you to learn the opinion of millions of effective men in Central Europe.*"

The Open Letter, then continues:

"*This sector of the German people, namely the national sector which not only comprises former Nazis but everyone who thinks patriotically — is quantitatively quite noteworthy and qualitatively decisively important. Its components are the front-line-soldiers of both world wars and the present dominant percentage of our youth. Thus, its importance from the purely military point of view becomes clear, and furthermore this is one of the reasons why the opinions of these circles are worthy of consideration by you.*"

After this short introduction, the writer immediately shows his outspoken Pan-German nationalistic views.

"*In view,*" he continues, "*of the imminent third world war, as well as in view of personal considerations, you are naturally very much interested in us Germans. We may be down materially, morally and ethically—nevertheless, and despite the dismemberment of our Fatherland into five German Reich Zones, together with Austria and with the smaller territories that have been taken from us, we remain with eighty million the strongest people on the European continent. Whatever one will tell you, we consider ourselves absolutely as a unity and nobody will drive these ideas from our heads—not for generations to come. . . .*"

Speaking of the industrial capacity and the intellectual potential of the Germans, the author then declares:

"*I don't need to tell you much concerning these, because the theft of our patents and the carrying off of a number of our scientists by the Yankees, as well as their systematic kidnapping by your men, does not leave any doubt about the fact that you are convinced of the extraordinary importance of our talented human material. It is especially to our scientists and special workers that you owe your recent atomic successes.*"

In the next paragraph the author approaches his main topic:

"*After the 'Herren Allierten'* (ironical name for Allies—Ed.) *for many years thought they could treat our war potential with contempt—and here the West has acted with particular stupidity—the balance of the world situation after Truman's revelation of the Russian atomic explosion has brought forward Europe's probably decisive role in the future war.*"

The author speaks of "Europe's probably decisive role" but naturally he means "Germany's." Then he goes on:

"*You, Generalissimo Stalin, are probably much more conscious than the civilian governments in Washington, London and Paris that the Western Union as well as the Atlantic Pact are nothing but an organization of military zeros around an Anglo-Saxon One.*"

Here Herr Bruno Fricke, the writer of the Open Letter, shows his true face. His derogatory opinion of the military capacity of Western Europe seems to coincide with similar opinions expressed by Soviet sympathizers and left-wing radicals all over the world.

"Germany was, is and will remain the heartland of Europe; our army was, is and will remain the picked troops of the Occident! The military men of all enemy nations have known this for a long time, and the politicians finally seem to begin to realize it, a fact which in view of the defective intellectual capacity of these people seems rather remarkable. The courtship has started for the heart and the hand of the German people, and it has found its visible expression in the installation of so-called 'governments' in the Eastern and Western Zones. . ."

The writer of the Open Letter then comes, as he says himself, to the key point of his letter. He complains bitterly of what he calls "the Pieck comedy", and he cannot understand how Stalin has played into the hands of the "Yankees" with the establishment of his Eastern German puppet government. *"How is it possible,"* he asks *"that such a highly gifted politician as you who has witnessed recently the ghost dance in Bonn, has permitted immediately the same sort of nonsense in Berlin?"*

The writer then ridicules those who might be under the illusion that under these conditions the Germans, in case of war, would be on the side of the Soviets or of the Yankees. He advises Stalin to kick out his German Communist advisers and to rely on "younger people." Writes he: *"Be assured (Mr. Stalin) that with the exception of a few professional mercenaries who are to be found in every country, no substantial number of German soldiers will move their little fingers either for Pieck or for Heuss! And even less for their bosses in the East and West!"*

But the writer of the Open Letter does give Stalin a chance to win the confidence of the German people. In his opinion it was a great psychological error on the part of Soviet Russia to have taken German territories in the East. He tells Stalin that the 10 million German refugees from the East who went to Western Germany have influenced public opinion against Moscow and in favor of Washington. And he proposes that Stalin correct his mistake in the following manner:

"You may rely on it, Mr. Stalin, that with the rectification of this indefensible and most stupid injustice you could, in an instant, win the hearts of our people—and if you evacuate Germany and restore its sovereignty you can even win back our peoples' fist!"

And now comes the most significant section of the Open Letter. The author does not even try to hide his true feelings; he throws off the mask of certain hypocrites who want to sell us the idea that the Germans love the West and will fight against the East. Here is how he addresses himself to Stalin:

"It is a tragic fact that we national Germans do not want to have anything to do with the West, with the Yankees, with their capitalistic exploitation and their political arrogance. But we are being pushed towards them by your erroneous decisions. We Prussians have always been closely associated with the Russians; we Germans returned gladly to the tradition of Bismarck, of Freiherr von Stein and Maria Theresa, and we politically trained people have not forgotten Lenin's intelligent words about a desired cooperation between Germany and Russia. We are actually predestined for an alliance with Moscow, all the more so since mutual cooperation with the closed bloc of the Soviet states interests us millions of people educated in strict discipline, more than dancing along with the constantly changing representatives of the parliamentary countries of the West."

Here you have it black on white. A frank confession coming straight from the mouth of a Nazi-indoctrinated Pan-German. He hates Western democracy and professes much more sympathy toward the totalitarian Soviet dictatorship! But that is not all. He offers a deal bluntly to Stalin and proposes an alliance between "the Russian force and German intelligence as formulated by Lenin"—in return for the territories in the East.

He wants the restoration of German territories from Memel to Beuthen and adds: *"If you, Stalin, do not want or cannot grant free elections, I would even agree to the installment (there) of a dictatorship for the next three years of crisis."*

And then comes the highlight of the Open Letter:

"Who could resist us if both our Reichs were united? What Napoleon did not succeed in doing, Truman will not succeed in either—the subjugation of the earth! Socialist Germany and Communist Russia together are invincible and thus our alliance secures the peace of the world."

One should read this paragraph twice in order to realize fully the arrogance of the statement. Not only does Bruno Fricke repeat the well-known propaganda lie of the Kremlin, namely that the United States wants to subjugate the world, but this is by far the clearest indication of how the Neo-Nazis play with the idea of a Russo-German alliance against the West.

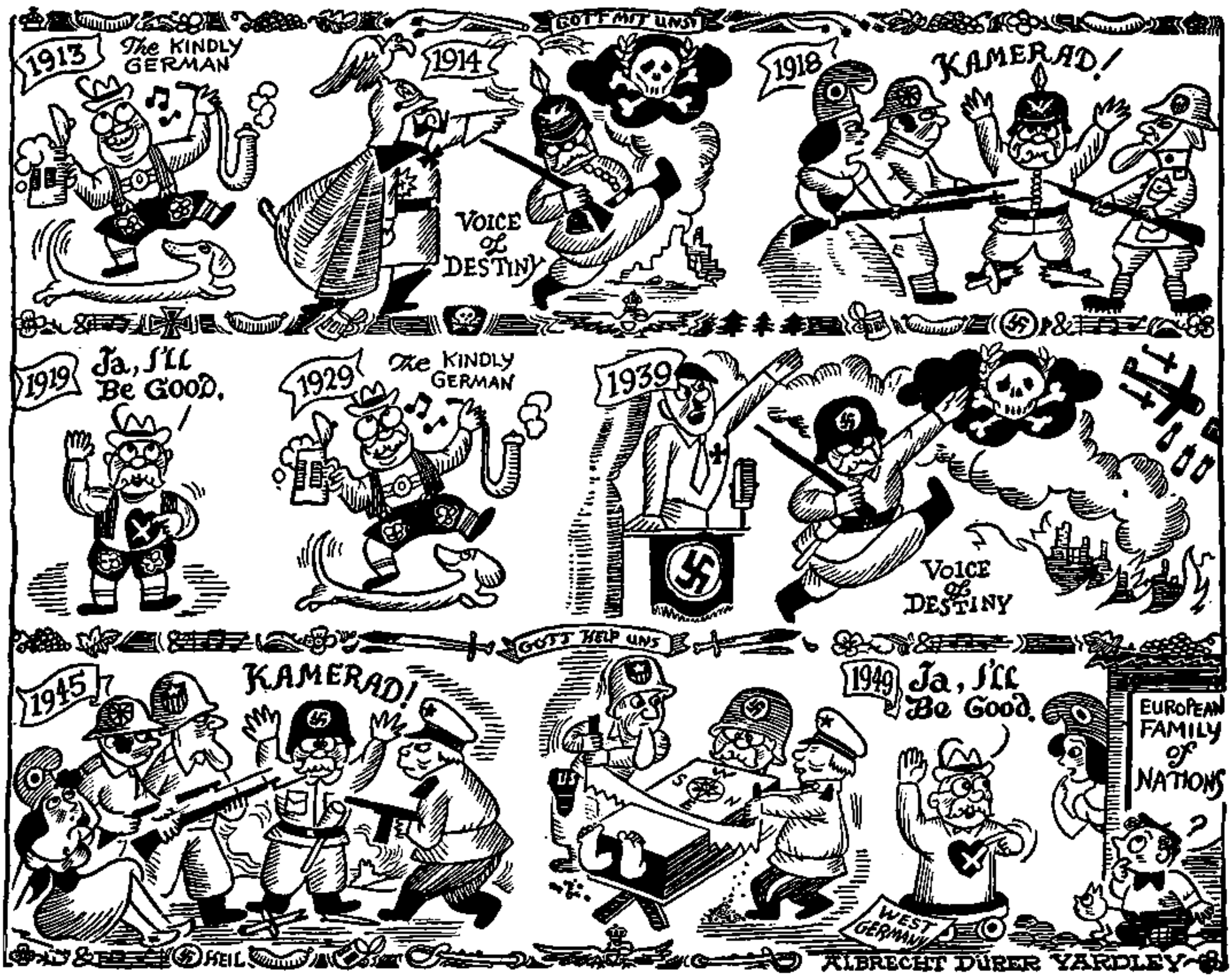
It doesn't matter that the writer poses certain conditions to Stalin which at present may look somewhat extravagant. The fact remains that he, obviously speaking for millions of his fellow countrymen, offers an alliance to Stalin, telling him bluntly that the Germans hate and despise the Western democracies. And now read the following paragraphs from Fricke's Open Letter:

"The masses of our people," he writes to Stalin, *"are national and socialist to their bones and are therefore the given friend and ally of national and anti-capitalistic Russia; they are also the given enemy of international capitalistic exploitation by Wall Street and its colleagues."*

Here again one sees the Moscow propaganda slogans of "Wall Street exploiters" repeated by Neo-Nazi Bruno Fricke. For him and for his fellow Nazis these slogans seem not at all new, for they are exact duplicates of the slogans which Goebbels for years had drummed into the ears of the Germans.

The contents of Bruno Fricke's Open Letter to Stalin and the fact that a leading German language newspaper in the Middle West has seen fit to display his article prominently on its front page, speak for themselves. The ideas expressed in the Open Letter undoubtedly express the feelings of a great majority of the Germans and this should be a warning to our policymakers. The fact remains that the Germans, by their nature and their past and despite some misgivings toward Communism, are inclined to go with Stalin against the West. For those who know the German national character this is not at all surprising, but it seems that some people are under the illusion that the Germans will ever be on our side.

In conclusion, it might be noted that Bruno Fricke's


GOTT MIT UNS
1913
The KINDLY GERMAN
1914
VOICE of DESTINY
1918
KAMERAD!
1919
Ja, I'll Be Good.
1929
The KINDLY GERMAN
1939
VOICE of DESTINY
GOTT HELP UNS
1945
KAMERAD!
1949
Ja, I'll Be Good.
EUROPEAN FAMILY of NATIONS
?
WEST GERMANY
HEIL
ALBRECHT DURER YARDLEY

History of Germany

Cartoon by Yardley—Courtesy Baltimore Sun

(*Continued from page* 11)

Open Letter to Stalin is dated October 22. On October 14, Premier Stalin addressed his now famous message to the new Eastern German government, referring to Germany and Russia as countries of "the largest potentialities" for completing "great actions of world significance."

It is apparent that Bruno Fricke's letter, written eight days after Stalin's message, presents some sort of answer in the form of a trial balloon sent up by the Germans. In his message, Stalin bluntly stated that if Germany and Russia became allies there would be peace, for no combination of powers would dare to oppose such a bloc. And this is exactly what Bruno Fricke writes, too.

Concluding his appeal to Stalin, he states:

"Stretch out your hand genuinely to national Germany instead of wooing her only with words. Strike her in the face with deeds, and the compact masses of our 250,000,000 people—even without the 500,000,000 in the Far East—from Kowno, Warsaw, Budapest, Bucharest and Prague to Sofia together will determine the fate of the earth."

". . . Those of us who have known Germany and the Germans for a long time—and my knowledge of that country goes back 60 years, as I went there as a little girl—have a rather long perspective on the character of the German people. They like authority. They have been accustomed to direction and to being told what to do in every phase of their existence. I have never been in a country where the signs are more completely explicit. They do not say, 'Please do not do thus and so'; they say, 'Verboten,' pure and simple.

"As a result of all this, there has grown up in Germany a system of class. Any little government functionary had certain little responsibilities and certain authority. He was looked up to by all his neighbors and as you went higher up he was shown even greater respect by the people. . ."

(*Eleanor Roosevelt in her column in the New York World-Telegram*)

Maggots On the Nazi Corpse

"Hitler Aides Ruling Bavaria"...."Ex-Nazi Teachers Regain Old Posts"...."Big Ruhr Industries Bid for Their Old Power"...."Press in Bavaria Shows Nazi Trend..."

The series of articles by Drew Middleton published under these headings in *The New York Times* again focused the spotlight on the renazification of Western Germany. Lord Vansittart, who hits the nail on the head, coined the sentence: *"The Germans are getting too much too soon."* This is undoubtedly one of the reasons Neo-Nazism is able to rise again. In view of the availability of a tremendous number of facts and figures, it is amazing indeed that some of our officials in Germany, above all John J. McCloy, continue to reassure us that there is no dangerous rising Neo-Nazism in Germany. However, a careful observer must come to the conclusion that quite the contrary is true. Even the German papers themselves, which means the few honest democratic and liberal organs remaining, call attention steadily to this growing danger.

We have before us on our desk hundreds of recent reports from European newspapers; excerpts from privately circulated newsletters and other political analyses. All definitely furnish proof of the cresting wave of Neo-Nazism in one form or another.

The conservative London *Daily Telegraph,* for example, recently reported that one *Hans Seidel* has been named representative of the Bizonal Committee for Tourism of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). The paper adds that this same Herr Seidel, from 1933 until the start of the war, was Director of the Information Offices of the German State Railways in London and one of the leading figures in the London Nazi colony. A few months before the start of the war, Seidel was named *Obergruppenfuehrer* of all Nazis living in England.

Another British paper, the *News Chronicle,* points out the existence now in Germany of a new group of persecuted; namely, those who are cooperating with the Allies. Every Nazi or Nazi party member in Germany can find a job more easily today than an anti-Nazi or one who has cooperated with the American, British or French occupational authorities. For instance, all the drivers who had driven allied military cars in past years and who have recently lost their jobs are unable to find positions among their own countrymen. A cold boycott against these Germans is being organized by the Nazis. This boycott movement, according to a statement by a representative of the Joint Export Import Agency, embraces all the storekeepers and dealers who have done business with personnel of the occupation powers. Particularly in the smaller towns, these merchants are now being strongly boycotted.

There can be no doubt that the Neo-Nazis have much money at their disposal. Thousands of letters arrived recently with a Nazi propaganda stamp alongside the regular postal stamp. Nobody knows how this propaganda stamp was pasted on the letter, but the fact remains that such stamps are secretly being put on letters in Western Germany. One such stamp bears the photo of the Cathedral of Strassbourg with the provocative inscription, *"Elsass-Lothringen,"* while another shows the port of Danzig. This subtle propaganda keeps awake the traditional requests for return of these cities and regions to Germany. Similar stamps can be seen on house walls all over Western Germany.

Everyone knows that the German national anthem, *"Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles,"* expresses the hopes of Pan-German ideology. After all that has happened one would think that the Germans themselves would wish to forget the provocative lines of this national anthem.

A newspaper in Duesseldorf recently asked its readers: *"Should we sing again Deutschland, Deutschland ueber Alles?"* Sixty per cent said yes; twenty per cent were undecided and only twenty per cent rejected it. Significant of the mentality of those still fervently in favor of the Deutschland anthem is the text of a letter in which a reader stated:

"'Deutschland ueber Alles' is an appeal to the Allies to take into consideration at the conclusion of the Peace Treaty a just re-establishment of Germany's former borders in order to win a real peace."

Speaking of polls, American papers recently published an Associated Press dispatch from Frankfurt emphasizing that in a recent poll 60.2 per cent of the Germans questioned declared that they wanted no more military service under any conditions. The poll was conducted in the three Western Zones by the Institute for Market Research and Observation and the results were pointed out as an alleged opposition of the Germans to military service.

But the London *Daily Mail* gives quite different results of a similar poll taken in the British Zone of Germany. The results of this poll, made among young Germans, contradict the poll of the Institute for Market Research. The question asked was, "Would you welcome the establishment of a new army if Germany should be invited to do so under the terms of the Atlantic Pact and the provision of a West European Army?" The result showed that an average of three out of every four polled are in favor of building another German war machine immediately. The most positive response, according to the survey, came from youths aged 20 to 24.

The Swiss newspaper, *St. Galler Tageblatt,* in a recent article, calls attention to homework done by pupils in a public school in Luthe near Hannover. Here are some excerpts of what the children wrote:

"We Germans would have almost won the war if it wouldn't have been for a few of our countrymen who deserted to the British, Russians and French and have stabbed us in the back. I have read it myself in the paper."

"Our soldiers in 1942 were already in Stalingrad. They were thrown back by the Russians because they had not enough weapons. If they would have gotten enough weapons, Russia would have lost. In the West we lost the war only because of a great amount of treason. Germany had enough soldiers, but the soldiers did not get

enough munitions on the front. The officers destroyed the slips on which the soldiers asked for weapons."

"We lost through treason. Had we not listened to the British and fought two more weeks we would have won the war."

The teacher responsible for that particular school, one *Dr. Franz Richter,* was dismissed, but he was elected as Deputy of the *Deutsche Rechts Partei* to the Bonn Parliament.

Speaking of the *Deutsche Rechts Partei,* which more and more develops into a rallying point for Neo-Nazis, it is interesting to quote from a speech made by one of its leading members, Heinz Burgwald, in Flensburg. Praising the advantages Nazism brought to the Germans, he said: *"National socialism has given us something precious; namely, the consciousness of being able to live in an active peoples' community."* According to the speaker, Nazism, besides its *"excellent social and economic policy"* has been able to produce an *"irresistible energy"* some of which *"we could use right now at the formulation of our Reich."*

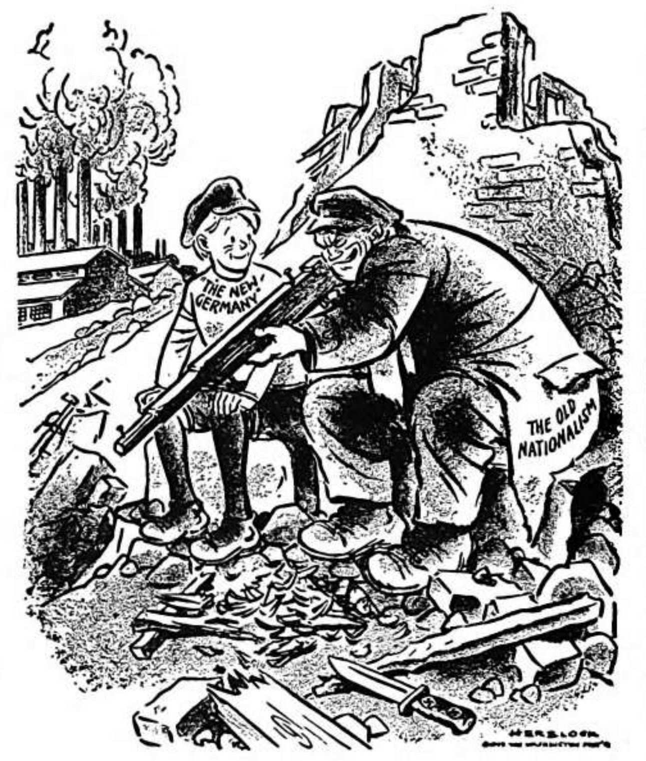
Among the many small Neo-Nazi groups which are mushrooming all over Western Germany, there is one which calls itself *"Vereinigte Deutsch-Soziale Arbeiter Partei."* One of its leaders, *Arthur Giese,* at a meeting in Hannover, declared bluntly that "with the exception of the dictatorship and the anti-Semitism, the program of the Nazi Party was not bad at all."

There is another such small Neo-Nazi party which calls itself "Vaterlandische Union" and whose founder is a certain *Karl Feitenhansel* of Munich. The main-point of his program is re-establishment of the German Wehrmacht. He furthermore demands that *"All Germans from the Maas to the Memel should be reunited."* He claims that his party has 25,000 members already and he soon expects his union to become much more popular due to the fact that one of the main points of his program is a fight *"against the defamation of the German soldier."*

Such incidents, and in particular such small groups and organizations, are not only significant of the general trend but also highly dangerous. It seems that what happened after the first world war is being reenacted in every detail. The tone of certain Germans becomes more insolent with each passing day and this goes not only for small rabble-rousers but also for dignified politicians. A member of the Boon Parliament and representative of the Deutsche Rechts Partei, Deputy *Adolph von Thadden,* the other day shouted during a debate, *"We have now long enough run behind the French and I think it is bad policy to address continuously declarations of love to them."*

Similar language was used by *Hans Giessen,* Chairman of the Otto Strasser movement in Duesseldorf. This group of friends of Strasser's had planned a big rally to be held January 27th, but this meeting has been prohibited by the British authorities. Whereupon Herr Giessen made the following statement:

"I consider myself as a German justified to propagandize the ideas of my comrade Otto Strasser and I don't care at all if the British authorities like it or not and I will do so even at the risk that the High Commission prosecutes me as a politically undesirable. My comrades and I have prepared everything, whatever one will do against us. Ten thousand strong fellow-combatants are at our disposal."



"AND SOME DAY YOU'LL HAVE A REAL ONE"

Cartoon by Herblock.—Courtesy Washington Post.

The latest trick of Neo-Nazis to circumvent repressive measures against them is the founding of fraternity groups with harmless sounding names. In Stuttgart in particular an epidemic of such fraternities is spreading. First the former leaders of the Hitler Youth came together and founded such a group. Then the air-borne troops of the Wehrmacht organized one.

Now the former Chiefs of the Nazi Labor Service have founded such a fraternity in honor of their former boss, *Konstantin Hierl,* who has recently been denazified.

It is practically impossible to keep track of these innumerable small splinter groups and clubs, but all have one goal in common—to spread the ideological gospel of Neo-Nazism.

While Mr. McCloy himself tends to discount the menace of the new groupings it is interesting to note that the *Neue Zeitung,* the official German language newspaper in Germany, recently published a special article on Neo-Nazism in which one of the paper's top German commentators wrote:

"There can be no doubt that the return of a new political 'Messiah' would be the signal for a coalition and drive to power of Germany's right-wing, including those forces still operating underground. A Fuehrer is needed —but he is all that is needed—to fuse the forces of Nazism and Neo-Nazism into a new crusade for the rule of Germany."

"Eyes Left . . . Shoulder Arms"

The "People's Police" in Eastern Germany—and what is really behind this new "Red Wehrmacht"

In his book, *Moscow Dateline*, former Associated Press correspondent Henry Cassidy relates a significant episode which took place on Easter Sunday, 1941, shortly before Hitler's armies invaded Russia. The Stalin-Hitler Pact was still in force, but the honeymoon was over and relations were already somewhat strained. Generalissimo Stalin had come to the railway station to bid farewell to Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka.

"He walked around . . . (writes Cassidy) *shaking hands on all sides, and then looked up as though seeking someone. He selected a German officer, Colonel Hans Krebs, one of the many standing stiffly at attention in their long grey coats, and approached him. Stalin peered up sharply at the officer's face, and asked twice: 'German? German?'*

" 'Yes, sir,' the officer said, saluting.

"Stalin shook his hand, 'We shall be friends. . .' "

According to Cassidy, at that time this episode caused some eyebrow-lifting and many people wondered why Stalin should have picked out a German officer in the farewell groups and expressed to him his friendship for the Germans.

This significant episode did not come as a surprise to those who had been carefully following Russo-German relations. Neither was Stalin's unusual statement at the height of the Battle of Stalingrad surprising, when he said that "*Hitlers come and go, but the German people, the German state will remain.*" Only naive persons or wishful thinkers could minimize or overlook the importance of this statement. How cleverly the Soviet leader, at a time when the fortunes of war were against him, started to plan his future policy toward Germany can be seen today. After Stalin's congratulatory message to the leaders of the Eastern German Republic was made public, the green light was given to an all out campaign to show the German people that Stalin and the Russians —contrary to the Western Allies—had never lost faith in the Germans, even during the war.

We have before us a large number of German newspapers of recent date published in the Russian Zone. Every editorial dealing with Russo-German relations stresses the point that Stalin has always stretched out his hand to the Germans and that "*Hitler's come and go. . .*" This and many other similar statements are published as "*proof.*" Some of these papers have established a regular column under the heading: "*Soviet Russia is the best friend of the German people.*" Others recall that back in 1922 the Leningrad *Pravda* stated after the signing of the Rapallo Pact:

"*We know that the time will come when the Soviet Union together with a Soviet Germany will form a great socialist and economic bloc, a bloc hard as iron, hard as granite on which the capitalists of the whole world will break their necks.*"

Against the perspective of these quotations, the present Soviet policy towards Germany can be understood. This policy of wooing the Germans shows once again the duplicity of the Soviets. Hector McNeil, the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, in a speech before the UN the other day, said that the Soviets are always accusing the Western powers of something they themselves have either been doing for some time secretly or preparing to do in order to have an alibi.

In democratic countries like the United States, Britain and France, the free press and those politicians and civic leaders who are opposed to certain aspects of policy say so openly and criticize and attack their government. The issue of permitting Nazis into key jobs in the Western Zones; the issue of rearmament, etc., are under steady attack in the Western countries by those who think that such a policy is unwise and dangerous. In the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries there is no free press and no opposition and the very fact that the Russians are going all out to woo the Nazis is completely unknown to the Russian people.

For instance, nobody in Russia knows that on November 9, 1949, the Soviet-sponsored Eastern German Republic, with special permission of the Soviet military authorities, has passed a law of complete amnesty for all the Nazis and officers of the German Wehrmacht. In the Russian Zone every Nazi and every former German officer can again vote, compete for public office, or resume his former profession or trade without any restriction.

This complete amnesty is being presented in Berlin as a triumph of the so-called National Democratic Party. It is well-known that this National Democratic Party is sponsored by the Russians for the purpose of becoming a rallying point for all former Nazis and members of the Wehrmacht who do not want to join the SED (Socialist Communist Unity Party). The Russian-controlled Berlin papers especially stressed the point that the amnesty had been suggested by Vincenz Mueller, former Major General and the present Deputy Chairman of the National Democratic Party, who once belonged to the Moscow Free German Committee. Under the slogan of a National Front, Mueller had for many months, under the very eyes of the Soviet occupation authorities, led a vigorous campaign for amnesty of the Nazis. Finally he drafted a 10-point proposal in which he significantly stated that "*the National Front must unite across all zonal borders, all Germans of good will from old antifascists to former members of the Nazi Party.*"

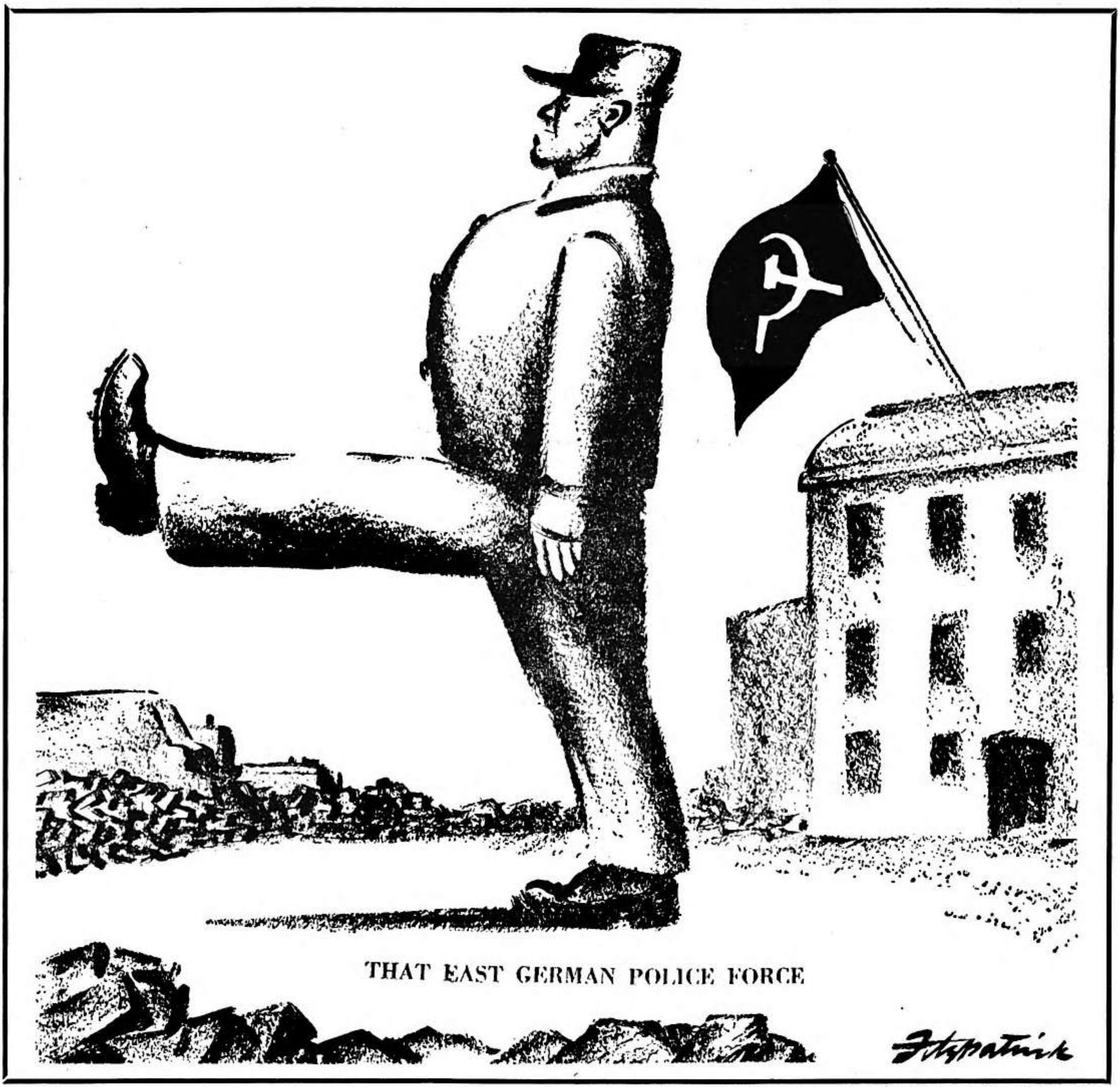
We have before us the November 10 issue of the *Taegliche Rundschau*, official organ of the Soviet military authorities, whose chief editor is the Russian General A. W. Kirsanov. In a screaming 5-column headline across the front page the paper proclaims the "*equalization of the former members of the Nazi Party.*" A front page editorial deals pathetically with that "*end of a phase.*" It eulogizes the amnesty as "*a necessary end of the darkest and shadiest chapter of German history: of*

Nazism." The editorial emphasizes that the amnesty "*eliminates the line of separation that existed until now and which separated the German people into 'tainted and untainted.'* "

Jubilantly the editorial proclaims that the new "*law gives to all former members of the Nazi Party and to all former officers whose conscience is not burdened with a crime the same chances and possibilities as all other citizens.*" Furthermore, the editorial proclaims hypocritically, "*these former Nazis and officers (who have remained in the Eastern Zone and have found a new existence there rather than move to Western Germany) have nothing more to do with the Nazi criminals by whom they once were seduced and deluded.*"

Here you have again a typical sample of Soviet action. Those Nazis who have remained in the Eastern Zone; who have joined the National Democratic Party and who work for a Russo-German alliance—are now honorable democrats while those who live in the Western Zone are still criminals!

The amnesty of the Nazis is being hailed all over Eastern Germany as a "*turning point of German history.*" Walter Ulbricht, the real Communist boss of the Eastern Zone, according to the *Nachtexpress*, openly declares: "*Since the end of the Hitler government many people who once were active Nazis have changed their former opinions. Even when these former Nazis have not yet completely accomplished this change, neverthe-*


THAT EAST GERMAN POLICE FORCE
Fitzpatrick

Cartoon by Fitzpatrick.—Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch.

less they see today clearly that the German nation is to be destroyed through the aggressiveness of the United States."

And Ulbricht adds: *"In view of this menacing danger for the entire German people we can no longer look into the former party membership of people but we have to ask ourselves if they have the sincere will to work hand in glove with every nationally conscious German who wishes a united nation, a just peace and a final retreat of the occupation troops."*

Western European observers consider this continuous appeal to the worst nationalist elements as extremely dangerous. They point out that the Kremlin's German policy has definitely passed the theoretical stage and that it has entered a new phase. In this connection attention must be called to another editorial, this one published in the Communist *Berliner Zeitung*. This editorial is titled *"1922 and 1949."* The editorial states that once again a hand is being stretched out to the German people. The new German Eastern government has decided to re-establish the policy of Rapallo on a much higher level and to conduct it to a happy end. The Rapallo policy in all Zones is the task of all Germans who love their Fatherland.

Everyone knows how dear to the heart of all Germans are their national songs. The new national anthem which was timed with the creation of the new Eastern German Republic has been written by two German Communists, Johannes R. Becher and Hanns Eisler. It is true the lyrics of this new national anthem speak of the wish that the beautiful sun shine again as never before over Germany; that happiness and peace should be given the Fatherland, etc., but in the midst of these sentimental words there are a few lines which have quite an aggressive character. It says, "*When brotherly we are united, we will defeat the enemy of our people. . .*" The question arises who the "enemy" is? The current propaganda slogan, "*Never again against the Soviet Union,*" leaves no doubt as to whom these Germans mean when they speak of the "*enemy*." In other words, instead of "*Deutschland ueber Alles,*" the new Communist-inspired national anthem implies that the Western Powers are the enemy and have to be crushed!!

Hand in glove with this subtle anti-Western propaganda, an outspoken hate-campaign against the Western Powers is openly fostered by the Germans. *Neues Deutschland*, for instance, published an editorial the other day which sarcastically stated that "*Germany's cities are not yet sufficiently destroyed. They must be ruined still more radically. Still more children and mothers must be killed by American bombs. . .*"

This propaganda emanates from the very same building which once housed Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. The building has been restored and its tenant now is Propaganda Minister Gerhard Eisler, commonly called the "Red Goebbels." The Nazis, big and small, and the former officers and generals of Hitler's Wehrmacht, must be particularly pleased because from the very same offices they hear at present an echo of the very same anti-Western hate slogans that they heard once before coming from Goebbels' lips.

Once again the "*pluto-democracies of the West*" are being smeared. Landrum Bolling, in a dispatch to the Overseas News Agency, reports that Gerhard Eisler is "*grinding out propaganda against the West, especially against the United States.*" Another ONA correspondent Ernest Leiser, in his dispatches emphasizes that "*the Russians and their Communist German supporters have been hammering away at the theme that, while the Soviet Army and airforces attacked only 'military targets' in Germany during World War II, the 'Anglo-American imperialists' concentrated instead on the 'deliberate slaughter of women and children, calculatedly seeking to destroy urban areas and industry to eliminate future competition'* . . ." And Leiser adds:

"*This propaganda is not without its effect in both the Eastern and the Western parts of divided Germany, since the Germans, forgetting their own 'deliberate slaughter' of the populations in Warsaw and Rotterdam, are bitterly and constantly reminded of Allied air raids by the ruin of all their major cities.*"

This whole aspect of Russian policy in Germany, with its special features of amnesty for the Nazis, combined with the stirring up of anti-Western hate among the Germans, is being undertaken with a clever psychological trick in mind. The idea is to hide behind these moves the continuously growing remilitarization of Eastern Germany. This process of remilitarization has been going on more or less secretly for the past six months, but in the last few weeks it has taken forms of an extreme and outspokenly dangerous character.

As Landrum Bolling rightly stated in one of his dispatches to the ONA, "*The development of the East German people's police now being rapidly expanded under Soviet instruction is waking an ominous ghost and conjuring up fresh perils to the peace and sanity of Germany and Europe.*"

In this connection it might be worthwhile to quote from a report published in *The Times* of London on November 23. As is well known, *The Times* is one of the finest newspapers in the world and has a reputation for calm and objective reporting. The story of *The Times* comes from its Berlin correspondent and contains hitherto unknown facts:

"*Information available here makes clearer than ever the military nature of the Bereitschaften, the special units of the 'people's police' of the Soviet Zone of Germany. About* 35 *of these formations are now known to exist. They are stationed in barracks in the larger towns and in strategic areas of the zone, and it is believed that the intention is to increase their number to* 50. *It is also known that the establishment of each Bereitschaft, which last summer was only* 250, *has been increased to* 1,200 *including about* 200 *men assigned to special duties.*

"*This increase is regarded here as showing an obvious intention to place the Bereitschaften on a more practical military basis, although so far few of the units have been brought up to the full strength of* 1,200. *At present the units do not carry out any ordinary police duties and appear to be exclusively engaged in training. There is every indication that each unit is being formed into a compact body under military training and discipline, and that the whole organization, with its ultimate strength of* 60,000, *could, like the army of* 100,000 *allowed the Weimar Republic, form the cadre of a considerable military force. . .*

"*Control of the Bereitschaften lies with a department for training (Verwaltung fuer Schulung), which has four main branches—training, political indoctrination (Politkultur), general staff duties, and supply. These branches are staffed by former German generals and veterans of the Spanish civil war, all of them specialists* *with wide experience. . .*

"The standard equipment is light and heavy machine-guns, mortars, infantry guns, sub-machine-guns, rifles, and entrenching tools. Recently an effort has been made to standardize equipment, and weapons of Czechoslovak, Russian, and Polish manufacture have been replaced by old German stock. . .

"Students are also being offered police commissions and former members of the Wehrmacht, especially with specialist qualifications, have been asked to register. The first Bereitschaften were formed in September, 1948, and a large number of prisoners of war who had received special training in Russia were drafted into them. . ."

Other European observers report that the drill of the people's police cadres recalls the old traditional Prussian military drill. The close-order commands are the same. *"Die Augen links! . . . Das Gewehr ueber!"* (Eyes left . . . shoulder arms.) *Time Magazine's* Berlin correspondent quotes a young German soldier as saying, after he came from such a people's police training session: *"Damn it. You feel like a man again when you hear those commands! You say to yourself 'Pull yourself together, get it right.' I am not a Communist but this Army is the only life today."*

The reports that the people's police has adopted a plan for the gradual introduction of conscription by the spring of 1950 should not be surprising. The conscription would, according to a report of the official American newspaper *Neue Zeitung* of Munich, affect each German resident of 20 to 25 years who is unemployed or not working on the two-year plan. These reports are being confirmed in Western European circles and it is added that the Russians are intensifying their German military training plan with the objective of having the East German militia at its peak strength by late spring or early summer of 1950.

It fits perfectly into this picture that the Soviets are promising the Germans in a hush-hush way certain territory compensations in the West. According to a report by Georges Blun, the excellent and usually reliable Berlin correspondent of the Parisian daily, *Le Monde*, the nationalistic Germans are being given the assurance that Soviet Russia will, some future day, sustain German demands for the Saar and even for Alsace-Lorraine!

E.T.

LEAVE IT TO JOHN J. McCLOY

Recently, we received a letter from a prominent American criticizing John J. McCloy for freeing sixty leading German war criminals. This indignant citizen declared that it was his opinion that "if Hitler were alive today it would be logical for McCloy to free him too. I say this," wrote our correspondent, "because the criminals who were pardoned were key figures in the Nazi regime and there is no essential difference between the crimes they committed and those perpetrated by Hitler himself."

His letter reasoned as follows:

"For example, *Georg von Schnitzler*, who was a leading bigwig in the I. G. Farben chemical empire, participated in the plundering and despoiling of Nazi occupied countries. Hitler would have also been convicted on that count.

"Take the case of *Emil Puhl* who was a director of Hitler's Reichsbank. In cooperation with the Reichsbank, Puhl turned into war cash the gold teeth and jewelry taken from slaughtered concentration camp inmates and gas chamber victims. For, this he was convicted of atrocities against civilian populations. Hitler, too, was a party to these crimes and would have been convicted on that count.

"Or take the case of *Karl Hallidt*, a member of the German General Staff. He was charged with having been one of the planners of the Polish and Yugoslav invasions and was convicted of atrocities against war prisoners and conquered civilian populations. Hitler, too, was a key figure in the planning of these invasions and the atrocities subsequently committed.

"In addition, we learn that McCloy has freed a group of criminals who were found guilty of cruelty to American fliers and concentration camp inmates. Now Hitler was also a participant in this kind of atrocity and therefore would also have been found guilty."

This is indeed a very harsh judgment against Mr. McCloy. Our correspondent seems to assume that the action taken by the American High Commissioner was motivated by other than humanitarian feelings.

Certainly Mr. McCloy is not one who would let such criminals off easily. This is indicated by a *Times* dispatch from Frankfurt, December 19th, in which it was reported that these criminals *"may be returned to serve out their terms for any new misconduct."* This is a sharp warning to von Schnitzler that if he again resumes his role as an espionage agent for I. G. Farben against the United States and participates in renewed attempts to plunder other nations, John J. McCloy will return him to jail to serve out his sentence.

Likewise, this serves as a warning to Dr. Puhl that if he resumes his quaint hobby of extracting the gold teeth of new victims, John J. McCloy guarantees that Puhl will be arrested at once.

In the case of General Hallidt, Mr. McCloy's warning applies equally. Should this German General be found planning new invasions of Poland and Yugoslavia, he would immediately be carted off to jail.

The criminals who committed atrocities against American fliers would of course be put into prison at once, should they participate in crimes of a similar nature. Thus the American people can relax, knowing that Mr. McCloy will exercise extreme vigilance in the future regarding these criminals.

Very thoughtful of Mr. McCloy. . . .

Consequently, does it not appear that our friend's criticisms are somewhat exaggerated?

To be sure none of these criminals upset or embarrassed the cartel plans of Mr. McCloy's friends or their German counterparts. Is it, therefore, not logical that Mr. McCloy should show his charity and leniency?

WHY has Mathilde Ludendorff, widow of the World War I German Field Marshall and co-founder of the Nazi Party, been permitted recently to hold unlicensed meetings of her so-called Tannenberg Bund in the American zone despite the fact that her organization is devoted to spreading anti-Semitism and chauvinistic nationalism?

Champions of Free Enterprise?

by
JEAN PAJUS
Part Two

ON HUMAN STUPIDITY

A prominent American educator published some years ago a book titled "History of Human Stupidity." In it, the author attempted to show that the history of humanity is one of stupidity. The latest reports reaching us from Western Europe seem to corroborate the findings of this learned man.

It is hard to believe these reports for they read exactly as if they were written 30 years ago. Briefly, they tell of secret meetings now going on between the steel interests of Germany, France, Luxembourg and the Saar for the purpose of making a new international steel cartel. These interests seem to be in a great hurry to conclude their private agreements lest the people learn about them and lest the International Ruhr Authority, established on December 28, 1948, becomes effective.

One stands aghast at these goings-on. They bring to mind the immediate post-war era of World War I. France's dead were scarcely buried when Louis Loucheur, French Minister of Reconstruction, was bargaining with the Germans to form an international cartel.

The bargain was finally concluded and the link was forged which later enabled Hitler to rearm Germany for aggressive purposes. As the pages of the inter-war period unfolded, the results of these deals conclusively showed that Germany's partners were duped, because the cartels they entered into became a weapon of German diplomatic aggression, economic penetration, and, finally, ruthless warfare. The victims were France, Belgium, Luxembourg and others.

A few months ago, when the establishment of the Adenauer government was greeted with unstinted praise as one embodying the true spirit of free enterprise, we made an analysis of Germany's industrial history—iron and coal—and we showed that for a period of 100 years, those industries never applied the principles of free enterprise. It was also pointed out that the free enterprise system cannot thrive under the new Chancellor Adenauer, because he is the personal representative of the Ruhr heavy industry. We did not expect, however, that events would bear us out so quickly. Yet that is exactly what happened. Early in November of 1949, Adenauer sent a message to his neighbors urging them to establish the international steel cartel embracing the Ruhr, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Saar. We are still waiting for an explanation from the press which was so lavish with praise for Adenauer's devotion to free enterprise!

And while we are waiting, we think it appropriate to take a look at Adenauer's outstretched hand—the German steel industry. Let these French, Belgians and Luxembourgers who are so eager to seize this hand take a good look at it and see for themselves what is hidden in it.

How much free enterprise existed in the German steel enterprise? Did it play fair with the German people? What was its contribution to the peace and security of the world? What does it have in store for its neighbors?

The German steel industry has been dominated for years by a small oligarchy of industrialists sitting on top of a few holding companies with interlocking directorates and cartel arrangements. The industrialists heading these giant combines have been the financial and, to a considerable degree, the political masters of Germany under the Kaiser, the Weimar Republic, and the Third Reich, feeding upon government contracts while constantly driving for war and spearheading Germany's economic domination of France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans. The iron and steel industry has been concentrated in a few concerns which saw to it that the government foster laws favorable to them—at the expense of the German people. The policies of the German government were framed by them, aided and abetted by their friends in the international cartels. This concentration has facilitated the all inclusive domestic cartelization of the industry to the point where approximately 300 cartels regimented Germany's steel and iron industry at the outbreak of World War II. By 1942 there was not a single segment of the German steel industry that was not cartelized.

THE BACKGROUND

The origin of the steel cartel dates back to the 19th century. Prior to the unification of Germany under Bismarck, depressed economic and political conditions precluded the possibility of a strong centralized steel industry such as was then developing in the U. S. and England. However, under the Empire, events conspired to favor the rapid growth of the German industry. This was particularly due to the harsh peace terms imposed upon the French by Bismarck when Germany acquired Lorraine with its huge iron ore reserves. Another factor was the discovery in the late 1870's of the Thomas (basic Bessemer) process which permitted the utilization of Lorraine's high phosphorous content ores.

Germany's industrial development was very rapid. This was due principally to her armament programs, protective tariffs and the overall expansion of world trade prior to 1913. This period also witnessed the rapid development of selling associations and cartels, with the resulting establishment of vertical integration of Germany's large firms. Outstanding examples of this development were the Krupp and Thyssen firms. The Krupp firm was the first to realize the political and commercial advantages of acquiring adequate raw material supplies. Accordingly, it proceeded to acquire large holdings in the coal, iron, steel, fabricating, engineering and armament industries. Through political influence, which has been a potent factor in the Krupp progress, potential armament competitors were bought up or frozen out.

August Thyssen started his expansion in the 70's with rolling and tube mills. Later he acquired coal and iron mines and constructed the famous Thyssen Hutte at Duisburg which, in 1929, became a part of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

Unlike the cartel development in the coal industry which began as early as 1842, the steel cartels began their development much later. The impetus was provided by the huge coal cartel R. W. K. S. The establishment of this cartel in 1893 was the result of the efforts of Emil Kirdorf. He was the first to conceive the idea of acquiring the power to dictate the price policy of coal and coke industries. The syndicate included all coal mines not owned by the iron and steel producers and was therefore in a position to stabilize the prices at a profitably high level. Naturally, the steel producers resented Kirdorf's prices and began acquiring coal mines.

Since Kirdorf was unable to impose his prices on coal mined by the steel producers, he saw his own coal cartel threatened. As a result, he was forced to extend his interests to include iron and steel mills in order to provide a ready market for his coal output.

Eleven years later, in 1904, a sufficient number of iron and steel combines existed to cartelize this industry. Although prior to that period cartels for semi-finished and finished products had been organized, they were ineffective, small, and were little more than sales organizations authorized to regulate prices in marketing conditions.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE PAY THE PRICE

In 1904, the Stahlwerksverband, the top producers' cartel was established and the principal role was played by Kirdorf. This cartel provided for production quotas and for a two-priced policy:

(1) low export or dumping prices to establish a world market for surplus production against foreign competition and

(2) high monopoly domestic prices supported by the government and protective tariffs.

The first losers were the German people.

Two years later, a series of moves was launched to incorporate related industries such as transportation, navigation and public utilities. Simultaneously, a movement was set afoot to acquire foreign assets and to organize foreign subsidies. It was during this period that big banks first invaded the industry by arranging loans to the larger companies, thereby strengthening their position in the heavy industry.

By 1910, Kirdorf felt that a reorganization of the steel industry was necessary. He felt that the German steel production should be further expanded in order to beat its foreign competitors. By 1913, Germany's steel production reached 17½ million tons—second only to that of the United States. Although Germany was then preparing for war, which the steel industry helped to unleash, the steelmasters were most anxious to push their sales abroad. Thus, despite the Reich's heavy rearmament program, Germany exported approximately one-third of her total production. This clearly shows the policy, which became much more pronounced later, of developing capacity well beyond domestic demands and of building up export markets to compete with, or to prevent the growth of, the home industries in other countries.

GERMANY'S NEIGHBORS PAY THE PRICE

The net result was that Germany's neighbors found themselves in a distinctly inferior industrial position. These countries were left at the mercy of the German steel production. The results of this policy were clearly shown during the first months of World War I, when Germany's victims did not have the wherewithal to resist Germany's aggression. On the other hand, the fully developed resources of Germany's coal, iron and steel industries, enabled the Kaiser to enter the war fully supported by the strength of a unified and coordinated heavy industry, led by Krupp, Kirdorf, Thyssen, Poensgen and Reusch, who were well prepared to effect a more rapid conversion to war production than their prospective victims.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

As was to be expected, the Kaiser's government was duly grateful to the German industrialists for their contribution to its preparedness program. On the other hand, the German heavy industry regarded the government and the military class as its ally in future expansion.

The same German characteristics that respected large armies saw nothing inherently wrong in the regimentation of industry either by cartels or by trusts. Indeed, the German industrialists could point with pride to the tremendous growth before World War I as compared with that of Britain. The following figures will show why no criticism availed.

PRODUCTION

Figures in millions of tons

	Pig-Iron		Crude Steel	
	Germ.	UK	Germ.	UK
1887	3.5	7.6	1.7	3.0
1913	16.8	10.3	17.6	7.7

EXPORT

	Iron & Steel		Coal	
	Germ.	UK	Germ.	UK
1887	1.4	3.9	8.8	23.3
1913	6.3	5.0	34.6	73.4

Dr. Alfred Hugenberg, Chairman of Krupp (later Minister in the first Hitler cabinet) was an ardent Pan-Germanist eager to use every available means for the intensive propaganda in support of his schemes for the annexation of Belgium, Luxembourg and Lorraine. Hugo Stinnes, one of the biggest post-war I profiteers, was equally active in the exploitation of occupied territories, persuading Germany's major industrialists to combine for the utilization of Belgian plants, the transfer of machines to Germany, and the use of forced foreign labor.

August Thyssen and the Roechling brothers who had heavy interests in the French heavy industry, with the aid of French collaborationists, utilized their French holdings to aid the Pan-German movement. But seemingly all these facts were completely ignored after Germany's defeat in World War I, and are still being ignored today.

THE STEEL INDUSTRY RECOVERS HER LOSSES OF WORLD WAR I

Germany's heavy industry suffered a heavy blow after World War I. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany ceded 80% of its iron ore, 40% of the pig iron, and 35% of its ingot capacity. Lorraine was returned to France. The Saar with its coal fields and plants was held by France for 15 years. Luxembourg, representing heavy German financial and industrial interests, was temporarily removed from the German economic sphere. By 1920, the German steel production had dropped to 9.2 million tons and a further loss of German steel capacity was sustained in 1922 when a major segment of Upper Silesia was ceded to Poland after the Plebiscite.

However, the German industrialists did not concede defeat. They began a campaign to show the German people, as well as the world outside, that the iron and steel concerns were the core of stability essential to the economic recovery of Germany. This propaganda succeeded. The Weimar government proceeded to make huge indemnities to the iron and steel industry in order to compensate them for their investments lost under the Versailles Treaty. In addition, millions were paid to these industries to construct new facilities in Germany. With one huge backlog of war profits and government indemnities, and assisted by the spectacular inflation which prevailed in the early 20's, which created an abnormal demand for cheap German exports, the iron and steel industry rapidly replaced the obsolete and worn-out equipment ceded to the Allies with large modern plants, so much so, that by 1922 the German steel industry had recovered sufficiently to account for 21% of the world's steel production.

The inflationary period in the 1920's favored the big concerns, particularly the vertical trusts, the number and importance of which greatly increased.

THE REPUBLIC DID NOTHING TO CURB THE POWER OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY

Thus it can be seen that within a few years of the Weimar rule, the big industrialists who had been the economic collaborators of the pre-war militarists, were as powerful as ever. As early as 1923, a Law was passed "Against the Misuse of Economic Power" which aimed at restricting the activities of cartels and syndicates. This Law prescribed that all agreements regulating supplies and prices were to be written, giving the Reich Minister for Economic Affairs the right to appeal to the Court against any such agreements deemed by him to be contrary to the public interest.

If the appeal was upheld the Court could declare the agreement null and void. In practice, however, the results were quite different from those intended by the Law. Moreover, by enacting a cartel law, further legal recognition was automatically given to cartels. Most of the cases which came before the Court concerned the right of parties to secede from cartels, and most of these, again, were settled in preliminary arbitration proceedings.

The record of the Court proceedings shows that the arbitrators were extremely mindful of the cartel interests and not inclined to leniency to the recalcitrant members.

THE REORGANIZED CARTELS

By 1924, the steel industry felt that a reorganization of its cartel system was necessary. On November 1, 1924, the Rohstahlgemeinschaft was established to regulate production. All the members had to report their orders to the cartel, but no attempt was made to achieve a more direct control of prices or sales, this being the function of the subsidiary syndicates.

Thus the efforts of the German government to control the cartels came to naught and the iron and steel combines kept growing in size. Stinnes, who lost heavily in Lorraine, Luxembourg and the Saar areas, successfully negotiated a 30 year contract with the eagerly cooperative French ore interests. As early as 1920, he succeeded in forming the Rhein-Elbe-Union combine. The establishment of this group of basic industries dominated by Stinnes exerted a powerful political influence on the Weimar Republic, and any proposed government action inimical to Stinnes' interests or to their foreign affiliates, was immediately stopped. During the inflation period, Stinnes, with the backing of bankers, expanded into almost every line of industry in Germany, and the foreign interests of Rhein-Elbe-Union grew worldwide. In addition, Stinnes succeeded in acquiring the Alpine Montan Company—the richest ore deposits in Austria.

Similarly, the Thyssen interests which lost heavily under the Versailles Treaty, came back fast. Prior to World War I, Thyssen had acquired iron ore mines in Normandy, and with the help of French interests, constructed steel works at Caen. Although the French were anxious to resume their pre-war relations, Thyssen decided to concentrate on building up his empire in the Ruhr. It was Thyssen who supported Hitler and became most active in rallying the German industrialists to the latter's cause.

The early 20's saw a strong rapprochement between the German and French iron and steel producers. Most active were the Roechling interests which controlled mines and blast furnaces in Lorraine, steel works in the Saar, as well as widespread interests in Germany.

Hermann Roechling was the foremost opponent of the Saar occupation between 1920 and 1935. Despite his pronounced anti-French sentiments, even before the Versailles Treaty was signed, Roechling was able to gain the cooperation of the French interests. Joint sales agencies were established by Franco-German interests.

Special mention must be made of the establishment of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke. The successful floating of the Dawes Plan in 1923 was used by the German industrialists for the purpose of enticing foreign capital into their country. The steel industry took ample advantage of American liberality to merge four large complexes: the Rhein-Elbe-Union (Stinnes), the Phoenix (Otto Wolff), the Thyssen group, and the Rheinische Stahlwerke, largely controlled by I. G. Farben. American money made the establishment of this super-combine possible. In 1926, this super-combine represented more than 50% of the then existing steel industry. The money was provided by a $125,000,000 bond issue floated by Dillon, Read & Company. Although publicized as a sound investment in view of its assured future position, trade circles in the U. S. regarded the merger with apprehension and feared not only competition in world markets, but invasion of domestic markets as well.

AND THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT HAPPENED

Strengthened by the establishment of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the German industrialists became powerful enough to force their foreign competitors into joining the international steel cartel, with Ernest Poensgan, Fritz Thyssen and Albert Voegler, all of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke and most active in its founding.

The Vereinigte Stahlwerke represented the entire German steel industry in the international steel cartel and dominated it ever since its founding. During the Nazi regime, it spoke and acted for the government not only at the headquarters of the steel cartel—Luxembourg—but in all foreign countries.

The foreign agencies of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke gathered intelligence for the government and collected funds for its political activities. To the coordinating center of this international network in Duesseldorf flowed a steady stream of political and economic intelligence from all parts of the world. The Vereinigte Stahlwerke agencies abroad, on their part, acted as centers for the distribution of Nazi propaganda.

Although Britain at first refused to join the steel cartel, it succumbed in 1935. By 1938, the U. S. steel interests became a party to it. With the establishment of the international steel cartel, the German steel industry acquired its dominant world position. World War II showed what the German steel industry's contribution to Hitler's war machine was.

CAN GERMANY PRODUCE STEEL CHEAPER?

It is frequently asserted that Germany produced steel cheaper than her neighbors. This too is one of the myths popularized by German propaganda. Not only were the Germans not able to produce steel cheaper than their neighbors, but the German government itself in 1930, after an extensive investigation of the German industry, flatly declared that the depression in 1930 was the result of the German corporate structure of large combines and their monopolistic power over the domestic market.

The following table shows the domestic and foreign prices, and explains how the German steel industry succeeded in acquiring the industrial dominance over Europe:

Product	End of Year	Home Market F.O.B. Ruhr	Export Market F.O.B. Antwerp
		(Prices per Metric Ton in Gold Marks)	
Semi-Finished Steel Billets	1929	119.0	90.0
	1932	96.5	39.0
Semi-finished Sheet Bars	1929	124.0	93.0
	1932	101.0	40.0
Finished Steel Bars	1929	141.0	105.0
	1932	110.0	48.0
Finished Steel Joists	1929	138.0	89.0
	1932	110.0	48.0
Finished Steel Heavy Plates	1929	160.0	125.0
	1932	127.0	57.0

It will be noticed that even in 1929, when business was extremely good and there was an international cartel in force to check excessive competition, German export prices were on an average of 27% lower than home prices. By 1932, export prices were less than 45% of export prices in 1929.

THE STEEL INDUSTRY UNDER THE NAZIS

The steel industry was the first to benefit from the Nazi regime which it helped to establish. It was the first to take advantage of Hitler's rearmament program. One of the first enactments of the Nazi government was the exemption from taxation of all income spent on replacement of capital equipment. This inducement to install modern equipment became a major factor in the conversion of production facilities to the requirement of the armament program. Under the Weimar regime, the German industrialists enjoyed government subsidies for the erection inside Germany of the plants to replace those lost in ceded territories, and had been kept busy by a home market bolstered by lavish spending and reckless borrowing abroad. Under the Hitler regime, rearmament took the place of public works and the general standard of living was not allowed to recover from the low level to which it had been forced by Bruening's emergency decrees.

Thus crude steel production, which had been as low as 5,770,000 metric tons in 1932, rose to 19,208,000 by 1936. This is the year, incidentally, that is called "normal" by the American special interests in their drive to rebuild Germany's heavy industry.

The Nazi regime did not bother the German steel cartel. The so-called Economic Groups created in 1934 were intended to compel industries "to conduct their affairs in the spirit of the National Socialist State."

After the announcement of the four-year plan, the economic groups were most anxious to assist the Nazi government in the use of domestically produced substitutes for imported materials. At the end of 1934, an Iron and Steel Supervisory office was created—a government body—with powers to issue decrees affecting the industry.

THE NAZI TOP CARTEL

In 1942, realizing that the war program could not be continued without the full productive capacity of the steel mills, all reserves of iron and steel were mobilized, scrap campaigns were intensified and rigid control measures decreed. The *Reichsvereinigung Eisen* was organized under Roechling, as chairman, to dictate every phase of production and distribution. This was known in Germany as "Esge," or *Eisen und Stahlgemeinschaft in der Reichsvereinigung Eisen.* All German firms that previously remained outside cartel organizations became compulsory members of Esge. (See previous article in Prevent World War III, No. 32.)

Special emphasis was placed on the self government of the industry. How important the establishment of Esge was can be gauged from the fact that the whole German press gave it the treatment accorded only to the deeds of the most prominent Nazis.

The following Nazi industrialists comprised the Board of Esge:

Chairman: General Director, W. Zangen (of the Mannesman Tube Co.).

Deputy Chairman: Direktor Scheer Hennings (Reichswerke Hermann Goering), Direktor Schwede (Vereinigte Stahlwerke).

Members of the Board: Dr. Burkart (Flick Group), Direktor Heimann-Kreuser (Arbed, Luxembourg), Generaldirektor Make (Otto Wolf Group), Herr M. C. Mullter (Berghutte, Teschen, etc.), Generaldirektor Tgahrt (Hoesch), Generaldirektor Kuchinka (Eisenwerke des Protektorats Bohmen-Mahren).

General Managers: Direktor Maulick (a member of the board of the Stahlwerksverband), Assessor Fabor (Manager of the Reichsvereinigung Eisen).

Of special significance to the world is the fact that Esge was not only of the utmost importance to German wartime economy but also to the post-war period, for, anticipating defeat, the German steel industry saw to it that it retain the power gained during the regimes of the Kaiser, Weimar and Hitler.

These Nazi-appointed officials, who were directing the Esge top cartel, are today back in power again in their respective industries.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

On October 19, 1949, a group of leaders of the heavy industry met at Cologne and decided to establish a committee to study economic questions—Auschuss fur Wirtschaftsfragen. This committee comprises 32 national federations. The purpose is to frame a constitution for a National Association of German Industries. The guiding spirit is Dr. Reusch, an intimate friend of Schacht, and a former German representative of the Bank for International Settlements, Basel, Switzerland, and one of the spokesmen for the German steel industry.

Chancellor Adenauer is the spokesman for this group, and is at present pressuring High Commissioner John J. McCloy for an Allied initial investment of 300 million marks in the German steel industry.

To recapitulate, German heavy industry gained its mastery through the following means:

A. The Imperial Protective Tariffs and armament programs.

B. The compensations paid by the Weimar regime to those who lost their plants in Lorraine on condition that the money be spent on new plants inside Germany.

C. The encouragement given to capital development by currency inflation between 1914 and 1923.

D. The public works and construction boom inside Germany between 1924 and 1929 resulting from lavish spending of central and local authorities and borrowing in foreign financial markets.

E. The Nazi rearmament program.

F. There was never free enterprise in the German steel industry.

What has happened to the steel industry since Germany's second defeat? Not much! The 4½ years of occupation gave birth to the famous Law No. 75. Its main point says that the Germans themselves will determine—after the establishment of a government freely elected—the ownership of the steel industry. Stripped of its phraseology, this point means that instead of having six or seven top combines, the new German steel industry will be controlled by between fourteen and twenty combines.

The Germans have a word for it: *Es ist eine alte aber immer neue Geschichte*—an old but always new story. Will the French, Belgians, Luxembourgers ever listen to it?

Will our own policy-makers listen to it before the American people become again the victims of "Human Stupidity"—or of greed?

World War I
Germany defeated.
Dismantling begun,
But never completed.
World War II
Germany defeated.
Dismantling anew,
But never completed.
(*Leon Gelfond in the New York Post*)

From Pastor Niemoeller to Herman Abs

A new phase in the strengthening of "cultural" ties between the Germans and the American people is under way. The Germans are beginning to discard their fronts in the U. S. which labored so arduously during and immediately after the war to preserve the good name of the German people. Apparently, they are confident that the "poisonous war propaganda" about their crimes against humanity has been purged from the minds of forgetful Americans.

FIRST HERR NIEMOELLER . . .

One of the first to pioneer in this new approach was Pastor Martin Niemoeller. It will be recalled that he visited this country shortly after the end of hostilities. Since he came as a Minister of God and posed as a repentant sinner, it was comparatively easy for him to make public appearances in this country. Pastor Niemoeller's appeal was directed in particular to religious groups who were anxiously seeking for an indication that the Christian spirit among the Germans had not been completely destroyed by the long years of Nazi indoctrination! Niemoeller was therefore welcomed despite his notorious record as an ardent pan-German. (See reference to Niemoeller in editorial, "Auction for Germany" on page 5.)

Niemoeller's successes in the religious field opened the way for other members of the German clergy to tour the U.S.A. Thus, it was becoming more and more evident to the Germans that they could effectuate a solid "cultural" understanding with the American people, even apart from their pro-German mouthpieces in this country.

Consequently, they took out of the mothballs another representative of German "culture," this time, Count Felix von Luckner. Von Luckner first made his reputation as the German submarine commander who spearheaded the U-Boat warfare campaign during World War I which resulted in the loss of thousands of lives. By the time he had visited the U. S. in the 1920's, von Luckner's militaristic inclinations and his close association with the German General Staff were discreetly played down. Now he was the glamour boy—just an old "romantic sea pirate"— an "old salt" who loved ships, kissed little babies, and would not even hurt a fly. His exploits in the U. S. during the 1920's was simply overwhelming and he very proudly described his tour in his book "*Seadevil Conquers America.*" It was a cynical tale of how von Luckner succeeded in "*squeezing tears from the ladies' eyes and dollars from the capitalists' pockets.*"

. . . THEN HERR VON LUCKNER . . .

Von Luckner was a specialist in tear-jerking stories about the poor, poor Germans. On one occasion, he relates "*they (the American ladies) came with tears in their eyes and gave me their hand and said 'You have restored the best in us—the love of your fatherland.'*" He was wined and dined and made an honorary citizen of many cities in the U. S. "*All doors, even in the most exclusive circles, were thrown open to me,*" bragged von Luckner. "*The most fashionable clubs entertained in my honor. I lectured in 300 clubs, 36 of them made me an honorary member. My many lectures at universities were attended by thousands upon thousands of students who in a few years as men will influence the opinions and policies of their country.*"

The old romantic "sea pirate" has now returned to the scene of his first propaganda success. On his recent arrival in the U. S., he told reporters that he will speak to American youth whom he is confident can be depended upon in the future to shape U. S. policies in a way that would be favorable to the German cause. Von Luckner has memorized his lines well. It is a safe bet that if he is successful, other agents of the German General Staff will follow in his footsteps.

As would be expected, German efficiency is carefully guiding this "cultural" drive. There is a division of labor which extends even to the field of high finance. For this purpose, the Germans have chosen Herman J. Abs. Unlike Niemoeller and von Luckner who came to the U. S. with fanfare and noise, Herr Abs arrived under a thick veil of secrecy and silence. Why all this hush-hush? Admittedly, there is nothing "romantic" about Herr Abs, but that would not explain his modesty. Abs may not be as well known to the American people as Adolf Hitler, but Hitler would have remained an obscure hair-brained agitator were it not for men like Abs.

Abs is a major war criminal and this is known to the State Department and John J. McCloy. Abs never fired a gun, but he was the paymaster for the gunmen and it was he who gathered up the loot. Instead of being placed on trial as an arch war criminal for looting and spoliating the occupied territories. Abs has become a leading figure again in German banking circles. As a matter of fact, he is Chancellor Adenauer's financial brains.

Abs was the leading spirit of the notorious Deutsche Bank which, according to U. S. Government documents, was an "*excessive concentration of economic power and a participant in the execution of the criminal policies of the Nazi regime. . .*" These same official documents reveal that it was the Deutsche Bank which "*showed the way to all German commercial banks with its contributions to the rearmament program. It provided the Reich with vast funds for rearmament purposes.*"

. . . AND NOW HERR ABS . . .

Abs, as head of the management committee of the Deutsche Bank, made certain that the Nazis had plenty of guns and tanks with which to conquer other peoples. His power and influence with the Hitlerites was described by Baron Kurt von Schroeder, the German banker and midwife of Nazism, as "tremendous."

Von Schroeder added "*Abs proved very valuable to the Party and to the Government by using his bank to assist the Government in doing business in the occupied countries and in other countries.*"

With the help of German bayonets, Abs became a member of the Board of Directors of the "*most important industrial and financial organizations in countries dominated or occupied by the Nazis.*" In addition, U. S. Government documents disclosed that "*by personal acquisition of former Jewish property (Abs) became an* *even more direct beneficiary of the Nazi regime.*"

It seems that Abs has always been allergic to publicity. He was content to allow Schacht to take the bows. This was clever strategy for it enabled him to work behind the scenes with greater efficiency.

U. S. Government officials reported that Herr Abs' grip on the "*German economy was so great that both Hjalmar Schacht and Walter Funk independently stated that 'Abs from the Deutsche Bank' was one of the few men in Germany who might be able to clarify for the American authorities some of Germany's past operations.*"

Finally, the War Department in March, 1945, characterized Abs as among those leading German financiers who "*in an outstanding way thrived under National Socialism . . . welcomed it in the beginning, aided the Nazis to obtain power, supported them in office, shared the spoils of expropriations and conquest, or otherwise markedly benefited in their careers or fortunes under the Nazis.*"

Space does not permit us to continue enumerating his criminal activities, but is it not clear from the above that Herr Abs has good reason for staying in the shadows?

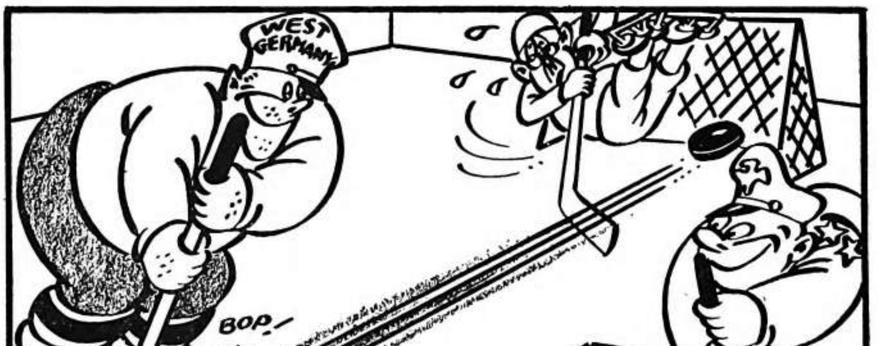
Why has Abs come to the U. S. and whom was he talking to? Why was this war criminal permitted to come here and who are his friends and protectors?

Could it be the Chase National Bank, Kuhn and Loeb, or Dillon, Read again?

What future catastrophes are being planned for the American people again by Herr Abs and his friends?

Here is the new "cultural" drive of the Germans. It is operating on all levels. It appeals to the religions, to the youth, to the ladies, to the military, and last but not least, to certain elements in the financial community who are eager to make a dollar at the expense of American security.

Is it not strange how easily these agents of pan-Germanism and Nazism are able to enter the United States? Times have changed, it seems, and it is no longer fashionable to get excited about the crimes of the Germans. The "new" policy, as The New York Times stated very recently, consists in "*riveting a reviving Germany to the Western World. . .*" It is not a "new" policy. It is the same old program which embroiled the world in two devastating German wars. Indeed, Germany is reviving—the same old Germany symbolized by the likes of Herr Abs.


WEST GERMANY
BOP!
BOP!
BOP!
VEP

PERFECT TEAMWORK

"Democracy Is Your Business"

The following is the text of a broadcast recently made over Station KVOR in Colorado Springs, Colorado, by commentator Clen Robertson. Mr. Robertson's series of broadcasts, which he delivers every Friday at 9:30 p.m., are devoted to a discussion of topics vital to the preservation of American democracy.

"In fascist and communist countries, the leaders tell the people what to do. In a democracy the people tell the leaders. That's why democracy is your business."

These are the words with which Clen Robertson's comments are introduced to the listeners. The particular broadcast which we publish here is considered by the editors of Prevent World War III *as a clear analysis of a much discussed problem.*

We are often reminded of the great contribution to our American history made by German Americans; Von Steuben who gave us our drill regulations in the American Revolution; Karl Schurz who led in the relentless fight against slavery; the millions of farmers who draw from the Valley of the Mississippi the nation's food supply; names like Eisenhower, Nimitz, Spaatz, Huebner, who lead our forces in war against Nazi brutality. Every newspaper, every radio today carries the name of some German American high in the business, political or diplomatic life of his country. As a matter of fact, our German Americans are a selected group. Their ancestors were men and women of courage who loved liberty, repudiated tyranny and braved the unknown stretches of sea and land to breathe the free air of America. For a century or more those democratic tastes have grown stronger under the stimulus of a free life in a free land.

Meanwhile, the Cousin Anna and Onkel Karl they left behind were being immersed in the brutalities of Bismarck's blood and iron, the Kaiser's patent leather goose step and Hitler's Dachau and Buchenwald. Let me assure you from first-hand observation that our own Americans of German descent are a different breed of cats from the people of Germany today.

For instance, German drivers of American cars will frighten and often injure their own people in order to spread antagonism toward the American occupying forces while we are spending several billion dollars a year to feed and clothe them. German mothers almost push their baby buggies under the wheels of American vehicles to show their disdain. This ability to put hate above love is not American.

Flying back from Germany to the funeral of my mother, I was seated beside a priest of German descent. He was returning home to America from what he thought would be a last visit to his own sick parents in the old country. Our mutual bereavement raised our conversation far above my Protestantism and his Catholicism. After a night of talk and somewhere above the endless glow of an Atlantic sunrise, we agreed that the German in Germany had lost his ability to distinguish truth from falsehood and right from wrong. Hitler's twelve years of brutal killing and more brutal propaganda left only the weak, the too old, the too young, or those who were hopelessly twisted.

It is tremendously important to the security of this country that our citizens of German descent should at one and the same time be charitable toward the shattered mentality of their German cousins and yet should recognize the tremendous gulf which it creates between them.

For beginning with the earliest German immigration to America, strong forces have tried to enlist the German American under the banners of the Fatherland. The settlers of Missouri in 1834 left Germany under the auspices of a society whose ideal was not the search for individual freedom but the foundation of a new Germany in North America. In 1835 the Germania Society called German residents of Wisconsin not to the enjoyment of democracy but to the preservation of German speech, customs and traditions against destructive American influences. German settlers in Texas had to repudiate their parent organization, the Mainzer Verein. The purpose of that company was not to transport future American citizens, but "to plant German nationality in the West where it would some day become an incalculable advantage to the Vaterland."

Efforts of German agencies in World Wars I and II to turn the German American population to Pan-German uses are well known. Less known is the extent of those efforts today. Sparked by recent arrivals from the old country, the German American press has recently villified General Marshall and his plan, characterized Dachau as a place of "harmony and beauty" and tried to soil the life and work of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, far beyond the decent limits of political partisanship.

Much of this activity has centered around a group called the Steuben Society. This Society proclaims a strictly loyal character. It is named after the German hero of the American Revolution. It includes many honest and unsuspecting German Americans. But since 1919 the Steuben Society has both hidden and given voice to the worst agents of German tyranny. Its leaders paid respectful visits to Adolf Hitler and his Nazi "Institute of Germans abroad." They have smeared in turn the League of Nations, the Fourteen Points, the Atlantic Charter, a tough peace for Germany and everything which might bring order in a world where Germany sought to profit by chaos.

In the last few years the Steuben Society has urged its members to organize the votes of 32 million German Americans into a German racial bloc. On December 13, 1946, the German language newspaper, *California Staatszeitung*, published a letter entitled "Americans of German Descent, Wake Up." The letter says in part, "It is high time for us Americans of German descent to merge into a great powerful political group . . ."

As to foreign policy, Howard K. Smith, CBS correspondent in London, reports that in the past few weeks we have given much pleasure to the ghost of Hitler. The Allies of World War II, increasingly divided among themselves, are raising up a strong but un-denazified Germany, beside peoples impoverished and tortured by the Nazi war machine. What can account for this madness?

Is this America? Could such things happen here?

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Pretense of Security

by

ERNEST LEISER

MILITARY SECURITY BOARD

Nearly a year ago France, Britain and the United States agreed to form a Military Security Board as the *"watchdog of the occupation."* Today that watchdog is still badly in need of a menacing growl and a sharp set of teeth.

A considerable number of British and French technical experts in Frankfurt and Berlin believe that the Board as presently constituted is inadequate to *"do a job,"* even granted German cooperation. And it is naive, they believe, to expect the Germans genuinely to support the activities of an agency whose main purposes are to control industrial development and scientific research and to prevent the military or paramilitary use of German manpower. It becomes especially naive when the board itself is too weak to enforce that cooperation.

The total planned strength of the Military Security Board, including secretarial help, is only 250—approximately 83 for each of the three participating nations. Although the French and British have their full components, there are only 58 American *"professional and clerical"* staff members now assigned to the MSB, only about half of whom are in investigative jobs.

Those jobs involve an enormous area of responsibility. The men who hold them are charged with scrutinizing all scientific research, all industrial plants and all German manpower in the United States zone, to see that none of the restrictions or prohibitions imposed in these fields by the Allies is being violated.

There are 16 Americans with scientific training checking on all phases of research in science in the U.S. occupation zone. Since there are thousands of laboratories of all sizes and kinds throughout the zone, obviously only the larger ones can be checked at all, and only superficially. Approximately the same situation obtains in the industrial field; and only in the Military Division can the MSB's investigators keep anything like an adequate check.

The total personnel working in connection with the functions of the Board is still far too small, critics insist. And they point out that the three Powers still have not been able to agree on a location for a permanent headquarters for the body, further complicating the work of the skeleton staffs.

To achieve the aims outlined for the Military Security Board, it is believed, there can be no reliance on German "cooperation," either in the provision of statistics or in the control of investigations. Past experience has shown that the planned controls can only be effective if vigilantly operated by sizeable and qualified staffs.

It is to the German interest to twist or pad statistics on such a subject, say, as steel output. How can they be expected, therefore, to be scrupulously correct in their reports?

It is to German advantage to operate a number of industries prohibited by Allied directive. Why should German inspectors report to the Allies that those plants are operating, even if they are?

Either the Military Security Board should be strengthened to a point at which it need not rely on any outside agencies for its information, critics of the present setup say, or else the pretense of investigation might as well be abandoned. To say that the MSB at present provides real *"security"* is simply dangerous self-delusion.

"OCCUPATION STATUTE" FACADE

Officially, the Occupation Statute through which the Western Allies have agreed to control the new West German Federal Republic cannot be revised until the fall of next year. Actually, the Statute has already been basically, if unofficially, revised and the controls of the new state made far lighter than originally planned . . .

Perhaps the most important *"reserved power"* to be largely lifted, in the legal experts' views, is that over foreign trade. A new decision of the High Commission has given to the Federal Republic power to draw up its own trade agreements with foreign countries, an authority up to now held tightly in Allied hands. The Germans can conduct their own trade talks and reach their own decisions. While the Allies may withhold approval of such agreements, it is not expected that they will be vetoed often.

To strengthen this new German authority, the Allies have now also ruled that the Germans may establish consulates, commercial offices and trade missions throughout the world. This is an unexpectedly long step forward to German trade autonomy, despite terms of the Occupation Statute.

In addition, the Allies have now largely turned over responsibility for *"decartelization,"* once regarded as one of the

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Could the millions of grandsons of German-American settlers be so duped by the slick talkers of Nazidom as to be stampeded into a political bloc and over the precipice of national disunion? These are delicate questions. They must be raised and they must be answered.

One thing is already certain. In its war against Communism, this nation will not survive intrigues from what Theodore Roosevelt called "Hyphenated Americans," German-Americans, Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Anglo-Americans. For all of our ancestors arrived here from other shores. If the lands whence we came keep a stern hand on the shoulders of respective national groups, seeking to steer each in the course beneficial only to the old country, this nation will have no policy of its own but only a babel of conflicting national minorities. That would be the ruin of American democracy.

No, the day has come when you and I must renew allegiance to ideals peculiarly American. To the conviction that truth does exist; and falls not from the commanding mouths of Communist and Fascist supermen, but rises rather from independent agreement of simple reasonable people; allegiance to the conviction that people of all races have found happiness in America, within limits and laws protecting the happiness of others, limits set for each by his own conscience, and laws passed for each by his own vote. We must renew allegiance to the unified nation thus created and thus preserved. We must re-commit the power of that nation to the protection of simple people everywhere under all nations and to the association of those nations with reason and independence in unity and in peace.

The Case of the Nazi Bigwigs In Argentina

by
JUAN ACEVEDO

A host of high-ranking German Nazis now hold key government posts in Argentina. Not only have hundreds of Hitler's former hirelings secured haven under dictator Juan Peron, but many now occupy strategic positions in the police, the transport and agricultural ministries, and top military and industrial projects, including atomic research. Moreover, the 60,000 influential members of the Argentine Nazi party continue to wield political power, despite the party's official dissolution in 1944 and Peron's iron-fist policy towards Socialists and liberals.

Among the Nazi bigwigs now in Argentina, according to information reaching the Argentine Socialist party, are *Anton Pavelich,* former Nazi gauleiter of Croatia; *S.S. General Otto Skorzeny,* who rescued Mussolini from imprisonment; ex-gauleiter of the Tyrol *Hans Hofer,* sentenced to death in Austria; former Gestapo chief *Robert Kessler;* and a host of former officials of the Foreign Office, SS, Hitler Jugend, *Volksgericht* (people's tribunal), and the *Wehrmacht.*

Most important strategic centers penetrated by the Nazis are the government's research laboratory and air force training bases at Cordoba. There, according to Seften Delmer of the London *News Chronicle,* 300 German technicians are hastily working on atomic energy research and new designs for jet-propelled aircraft.

In charge of the jet research is *Prof. Willy Tank,* former aircraft engineer for Hitler who goes under the name of Mathies. The atomic research is directed by a German named *Decker.*

According to Delmer, "three aces of the German air force are at the head of the German groups which are training the Argentine Air Force: *General Adolf Galland, General Baumbach,* and *Col. Hans Ullrich Rudel.*"

Delmer also believes that former Black Sea commander *Admiral Litzman* is now a top adviser to the Argentine Navy's High Command. And *Dr. H. Theiss* and three other former Gestapo members are now teaching Gestapo methods to the Argentine secret police, the English journalist charges.

Long before these accusations, the Socialist party of Argentina compiled an impressive list of ex-Nazis now receiving succor and support from the Peron regime. It was Socialist Deputy Silvano Santander who asked the government to explain the surreptitious arrival of Pavelich. According to Santander, the ex-Croation gauleiter arrived in the disguise of a priest aboard the Italian vessel S.S. Andrea Gritti.

Santander's query was never answered, nor were his questions about former Gestapo technician H. Theiss. Santander named *Dr. F. Adam, H. Richner,* and *J. Paech* as the three other ex-Gestapo men aiding Theiss to sharpen up Peron's secret police.

The Socialist deputy also first charged that Tank, Skorzeny, Galland, and Rudel were working in the top echelons of the armed services as technicians. In the ministry of Transport, Santander declared, were no less than 22 ex-Nazis who arrived in Argentina in 1947. They got high posts as a result of negotiations carried out by Dr. J. Hensath, another German. Their names:

Franck Schulte, Walfort Schlichting, Ernest Stamm, Wilhelm Banike, Kurt Kunner, Egon Bonner, Albert Wisner, Radu Bratesca Huber, Karl Keller, Christian Schmidt; Wilhelm Tigges, Karl Kallus, Werner Jahus, Eric Lippeheide, Eusebio Sticts, Heinrich Buhelle, Roland Siegel, Funck Waligens, Heinrich Krets, Frederick Walfgandt, Wilhelm Bambe, Frederick Mulhelm.

A prewar Nazi newspaper, *Freie Presse,* has been continued under the direction of *Robert Kessler,* a former SS colonel and Gestapo hatchet-man who at one time functioned as a Sudeten newspaperman in Czechoslovakia. This paper also employs Hofer, the ex-Tyrolese gauleiter whose career has been even more interesting. Hofer was once sentenced in Austria for sexual crimes, but he acquired a huge bankroll (through expropriations of Jewish property) during the German occupation of Tyrol. He escaped the death sentence and now lives with his wife in Bariloche.

Kessler, Hofer and *Karl von Merck,* former chief of Nazi espionage in Brazil, are also the editors of the magazine *Der Weg* published in Buenos Aires. This magazine was banned by American Military Government from Germany as an out-

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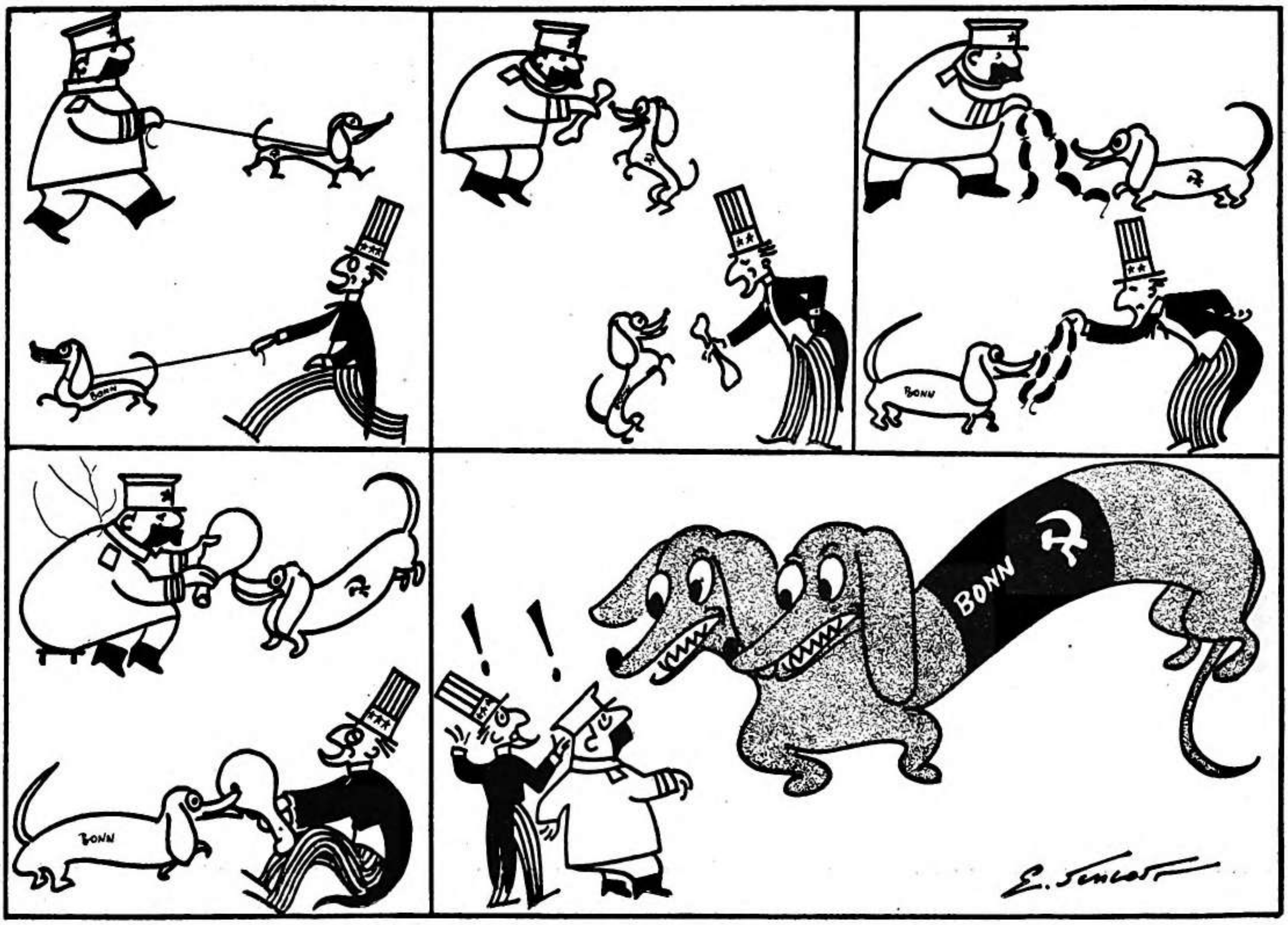
key reserved powers, to the German Federal Government.

Since Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has maintained close relations with the "industrial barons" of the Ruhr, it remains to be seen with what vigor that responsibility is discharged; nevertheless, for better or worse, Britain, France and the U.S. have given the task to him. Similarly, the Allies have given to the Adenauer Government primary responsibility for the prevention of discriminatory trade practices, also listed by the Statute as a reserved power.

While *"disarmament and demilitarization"* still remain under Allied control, through the Military Security Board, the Germans have now been given "co-responsibility" for enforcing them. Dr. Adenauer has promised, as one condition of the Allied concessions on dismantling, consular relations and shipbuilding, to cooperate with the Security Board. This in itself is a considerable modification of the original meaning of the Statute, the lawyers say, since the Allies originally did not intend to require, or rely on, German initiative in this field. The same modification has also taken place in the related reserved powers of scientific research and industrial restrictions.

Foreign affairs does still remain under General Allied control, the legalists concede. However, they maintain, even here the presence of consulates gives the Germans a big opening wedge, as does permission to conclude their own trade treaties.

By default, the German regime has also virtually assumed the power to enforce *"respect for the Basic Law and the State Constitutions"* which the Allies had reserved to themselves. In the intensity of their desire to *"give the fledgling Government a chance to try its own wings,"* the Allies have consistently kept hands off in cases apparently involving violations of the Basic Law or of "democratic government."



Cartoon by Schloss.—Courtesy France-Amerique.

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and-out Nazi sheet. *Von Merck,* expelled from Brazil during the war, returned to Germany and was sent, by personal order of Hitler, to the *Junkerschule* (political school).

Another Freie Presse contributor is *Dr. Hochleuten,* former judge advocate in Hitler's tribunals. After the war, Hochleuten escaped to Spain, where he served in Franco's Foreign Ministry for a while, before coming to Argentina.

Various lesser Nazis are employed in the agriculture ministry and in the airplane factories and agro-technical Institute at Cordoba.

Now receiving 1,400 pesos a month salary, and 1,700 pesos expense allowance at the Agriculture Ministry are *Albert Louis Durigen, Max Voigt, Helmuth Weekamp* and *Detlef Klose.* Each has a one-year contract with an option for renewals.

At the Cardoba installation, receiving from 1,000 to 1,400 pesos a month are the following:

Roland Kalpas, Rudolf Freyer, Johan Puffert, Georg Neumann, Theodore Quast, Hermann Brunemann, Rudolf Veigsberger, August Siebricht, Paul Klages, Eik Werner, Wilhelm Bansemir, Reimar Horten, Kurt Rothe, Otto Ernst Pabst, Hans Schubert, Karl Schaaf, Herbert Wolff, Ludwig Mittelhuber, Otto Behrens, Friedrich Heintelmann, Ernst Schottler, Erwin Ruth, Gustav Pluger.

The Argentine Socialists conclude their charges with this indictment:

"Peron's Argentina aided and promoted the military revolutions in Peru and Venezuela; it gave arms to Morinigo to crush the Paraguayan democrats; it sent arms and funds to the bloody September revolution in Bolivia; it conspired in Chile according to formal charges brought by the President of that republic, Dr. Gabriel Gonzalez Videla.

"It is through conspiracy and revolution that Peron-nazism and Peron-communism are agitating for a divided Latin America.

"Was not this the objective of Nazi strategy?"

(*Courtesy of the New Leader*)

". . . The Germans struck me as being just as aggressive and determined as they were then. I saw no indication they consider themselves a defeated nation. Elsewhere in Europe, I found conditions tough, but the people were leisurely and calm. But in Germany, practically everyone was rushing around as if they were again preparing to take over the world."

(Rep. John Blatnik upon his return from Europe)

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

OLD BANKERS BACK IN WEST GERMANY

Jack Raymond reports to The New York Times from Frankfort, Germany:

"Leading personalities of the big German banks during the Nazi period are making their way back into bank institutions in Western Germany and initiating practices that appear to be developing monopolies, it was reported by a high German source.

"The former big bankers are returning as directors of the decentralized institutions that were created by the military governments after the end of the war, he said. They are not responsible to a board of directors or to a general meeting of stockholders..."

★

INFLUX OF EX-NAZIS

Ernest Leiser reports to the Overseas News Agency:

"There has been a new, rapid influx of former Nazis into government posts of all kinds since the Federal Republic of Western Germany began operation two months ago, according to information collected by the staff of U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy.

"One report notes a 'continuous increase' over the past year, with the sharpest rises in the last 60 days. Another declares that the 'bars are practically down' in the U. S. Zone State of Bavaria.

"Despite the aforementioned findings by his staff members, Mr. McCloy stated recently that he did not regard the current trend of German nationalism to be extreme in nature and that he saw no imminent danger of the formation of 'Neo-Nazi' groups.

"This would appear in conformity with the position of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer that, in the new State, there should no longer be any attempt at discrimination between non-Nazis and Nazis except those in the highest categories. His justification is that the time has come to forget the political past in order to achieve political 'solidarity.'...

"A recent survey in the U. S. zone State of Hesse shows that the most rapid influx of former Nazis has been in the Finance Ministry where an estimated 55 per cent of those at policy-making levels and more than 80 per cent of those in the middle, or working, levels were persons coming under the denazification law.

"Ironically, the figures are even higher at the policy-making level, and almost equally as high at the working level, in the Ministry of Justice, which includes all persons employed in the state judicial system. The 'Culture Ministry,' which runs education in the State, employs former Nazis in approximately 35 per cent of its top posts and in 40 per cent of those at lower levels.

"All these percentages, U. S. officials note, are far higher than they have been and they indicate that, in a considerable number of cases, non-Nazis have been 'released' from the civil service ranks to make way for the former Nazis who were intrenched in the posts until dismissed after the collapse of the Hitler Reich."

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"MUTUAL CONFIDENCE REIGNS..."

From a dispatch by Ernest Leiser datelined Bonn, Germany:

"During the brief visit of Secretary of State Dean Acheson to Germany in November, the West German Federal Republic took a long step toward reacceptance of what statesmen hereabouts call the 'Family of Western Nations.'...

"For the first time since the conquest of Nazi Germany, an American Secretary of State has been treated on terms of equality with the representatives of a German Government. Observers who accompanied him note that at no time was the protocol of Mr. Acheson's visit that of the victor vis-a-vis the vanquished. . . .

"In his call on President Theodor Heuss, titular head of the Federal German Republic, the American Secretary of State went through the same amenities which any Ambassador or Foreign Minister would observe in visiting the President of the United States. Mr. Acheson cheerfully and obligingly cooled his heels in the reception hall of the Presidential castle until Dr. Heuss indicated readiness to see him...

"Nor was it by any means only what he did which made clear the Secretary of State's attitude toward the 'new Germany.' It was also implicit in virtually everything he said. He hoped, he declared, that his visit had established 'relations of trust and confidence, and personal regard' between the German heads of State and himself. He stressed strongly that the intention of the United States in Germany was to 'assist' the country; he proffered that assistance in the terms and in the tone which he might have used had he been speaking to former allies, not former enemies...

"A good many Allied observers, especially those with day-to-day contact with Germans at the 'working level,' are inclined to doubt seriously whether there has been sufficient political and moral rehabilitation in Germany to warrant Mr. Acheson's new approach. The German political leaders, however, have been quick to seize its import. They have seen the Secretary of State's evident determination to make friends in Western Germany, and have already indicated their intention to set a price—in new demands for concessions—for that friendship...

"The Secretary of State had made it clear that the Germany he visited was no longer an enemy land, but rather a country of potential allies."

★

THE FOLLY OF OUR POLICY

From a column by Dr. Frank Kingdon in the New York Post Home News:

"...Whenever any critic of our policy in Germany objects to the restoration of German industry, he is immediately accused of saying that there are no good Germans. This is not our position at all. There may be many good Germans, but German industry is in the hands of bad ones.

"Since German industry dominates the business of the country, its owners and managers rule Germany's economic life. This makes them the most powerful persons in the nation...

"The industrialists ran the Kaiser and made Hitler. They moulded the social system which produced the German who blindly followed these two megalomaniacs.

"My criticism of our present German policy is that we are putting these same men back into power, and thus perpetuating the system which will continue to produce the same kind of Germans...Our present policy gives Germany no chance to create a democratic government...This is a focal point in the folly of our German policy..."

A NEW BLACKMAIL

From a Berlin dispatch to the Overseas News Agency:

"An important Western German daily newspaper, one licensed by the U. S. Military Government during its efforts to create a democratic press in Germany, has now brought 'counter-charges' of war crimes against the Western Allies.

"The Muenchner Merkur, published in Munich, has just printed an editorial in which it demands the Allied conquerors 'forget the past.'

"'Not only do the German people reject the (Allied) charge of collective guilt,' the newspaper declared, 'but we also believe we are justified in making counter-charges. When British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin speaks of the bombing of Coventry and London, we talk of Dresden and Wuerzburg.

"'If the German people are accused of systematically murdering five million Jews, we point to the barbaric expulsion of 15,000,000 Germans from their homes after the war, and the resultant death of 4,000,000 of these'...

"Now that the Western Allies are taking rapid steps to include West Germany in the European 'community of nations,' German publicists are more and more frequently arguing that exclusion was unwarranted in the first place.

"Inherent in this theme is the implication that, unless the Western Allies are willing completely to forgive and forget, the Germans will accept the 'caresses' of Soviet Russia. One U. S. official noted that Dr. Adenauer, now West German Chancellor, declared in Berlin last winter that German support of the West was dependent on 'how well the West treats us.'

"Discouraged Americans who have been charged with the job of 'reorienting' Germany toward a repudiation of Nazism, recognition of war guilt and comprehension of Western democracy, have cited the Muenchner Merkur editorial as additional evidence that their mission had, at least in part, failed.

"Although the editorial can be considered an attack on the 'prestige of the Allied Forces' and therefore a violation of the Occupation Statute under which the Western Powers control the new German State, no punitive action has been taken, or is being considered..."

GESTAPO MAN WORKS FOR SOVIETS

William Attwood reports to the New York Post Home News from Berlin:

"...Although the M. V. D. is keeping a tight grip on Germany, routine Russian intelligence functions are being gradually turned over to trained German specialists who learned their trade under Hitler.

"The new East German republic, for example, is creating a counter-intelligence organization whose chief will be Hans Adelbert Baeumler, a former official in the Nazi Sicherheitsdienst. This outfit, to be called the state security office, will have agents planted in all German ministries in innocuously entitled Information Divisions.

"This is part of the trend towards letting German Communist stooges administer the Soviet zone—under watchful Russian supervision.

"That's why you see so few Russians in uniform on the streets of Berlin—and so many armed German 'People's Police...'"

HITLERIANA

From an article by R. K. in the U. S. News and World Report:

"German editors are finding that few things attract readers like a picture and story of Adolf Hitler. In recent months, dozens of publications have printed special articles about the Fuehrer and his life. The demand seems to be growing.

"Little-known individuals and well-known personalities out of the Nazi past have been writing to 'tell all.' Among others, memoirs have been published by valets, adjutants, secretaries, mistresses and chauffeurs of Hitler and other members of the Nazi inner circle...

"This recent trend toward Hitler stories is being investigated by U. S. officials, who already have made a preliminary report to John J. McCloy.

"'What is disturbing,' the report says, 'is the fact that there seems to be a flourishing market for the Hitler literature. The general impression left on the reader is that the Fuehrer was, after all, rather a good Joe, more sinned against than sinning.

"'The apparently growing appetite of the German people for literature which slyly glorifies the Fuehrer is catered to by an increasingly impressive list of weeklies . . .'

"Another type of Hitler literature is typified by three books that have been widely syndicated for newspapers in serialized form. These are 'Hitler as Strategist,' by former Army Chief of Staff Gen. Franz Halder; 'The Last Month,' by Luftwaffe Gen. Karl Koller, and 'Settling Accounts With Hitler,' by Hitler's former Economics Minister and financial expert, Hjalmar Schacht. The latter book alone sold 300,000 copies. These books place the blame for Germany's aggression, defeat and subsequent troubles on Hitler's shoulders alone.

"There seems to be a vogue for still another type of Hitleriana. One Stuttgart weekly is publishing in installments a series of conversations held with Hitler's ghost by a medium identified as Madama Fr. Ch. According to the medium, Hitler said:

"'Today from the beyond, I see things from an entirely different point of view. We worked knowingly to build up an arms industry to prevent economic chaos...We committed errors which could only end in the catastrophe of unconditional surrender. But not everything for which we strove was bad...'"

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DARK PERSPECTIVES

Drew Middleton reports in the New York Times:

"One of the most disturbing elements in the German picture is that at the moment when nationalism and neo-fascism are reviving, the end of dismantling has left Western Germany with a steel production capacity that British experts estimate at about 15,000,000 tons.

"Here, in the Ruhr, there are strong fears among British officials that the end of dismantling may be followed by the removal of existing controls on coal and steel production and the recovery of control by the Ruhr industrialists who backed Hitler.

"These fears are shared by United States officials on the Combined Coal Control Group...

"The officials fear the return of German control for two reasons. The first is that the old owners will be in a position to back any radical right-wing party that appears to insure their hold on industry and that will keep labor at bay.

"The second reason was expressed by a British official who said: 'If the old bosses get back, they are the fellows who can and will "play" with the Russians. We and the Americans have fought to keep the Russians out of the Ruhr. But if the owners get back, once they find there's a market in the East, they'll make economic agreements with the Russians. They'll make money and the Russians will get what they want.'

"Henry Parkman, U. S. member of the Authority, sees the Authority as 'a consultative and study' group rather than an executive body. Under such circumstances it is difficult to envisage the Authority's exercising of the basic controls enforced by the two existing groups...

"...'In that situation the Bonn Government will know what the Authority wants to do immediately and will be able to oppose it and to propagandize against it,' one official said. 'The essence of control is secrecy'..."

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"THE NOBLEST SERVICE TO THE FATHERLAND"

Ernest Leiser reports to the Overseas News Agency:

"The best-dressed men in Eastern Germany today are the members of the 'people's police.'

"As a part of their effort to build up this para-military force to its target strength the Communist bosses of the new East German 'Democratic Republic' are now issuing smart, military-type uniforms to all 'volunteers.'

"Throughout the Soviet zone, there is at present an acute clothing shortage. The population is shabbily clad, almost entirely still in pre-war costumes. In contrast to their raggedness, the 'people's police' stand out in sartorial splendor. Only the top men in the Communist party and a few industrialists who have thrown in their lot with the party hierarchy can match their elegance.

"At the same time, a new publicity campaign is on to make service in the 'people's police' attractive to young men—and women. It is described as 'the noblest service to the Fatherland' and 'a career to which we desire to draw our finest young men.' Young men who are jobless are 'asked' to join the police ranks—if they indicate conscientious or other objection, they are drafted for service in the Soviet-zone uranium mines and, in infrequent cases, thrown into prison...

"The most recent analysis made by Western sources, on the basis of information obtained from the Eastern German Interior Ministry itself, has set the target strength of para-military police at 110,000 and total police target strength at 170,000. Present strength, as indicated, totals approximately 280,000.

"This group, Western sources note, may not be as large as reports up to now have indicated, but it is certainly larger than normal security for a 'nation' of 17,000,000 people would warrant. Western intelligence also expresses greater concern with the type of training—in military formations, with heavy weapons, and in barracks—given, than with the numbers of the 'people's police' themselves."

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". . . One cannot warn early enough against a revival of German militarism, no matter how well supervised.

"Many Americans being as fairminded as they are, have held that Hitler came into power because the Treaty of Versailles after World War I was too harsh on Germany. Nothing is more fallacious than this statement. The opposite is true: Hitler was helped into power by the fact that the disarmament clauses of the Treaty were not carried out properly. . .

"If our policy of helping Germany establish a second democratic republic is to succeed, Germany should stay disarmed. Militarism of the German-Prussian brand and democracy are incompatible. Aside from communism, the perils that threatened the Weimar Republic of Germany came from the Reichswehr, as the professional army was then called. The German generals persuaded the old president von Hindenburg to give Hitler a chance by appointing him chancellor; the first truly democratic regime Germany ever had was buried in the trenches dug by the militarists. Rearming Germany, and helping Prussian militarism again to rear its ugly head, would endanger the second German democratic republic we are trying so hard to get started...

"If Germany were called upon to rearm, and her army were integrated into a composite European force, German generals would regain authoritative power. In addition, there are German generals belonging to the rightist camp who have always been in favor of cooperation with Russia, despite the fact that Russia is a Communist state. Quite a galaxy of German officers joined the Free Germany Committee in Moscow after they had been taken prisoner, and many of them are still serving in Eastern Germany with the Russian occupation administration. They would not regard themselves as Benedict Arnolds if they were to sell out to Russia; they would consider themselves true German patriots for having made a military alliance which, in their opinion, will redound to Germany's everlasting good. . ."

(From Gerhard H. Seger's article "German Rearmament Revival of Militarism" in the New Leader)

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NEO-NAZI INSOLENCE

A substantial number of Jews in the French occupation zone of Germany are receiving postcards, postmarked Freiburg, requesting them to "report to the State Crematorium for extermination," according to a dispatch appearing in the newspaper, Droit et Liberté.

One such postcard, the account stated, addressed to Jews at Emmerdingen, read:

"As you have reached the required age, you should report immediately to the State Crematorium, Portal No. 9, Furnace No. 36, Door No. 5, in order that your bodies may be burned. You should bring some firewood, coal and a container for your ashes, which will be used for the manufacture of soap. You should close all pores and openings in your bodies so that your gases will not poison employes of the crematorium."

* * *

NO NAZI LEANINGS . . .

Herbert Blankenhorn, righthand diplomatic attache to German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in his negotiations at Bonn with the Western Big Three was a notorious pre-war agent of the Nazi regime in the U.S.

Blankenhorn was attached to Hitler's Washington Embassy staff as Secretary at the time of Pearl Harbor. During the preceding three years he had collaborated with Manfred Zapp and Guenther Tonn, well-known Nazi agents who were arrested and deported.

* * *

BIDDING FOR THE GERMANS

Richard S. Weil, International News Service Staff Correspondent, reports from Berlin:

"A high American source said the Allies may be forced to establish a West German military force to meet the threat of a 400,000-man East German Communist police army reported in the making.

"Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky was disclosed to have authorized the vast Russian-equipped East German puppet force on his recent stopover in Berlin.

"A leading U.S. official said the Western powers may have to sanction a Bonn-controlled counter-force 'if the Russians are successful in building a Communist army on the scale they apparently are planning'."

* * *

ROVING CATTLE?

The ONA reports from London:

"A resurgence of anti-Semitic propaganda in the German press of the Western zones . . . resulted in a recent wave of desecrations in Jewish cemeteries, reaching a new peak and thus necessitating greater efforts at placing memorials to Nazi victims under international protection. The German authorities are either unable or unwilling to bring the perpetrators to justice, and most of the time attribute the desecrations to 'playing children, gypsies or roving cattle.'

"The latest of a series of outrages was the erasure of one zero in the figures engraved on memorial headstones at Belsen, former site of a Nazi extermination camp, indicating the number of victims buried in each mass grave, thus reducing the figure 5,000, for example to 500—2,500 to 250, and so forth. 'Probably for such acts, roving cattle were also responsible,' was the bitter comment of Joseph Rosensaft, leader of the Jewish Central Committee in the British Zone."

* * *

DR. ADENAUER'S IDEA

Harold Callender to the New York Times from Paris:

". . . Dr. Adenauer's suggestion to pool the Ruhr with its neighboring rivals looked to experts like a revival of the former European steel cartel under a new guise. . .

"If this is Dr. Adenauer's idea, it runs directly counter to the known views of Mr. Hoffman, who considers cartels the antithesis of what the European Cooperation Administration seeks in Europe. . . A new European steel trust would presumably not foster competition. . .

"The Western Germans have found it difficult to reconcile Dr. Adenauer's steel proposal with their professed aim of replacing the traditionally controlled German economy by a free one.

"Steel experts say that if permitted to do so, German and French steel interests would return to an international cartel as ducks to water; particularly since the French steel industry has an excess of ingot production and would like to send it to Germany for finishing. Thus French steel producers would favor increasing German steel capacity as regards finishing plants.

"It is generally assumed here—even in the political circles where higher German steel output is regarded as a red flag to the French public—that expansion of German stel production beyond the present limits is inevitable as dismantling is wound up. . . ."

* * *

ALL OVER AGAIN

Student "corporations," known in pre-Nazi times as centers of super-nationalism and political reaction, have now been re-established at all the major universities of Western Germany, according to a report just completed by the Student Council at the Free University of Western Berlin.

To the outside world, the corporations were best known for the swordmanship they sponsored in their membership. Duelling, with saber-scars as symbols of prideful distinction, has been their most publicized tradition.

However, the Free University report noted that duelling is one of the lesser evils sponsored by the corporations. Not only are they exerting a strong influence in support of the caste system which has long characterized German higher education, but they are working closely with the near-Nazi political parties which have sprung up in West Germany since the new Republic was formed.

They have been given active backing by the class of "Alte Herren"—the old-line academicians—who are once again striving to recreate the universities in the image of German imperial times, when students were members of a political elite. Efforts by student groups of new types—such as the Free University's Student Council—have been seriously curtailed in competition with the corporations by lack of funds and backing. The corporations have had both.

* * *

"DOWN WITH THE ANTI-NAZI TRAITORS . . ."

A Reuters dispatch reports from Munich:

"The Bavarian de-Nazification ministry has ordered preliminary proceedings to be started against two Bavarian political leaders for alleged 'neo-nazism.'

"They are Karl Feigenhansel, leader of the extreme

(*Continued on page* 33)

Germany: Back to 1921?

by CAROLUS

East and West are struggling, each in its own way, to get possession of Germany, of the German labor force and the German industrial plants, including those in the Ruhr; they are casting covetous eyes on the human and material war potential of these seventy million people in the heart of Europe. The lamentable power politics of the post-war period have brought the European problem to a head in Germany, just as they have brought to a head in Europe the conflict which has divided the world into two armed camps and threatens it with a catastrophe of measureless proportions. . . .

The West puts its trust in the appeal of democracy. Moscow relies on its almost religious faith that capitalism is dying. Moscow does not intend to stand still on the Elbe; it wants all Germany. And if the Western powers think they can defend their Germany with the democratic idea of a United States of Europe, Moscow counts on marching to the Rhine under the banner of German nationalism and German unity.

In this contest for Germany the West has certain valuable trumps. It has the nine million refugees who fled to the Western zones from the East. It has the traditional hatred of the Germans for Poles, Czechs, and indeed all Slavs. The tragic fate of Berlin speaks for it, as do the dictatorial processes in the East German state, the concentration camps, the compulsory labor, and in comparison with West Germany, the low standard of living. Surely these things ought to immunize West Germans to contagion from the East; Soviet Russia and its East German state have not many attractions to offer.

But Russia has a trump to use against the United States and its allies in German nationalism and autocracy, which are much more deeply ingrained in the German psychology than internationalism and democracy. It has another trump in the conflict of interests within the Western bloc—the disagreements over the dismantlings, over the Saar region, over the solution of the West German state's primary problem, the export of its products. Unless it can export, the new state cannot live—cannot keep its people at work, cannot feed them. It is getting along fairly well today, thanks to Marshall Plan aid, but tomorrow, when that aid stops, it will collapse like a house of cards.

Whatever lives has its inner dynamism; and seventy million Germans have a tremendous will to live. Of course, they are reaping every possible advantage from the competition for their favors between East and West; of course they are playing off one against the other. And it is not surprising that the sense of power thus gained is developing into an unbridled arrogance that makes their so-called re-education pure farce. They are probably building on sand and will again meet catastrophe—but that is beside the point. The only thing that matters is whether the Western powers will be able to save their protégé from being drawn into the orbit of the East, and perhaps even make it a magnet for the twenty million Germans in the Russian-controlled East German state.

The high commissioners for the Western Allies—McCloy, Robertson, and Francois-Poncet—do what Washington, London, and Paris prescribe, and that is in most cases the wrong thing. In the interest of their own countries they meddle in German politics and business, paying particular attention to the industries of Rhineland-Westphalia, which produce the bulk of Germany's coal, iron, and steel. A vast majority of the German people—not only the Social Democrats but all of German labor, including the workers organized in Catholic unions—have openly demanded the nationalization of key industries. They cannot envision either a democratic or a peaceful Germany if these industries remain in private hands.

The preservation of the status quo will mean that the same powerful financial interests which have two world wars and the Hitler regime on their conscience will become the masters of the new state. The opposition of these interests to the Socialist reorganization of the German economy, which is the precondition of real democracy, is reinforced by the admonition of the United States: Germany must be made safe for private enterprise. . .

Though Chancellor Adenauer's majority is made up of many opposing elements, his government has shown itself to be a faithful and efficient steward for private business and the propertied classes. It is already hated by the people. The Parliament simply serves as democratic scenery; if it should aspire to be more than that, its smoldering antagonism to Dr. Adenauer would develop into an open conflict which might quickly bring on a government crisis.

Private enterprise, a Continental coal-and-steel trust, European Union—unfortunately, all these together will not raise German exports to the level required for the economic and social stability of the West German state. West Germany's export market is in the East, and the middle-class elements squinting in that direction are considerably stronger than official propaganda tries to make out. Russia could throw open that market. A few

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nationalist Fatherland Union Party, and Karl Meissner, chairman of the right-wing German Bloc Party and a member of the Bavarian State Parliament.

"According to local press reports, 70 former Nazi SS officers, Gestapo agents, and members of the Gestapo security service attended a secret meeting of the Fatherland Union December 15.

"A usually reliable source said Herr Feigenhansel shouted at the meeting: 'Down with the anti-Nazi traitors who have sold out to the Allies.'

"Social Democrat Jean Stock told the Bavarian Parliament December 16 that Herr Meissner said at a meeting of his German Bloc Party at Memmingen December 8 that the present political system in Germany 'must be crushed.' "

★

Why?

WHY was Herbert Blankenhorn named diplomatic attache to Dr. Adenauer despite the fact that he was a notorious pre-war Nazi agent in the United States?

WHY did the State Department not protest the nomination of Blankenhorn who, as secretary of the Nazi Reich's Washington Embassy, worked hand in glove with Manfred Zapp, the most prominent Nazi propagandist in the United States?

WHY was Dr. Achenbach designated Foreign Minister of the Western German Government, a man who from 1940 to 1944, during the German occupation of France, was first attache at the German Embassy in Paris and a close friend of Otto Abetz?

WHY did Dr. Max Brauer, Mayor of Hamburg, see fit to declare during his recent visit to the U. S. that "Nazism is dead in Germany," although all the facts disprove this wishful thinking?

WHY has the final report by Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor, pointing to an "alarming resurgence" of Nazism in Germany and accusing U. S. occupation authorities of "playing down" and "soft-pedaling" the war crimes disclosures, suddenly become "unavailable"?

WHY has no American paper reported that the Foreign Minister of the Soviet sponsored Eastern German Government, Georg Dertinger, was a reactionary monarchist in pre-Hitler days, a member of the Herren-Klub, a close friend of Herr Franz von Papen, a member of the ultra-rightwing Stahlhelm and editor of the reactionary newspaper Der Tag?

WHY has Senator William Langer come out in defense of Mrs. Ruth Moore, German-born daughter of Otto Kuehn (resident of Hawaii, sentenced to death for treason during the war and later deported to Germany) claiming for her property confiscated by the government?

WHY has the extraordinary statement of British Field Marshal Wavell, made during his recent visit to Canada and bluntly calling attention to Germany as a danger to peace, not been given the attention in the press that it deserves?

WHY do American newspapers pay no attention at all to the extremely interesting trial before a British Court in Hamburg, Germany, of Nazi Field Marshal von Mannstein?

WHY have American correspondents failed to direct attention to the dangerous activities of the Deutsche Rechts Partei and in particular to one of its leaders, Franz Richter, who calls denazification "a dirty business" and emphasizes that his party will soon ask for reparations of all the damage caused by denazification? (The same man still signs all his letters with the classical Nazi slogan, "Mit Deutschem Gruss.")

WHY have the Allies turned over responsibility for "decartelization," once regarded as one of the key reserved powers, to the German Government?

WHY has nobody reported that Dertinger's Chief of Protocol at the Foreign Ministry in Berlin is a former Junker, Count Ferdinand Thun zu Hohenstein, who now calls himself simply Georg Thun, but belonged to the Moscow Free German Committee?

WHY have not extradition proceedings started against the following top Nazi war criminals, who presently live quietly in Argentina: Gestapoman Dr. Theiss and his assistants, F. Adam, H. Richner, J. Paecht, all active as advisers to the Federal Argentine Police?

WHY has nobody objected to the election of the following members of the FDP to the Bonn Bundestag: Dr. Ludwig Preiss, member of the SA since 1933 and of the SS since 1934; Dr. Otto Kneipp, member of the Nazi Party since 1933; Karl Ruediger, member of the Nazi Party since 1937; Dr. V. E. Preusker, member of the SS since 1933; Dr. Richard Hammer, member of the SA and of the Nazi Physicians League, and Heinrich Fassender, member of the Nazi Party since 1931?

WHY have American correspondents failed to report that Kurt von Dittmar, once the Wehrmacht's radio commentator, is now writing editorials for the Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung?

WHY did the French Communist periodical, Peuples Amis, dishonestly state in its November issue that "in Eastern Germany demilitarization has been completed" while the facts show that Soviet remilitarization of the Germans is in full swing?

WHY do our State Department diplomats not officially expose the Soviet ultra-nationalistic flag-waving among the most chauvinistic German elements?

WHY have our correspondents in Germany not checked more carefully into the strange background of ex-Major General Vincenz Mueller, Chief of the Soviet-sponsored National Democratic Party and one of the Commanders of the People's "Police," who in pre-Hitler days supervised the von Papen putsch on June 20, 1932, the last step in paving the way for Hitler?

WHY has the Soviet-supported Eastern German Government named Hans Adalbert Baumler, a former topnotch official of the Nazi SD (Gestapo), to head its Counter Intelligence Service?

WHY, of the 49,121 officials employed in Bavaria, are there as many as 14,443 former Nazi Party members, while since 1945 only 265 politically and 92 racially persecuted people were given jobs in the government of Bavaria?

(*Continued from page* 33)

weeks ago hardly a day passed without lamentations for the 250,000 Germans kept in Czechoslovakia because of their technical skill at the time of the expulsion of the rest of the German minority. Today they are never mentioned, and few West Germans know that they have all been resettled in their former homes in Bohemia. Russia can do many things. It can make Rokossovsky master of Poland; it could solve the problem of the refugees from the East.

The overwhelming majority of West Germans, especially the workers, are in no wise attracted by the so-called "people's democracy" of a Russian satellite state. But there is a terrifying parallel between the present and the past. Hitler did not have a majority of the people behind him and yet came to power—largely because of the weakness and apathy of his opponents. German democracy was so rotten in 1933 that it did not seem worth defending. The new, oh so tender West German democracy is already attacked by decay from within and without. The bitterest enemy of the Federated Republic, even Moscow, could not wish it to have a government different from Dr. Adenauer's.

(Excerpts from *The Nation.*)

DISCREDITING THE U. S.

How, despite all assurances to the contrary, the Neo-Nazi parties in Western Germany try by all means to discredit the United States and even its help to Germany, is evidenced through the following statements made in various meetings and assemblies of these Neo-Nazi groups:

"The Marshall Plan is no unselfish aid but rather a cleverly conceived system of the U.S. to get out more reparations from Germany. . ."

"Whatever the Americans are sending to Germany will never compensate for the value of those German patents which were stolen by the Americans. . ."

"The material for suits and dresses which the Americans are sending to Germany as gifts are of no value at all — because of their crazy colors they cannot be sold anywhere. . ."

"The reason food is being sent from the U.S. to Germany is that otherwise the Americans will have to destroy it because they have too much of it. . ."

"The Americans should be glad that now they can send their young men as soldiers to Germany; here these men can learn about culture because in the United States there exists only a superficial civilization. . ."

These statements are based on personal notes made by Dr. Robert M. W. Kempner.

". . . In preparing 'the defense of the U.S.S.R. against the Western capitalist warmongers,' the Russian general staff is said to favor assistance by the Prussians rather than the Poles. The new Wehrmacht created in the East German republic—which is expected to reach its full strength of 300,000 men by next summer—is composed principally of former SS (elite guard) troops. The ease with which this army came into existence as an active military force can be explained by the fact that these former elite troops required only a refresher course to make them fit to fight.

"These men had ample experience in all forms of warfare, but they have become somewhat rusty during the five years since Hitler's defeat. A few months of intensive training, however, has enabled them to recover their mastery of the art of war.

"In case of Soviet aggression against the West these men can be relied on far more than could the Poles. The East Germans, who have always been more warlike than the West Germans, enthusiastically accepted the Russian call to arms. They were moved less by the physical advantages—such as better living standards for themselves and their families—than by the idea that on Russia's side Prussia — and later all of Germany — might once again become a foremost power in Europe.

"After a trial period of more than a year, the Kremlin has realized that it can count on the Prussians to greater extent than it can on other satellites, although communism itself is not popular among the East Germans.

"The Kremlin is playing the nationalist game to make the Germans their loyal allies. This is not difficult, since nationalism and imperialism already have replaced ideological communism in Soviet policy itself. . ."

(From a column by Constantine Brown in the Washington Post)

". . . Disillusion in America over German policy has reached a point of disgust. And there are two conflicting kinds of discontent at precisely opposite directions.

"On the one hand are those who feel, with a great deal of reason, that the net result of American intervention in Germany is to restore to power the very industrialists who made possible Hitler's rise. The bitter critics of past blunders and deliberate intrigue are convinced that in continued dismantling of German industry is the only hope of preventing a new German war potential.

"At the other pole are those who believe that to strip Germany further is suicidal folly. They argue that 45,000,000 Germans in the West must earn their own way, that the American taxpayer cannot—and will not—go on pouring out money to sustain a dependent people willing to work.

"Even more extreme is the position of the American military. Top American military planners want to re-arm West Germany as quickly as possible as a bastion against the East. . ."

(From a column by Marquis Childs in the New York Post)

". . . Russian tactics of obstruction have been exploited shrewdly by those who wanted to rebuild a strong Germany. 'A bulwark against Communism' it is called, just as after the first World War. And so we have played into their hands and today find ourselves lined up, in effect, with the very thing we sought to destroy, and are rebuilding it. We have been caught between the right and the left because we did not have the courage of our democratic middle way for which we shed so much blood. We have compromised the idea for which we fought.

"Russia talks now of a German army in her zone. Privately our military men talk of one in our zone, though our civilian officials repeatedly deny it. Does anyone think Germans are going to fight each other? They will all line up one way or the other, and we are gambling with a nation that signed the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939, and has much more kinship with Communism than with democracy. At the same time we are permitting the cartelists to rebuild their warmaking industry. . ."

(Thomas L. Stokes in the New York World-Telegram)

Power Politics In Japan

by
R. P. MARTIN

Japanese obstructionism is keeping American aid expenditures at a higher level than they should be. Occupation officials are convinced the Japanese are diverting too large a proportion of their capital goods production into the domestic economy, instead of exporting these goods to help pay for imports. This serves a dual purpose: United States aid is being utilized to modernize Japan's industrial plant and at the same time Japan, by curtailing exports of capital goods, is retarding the industrialization of other countries which might be competitors at a future date.

One example: the Japanese Government campaigned for permission to increase steel production with the plea this would enable it to increase their exports. After permission was granted, however, the Japanese attempted to reduce rather than increase steel exports. India, for instance, tried for months to buy 60,000 tons of steel sheets but the Japanese set their price at a dollar a ton higher than the Indians could pay. This meant that the steel sheets would remain in Japan and be used in the domestic economy, instead of paying for raw materials which could be imported from India.

Although the U. S. is saving substantial sums this year on its aid program to Japan, this does not necessarily mean a bright future. Obstruction by the Japanese and failure by the U. S. to lead Japan into normal trade relations with other Asian countries, especially communist China, may mean that the U. S. will have to continue its subsidies for many years. Gen. MacArthur hopes to have Japan on a self-paying basis by 1953, but there is only one possibility of meeting this target date—if Japan can shift the great bulk of its trade from the dollar to the soft-currency areas.

The majority of the Japanese people apparently have their hearts set on a peace treaty with their former enemies. They prefer one which would guarantee their complete and absolute neutrality in the event of another war. But Japan's leaders are playing their cards deliberately and carefully to insure that their country profits to the utmost from the conflict between Russia and America.

"A LA STRESEMANN"

Premier Shigeru Yoshida told the Japanese House of Councillors that "Japan may not have to accept or may even leave the conference room in case an extremely disadvantageous peace treaty is offered to it." The following day Premier Yoshida termed this and other portions of his remarks a "slip of the tongue" and requested that they be withdrawn because they might "invite misunderstanding."

Premier Yoshida is too clever a politician and too experienced a statesman to make a "slip of the tongue" of that proportion without good reason. It seems more likely that he was warning the United States, as strongly as he could, that Japan, despite her defeat, has bargaining power. For the Communist victories in China, the bitterness of the East-West "cold war" and the ever-present possibility of a Soviet-American conflict have catapulted Japan into a position of great strategic importance.

The United States apparently wants bases in Japan, but she also wants a peace treaty which would relieve her of the occupation burdens. American thinking apparently follows the line that since Japan will be unarmed, the logical solution is for the United States to guarantee Japan's integrity and implement this guarantee by holding bases.

NEVER TO REARM?

But history has caught up with the United States. The victorious Powers agreed that Japan should never again be permitted to rearm or support any kind of military force other than that needed for internal security. Japan underwrote that agreement by adopting a constitution authored by Gen. Douglas MacArthur. The constitution renounces for all time the right to wage war.

If the Japanese did not like the peace treaty terms (for instance, if they were denied the right to develop a merchant marine or engage in whaling operations), they could refuse to sign a military agreement with the United States on the grounds that American bases in Japan would violate the American-authored constitution.

The U. S. is in an unenviable position. It wants strategic bases in Japan, but in order to get these it must offer the Japanese very advantageous terms. And if the U. S. decided that bases were unnecessary, it would still be in a tight position. For the U. S. and the other Western Powers would still be required to guarantee Japan from aggression.

Of perhaps greater importance in the long run would be Japan's position if peace terms were made with the West but without provision for United States military bases here. Both Russia and China could offer Japan great economic benefits and an even more favorable peace treaty if the two Asian Powers thought they could wean Japan away from the West. Russia could offer fishing rights such as Japan had before the war, an opportunity to help in the development of North Korea and a tremendously profitable two-way barter trade between Japan and Manchuria. Expansion of this trade could easily make Japan independent of the West.

The U. S. could offer dollars to keep Japan in the "democratic" fold. But almost any Japanese businessman will say that long-term trade with China is preferable to dollar aid which could be shut off at any time.

A NATURAL ALLY?

Many Americans apparently believe that Japan is a natural ally of the United States. That is very far from the truth. Unlike Britain and America, which are bound together by common ideological ties and a similar way of life, the Japan-America "engagement" is solely one of convenience.

If Japan becomes a partner of the West it will be in a completely cynical manner. The Japanese leaders, as is natural, will go the way they think is best for Japan—and democracy and freedom will have very little to do with the decision.

Some Japanese leaders want to side with the United States. They foresee war and an ultimate American victory. Since Japan would participate, they see themselves demanding and getting, as spoils of war, such areas as Manchuria and Formosa, which would be seized from the Chinese Communists.

As one official of the foreign office told me: *"Japan would be very careful to choose the winning side. After all, we are quite tired of being losers."*

Many Japanese object to a defensive alliance with the U. S. as the alternative to absolute neutrality.

The Japanese want to control their own affairs, within limitations imposed by the peace treaty, and presence of American troops here would invariably be felt in domestic issues.

Furthermore, an alliance with the U. S. would drastically limit Japan's freedom of action in the international field. The Japanese, whether the Americans like it or not, are going to chart their future course on the basis of what is best for Japan. But an alliance with America would involve Japan in Washington international policy. The U. S., for instance, might want to embargo trade with Communist China. America would feel no ill effects; its China trade is only two per cent of America's total foreign trade.

An embargo similarly applied by Japan would have disastrous consequences on Japan's economy. For trade with China may mean the difference between self-sufficiency and pauperism for Japan.

Many ultra-conservative government officials, however, are content with Japan's current status of "peace without a treaty." They are winning the "peace" hands-down. Democratic reforms are gradually being nullified; reparations have been cancelled; Japan is receiving a million dollars a day in subsidies from the United States; Japanese are gradually getting freedom to travel and participate in international conferences; the U. S. guaranteed Japan's territorial integrity, which means that the Japanese have no burden of defense costs.

WHAT THEY WANT

For six months or more the Japanese press has been talking about the advantages of "peace without a treaty." At a round-table discussion, the president of the Jiji News Service declared "it is not clear whether the conclusion of a peace treaty will be advantageous." Dr. Kisaburo Yokota, an authority on international law, declared that "Japan has benefited by delay in the opening of peace talks." Articles in a similar vein have appeared with monotonous regularity.

The Foreign Office still has decided views on the most important aspects of the peace treaty. Officials hope the treaty will incorporate provisions dealing with two of Japan's most pressing problems: its lack of raw materials and markets, and the pressure of an expanding population confined at present within the borders of an extremely poor country.

Japan's population crisis is just as pressing today at it was when the crisis was utilized as a pretext for military expansion. Japan has too many people and too little land; its farmlands are over-crowded and factories top-heavy with employes.

Japan's population is increasing at a rate of 1,000,000 a year, and by 1970 may be more than 100,000,000.

Two years ago the Japanese had hoped that Formosa, Okinawa and some other Pacific islands would be restored to them to provide room for emigration. That hope is now more or less dead, and the Japanese are hoping for permission to emigrate to sparsely populated areas, such as North Australia and New Guinea. But Australia is certain to resist such requests.

Peace in 1950 is the goal of the Japanese and the Western Powers. But considering the time consumed in agreeing on technical points, the disparity in views of the Western Allies (Australia, for instance, views expansion of Japanese fishing facilities and the problems of over population in a different light than the United States; and the Philippines regard with great concern American efforts to reestablish Japan's industrial machine), drafting of the treaty and agreement on essentials will take a long time.

As one Western diplomat pointed out: "Japan may get a treaty in 1950, if the U. S. wants it seriously enough and is willing to ram it down the throats of its Allies."

"The Germans, in their own words, have won 90 per cent of what they wanted. That is a lot. It is too much for a Germany which is mainly unregenerate, as we all know. . .

"There is no inherent harm in conciliation —even in appeasement. These may be Christian virtues. All depends on whom you appease, and to what extent, and whether you get an adequate return.

"In previous appeasements we got scraps of paper. We are getting only promises today. . .

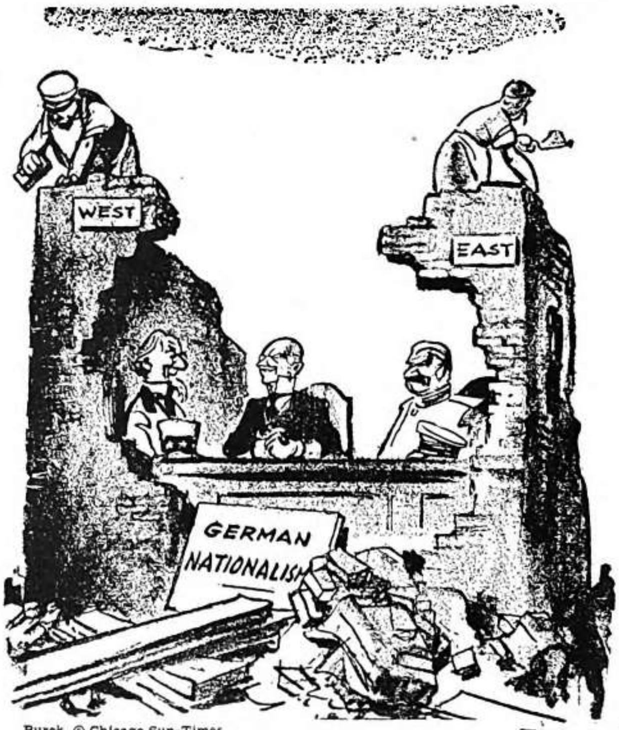
"Some of the promises ring hollow. No one can expect us to believe that Germany does not want an army. Has a miracle occurred in her young men? Of course not. The traces of nationalism and militarism abound among them. Dr. Adenauer seems to indulge in wishful thinking. . .

"The truth is that policy toward Germany has lately been made in Germany rather than in the Foreign Office, State Department, or Quai d'Orsay. I prefer it to be home-made."

(*Lord Vansittart in the London Daily Mail*)

"The Russians and the Americans are worrying about which side the Germans will be on. Any Frenchman can tell you. The Germans will be on the Germans' side. They'll finish by getting more out of the Russians and the Americans than anyone else in Europe."

(Georges Pravaux, a French soldier, as quoted by Seymour Freidin in the New York Post)



Burck, © Chicago Sun-Times

Business as Usual During Alterations

We Applaud . . .

. . . **LYALL T. BEGGS**, Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who recently said that the American "top brass" in Germany has "gone soft" and that "Nazi ideas are cropping up more and more into the open while we blink our eyes and do nothing," adding that "we cannot permit the rise of aggression again whether Communist, Fascist, Nazi or under any other name; we must be strong and vigilant; otherwise, we will help to bring on World War III, instead of stopping it while we have the chance."

. . . **AMERICAN OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES** in Germany for banning the vicious Nazi periodical Der Weg, of Buenos Aires, Argentina, stating that "nothing as violently pro-Nazi has appeared since the heyday of the Hitler regime."

. . . **BRIGADIER GENERAL TELFORD TAYLOR**, the American Military Government's chief prosecutor of Nazi war criminals for his recent warning that a resurgence of "militant nationalism in Germany is on the way," adding that "a militaristic German government . . . would be a terrible threat to world peace; it would surely seek to exploit and irritate international attention, and would regard another war as an opportunity to revive German might."

. . . **GEORGE F. HALLGARTEN**, visiting Professor of the University of Munich, for his fine letter-to-the-editor of the Washington Post, calling attention to the neo-Nazi activities in Munich of a rabble-rouser named Feitenhausel, who boasts that he has assembled a new personal S.A. of 2,000 men and who tried to make a comeback in Bavaria.

. . . **THE DECISION** of the Immigration Service of the Department of Justice to deport to Germany the former Nazi agent V. Sittler, a man who despite his dark record was permitted to become a professor at Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, and later at the Michigan College of Mining in Houghton.

. . . **THE NEW YORK TIMES'** excellent editorial titled "What to Do with Germany," in the November 20th issue of that paper, which contained the following conclusions worth quoting: "We owe it to ourselves and to our children to make certain in whatever we do about Germany that neither form of tyranny prevails against Western civilization. Because we hate the despotism of Stalin we must not be tender with any surviving relics or any newly growing sprouts of the despotism of Hitler."

. . . **WALTER WINCHELL** for his recent splendid column titled "The Poor, Poor Nazis," exposing various aspects of the soft-pedaling of the Nazis in Western Germany, and requesting his readers to mail the column to their respective U.S. Senators with the demand for immediate investigation of conditions in Germany.

. . . **LLOYD G. SIEGL** of Brooklyn for his excellent letter-to-the-editor of the New York Daily News, blasting that paper's editorial policy with regard to Germany and stating emphatically that "We should bear down on the Germans and supervise them more closely than ever before—not loosen any present restrictions."

. . . **THE BRITISH COURT** of Hamburg, which recently found the owners of Germany's largest shipyard guilty of illegally attempting to evade dismantling, and condemned Rudolf Blohm, senior partner of Blohm & Voss, his brother Walter, and four other defendants to prison sentences and fines.

. . . **C. SEAMAN OF PALM CITY**, California, for his fine letter-to-the-editor of Collier's magazine, in which, after returning from a two-and-a-half year stay in Germany, he wrote, "The Germans still say Hitler is the greatest leader Germany ever had, and as soon as we get another leader we shall again be a great nation."

. . . **GERHARDT H. SEGER**, the German Social Democrat and former editor of the Neue Volkszeitung, with whom we have often strongly disagreed in the past, for his excellent article, "German Rearmament Revival of Militarism," in a recent issue of the New Leader.

. . . **EVARTS A. GRAHAM**, Jr., staff writer of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, for his brilliant series of articles, "Germany's Future—East or West?" which in our opinion is one of the finest pieces of research done recently on the German problem.

. . . **CONGRESSMAN JACOB K. JAVITS**, Republican of New York, who as a member of a four-man group on a study mission for the House Foreign Affairs Committee, upon his return from Germany strongly came out opposing German rearmament "under any circumstances."

. . . **SENATOR JAMES E. MURRAY** for inserting the article "Whither Western Europe?" by Jean Pajus from Prevent World War III in the Congressional Record.

. . . **SENATOR GUY M. GILLETTE** for his letter to the State Department protesting the presence in this country of Herman J. Abs, Director of the Deutsche Bank and chief looter of the Nazi occupied countries.

. . . **CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR G. KLEIN** for inserting the article "There Must Not Be A Third World War" from Prevent World War III in the Congressional Record.

. . . **CONGRESSMAN JOHN A. BLATNIK** for inserting the article "Gravediggers at Work" from Prevent World War III in the Congressional Record.

. . . **CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM J. MULTER** for inserting the article "The Malmedy Case" in the Congressional Record.

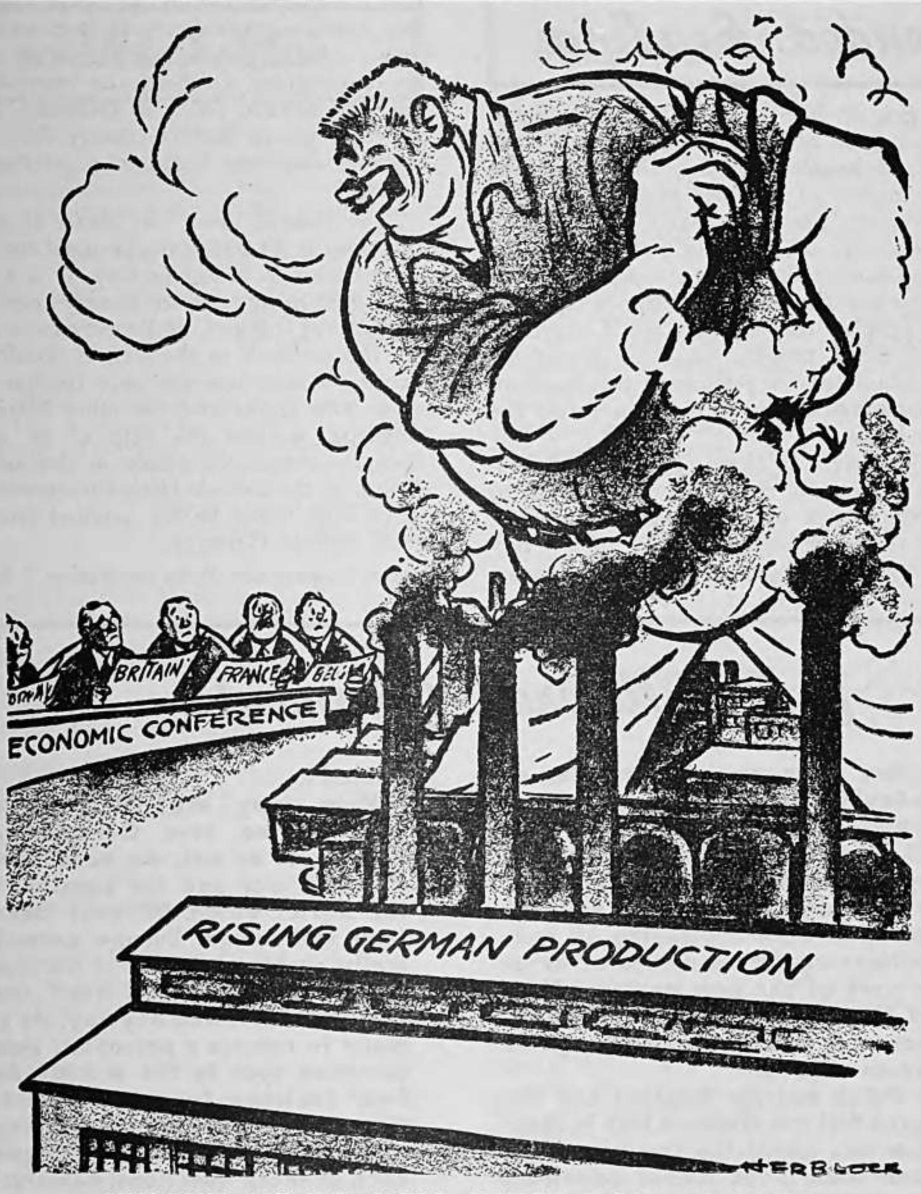
. . . **DREW PEARSON** for his excellent exposé on Herman J. Abs in his Washington Merry-Go-Round.

. . . **THE BRITISH MILITARY COURT** in Hamburg which found Field Marshal General Fritz Eric Von Mannstein guilty of war crimes and sentenced him to eighteen years in prison.

. . . **JUDGE ARTHUR H. F. LEDERLE** of the U. S. District Court in Newark, New Jersey, for dismissing an application by August S. Klaprott, former German American Bund leader, which the latter had made to have the 1942 revocation of his American citizenship set aside.

. . . **U. S. MILITARY GOVERNMENT** officials who, as reported by Jack Raymond in The New York Times, have expressed the belief that $800,000,000 requested by Washington for allotment to Germany by the Army and the Marshall Plan is too high.

. . . **SENATOR HUNT** of Wyoming who, returning from Germany, said, "There is no de-Nazifying a Nazi," adding that the best thing to do is to place a U. S. Superintendent over every German school and a U. S. President over every German university: "It would cost us less than the first month of World War III."



"WANT ME TO HELP UNIFY YOU AGAIN?"

Cartoon by Herblock.—Courtesy Washington Post.

". . . It is one thing, to participate in the task of economic reconstruction, to support German democratic and labor groups, many of whose leaders resisted Nazism long before we did; it is another to attempt to deny the memory, to shake hands with Nazis as if we had played a tennis match against jolly good sports and to start out anew, four years after V-E Day, as if Dachau and Buchenwald had never existed and no Americans had ever died under Nazi fire. Admittedly the Russians are now engaged in the gentle care and rejuvenation of former Nazis inhabiting the Soviet zone, but their friendship, after all, goes back to August, 1939; it was simply interrupted by Hitler's betrayal of Stalin.

We corrupt the best values in our own cause by displaying an equivalent inability to tell a totalitarian from a democrat. The handling of General Telford Taylor's report may be described as a single blunder but it is an exceptionally revealing one! It points up the essential contradiction in our national policy. We cannot let our Secretary of State grace the streets of Bonn, grasp the hand of Adenauer and speak as if Nazism were a brief chapter in man's suffering, if we remember the crimes unveiled at Nuernberg. And so the Pentagon wants to teach us to forget."

(From an editorial in the New York Post)

Recommended Reading

"We Survived," by Eric H. Boehm (Yale University Press. $3.75) is an excellent account of first-person stories of fourteen "of the hidden and haunted of Nazi Germany." The author, a former interrogator of German prisoners of war, has done an outstanding job. Despite the fact that his book is published rather belatedly, after a long series of similar ones, it ranks, in our opinion, undoubtedly among the best.

The Nazi victims who tell their individual stories represent a real cross section of people—Rabbis, Protestant Clergymen, noveltists, intellectuals, plain people, etc. Yale University Press ought to be congratulated for publishing this book today when only too many would like to make us forget the incredible crimes of the Nazis.

"The Struggle for Germany," by Drew Middleton (Bobbs-Merrill Co. $3.00) is an honest report by the well-known *New York Times* correspondent of conditions in Germany. His book is important for being completely free of any personal dogma. Having been a war correspondent for five years and a correspondent in the Soviet-Union for two years, before spending two years in post-war Germany, Middleton draws a vivid, interesting picture of the situation, based on his observations. Of particular interest are the chapters dealing with Russian policy in Germany. His main thesis is that we must insure that "Germany does not through our own mistakes fall into Communist pressure and ally itself with Russia."

"The Fateful Years," by André Francois-Poncet (Harcourt, Brace & Co. $4.00) is the personal story of the former French Ambassador to Nazi-Germany. It is a most interesting story, and while many facts are already known, it is still fascinating to read, for instance, of Poncet's meeting with Hitler, preceding the outbreak of the war. It should not be forgotten that Francois-Poncet was the only foreign diplomat able to converse with Hitler and the other Nazi bigwigs in their own language, without the help of an interpreter. Today, the book has even more interest in view of the fact that Francois-Poncet is the French High Commissioner for Germany. It is to be hoped that he has profited from his previous experiences with the Germans.

"A Communist Party in Action," by A. Rossi (Yale Uni-

E. A. Mowrer Comments . . .

Give us a few more weeks or months of the Acheson-Bevin "Build Germany" policy and we shall hear harsh German voices "demanding" this or other forms of equality and hinting at reprisals if they do not get it.

Secretaries Acheson and Bevin will, of course, answer that they are taking all necessary precautions against a return of arrogance on the part of our new partner. They will point out that . . . the allied armies remaining in Germany will be quite enough to keep the Germans "good."

Maybe the Dutch and the Belgians and the French who have felt the German iron in their own flesh know less about the Germans than the English and Americans whose countries were not invaded. Maybe when the great shipbuilding firm of Bloom and Voss in Hamburg was caught red-handed concealing properties marked for destruction, it was not a replica of the deceit that served the Germans so well after World War One.

Maybe the nationalistic howls rising from the throats of "Democratic" German Socialists are in no sense like the protests of the same German Socialists after their first defeat in 1918. Maybe — despite the all but unanimous reports of observers including this writer — the new post-war Germans are deeply and sincerely democratic and not waiting for some new Fuehrer to lead them back to power and glory.

Maybe not.

But if they are?

At this point the defenders of the new "Build Germany" policy tend to lose their tempers.

Here they are likely to exclaim that whether the new Germans are peaceful democrats or not, we need them because of the cold war and the possible hot war with the Soviet Union. Without German industry, they will argue, Europe cannot be economically restored. Without German manpower, Europe cannot defend itself against invasion from the East. And anyway, do you want Germany to remain a poisonous slum at the most sensitive spot in the world? And can Uncle Sam continue to support forty-five million Germans in enforced semi-idleness?

There is, of course, an adequate answer to each of these questions, namely:

The same industry taken from Germany and established elsewhere would have contributed approximately the same amount to the restoration of Europe—without political danger.

It is by no means certain that "German manpower" will fight loyally on our side against the Russians, except on conditions that the West will find intolerable.

And finally, it is not necessary that Uncle Sam should cough up to keep the Germans on a level equal to that of the rest of Europe. That is for the Germans to look after.

But all this is now water over the dam. The U.S. Administration has obviously taken the decision to restore and cooperate with Western Germany. Willy-nilly, the American people have been committed to a great gamble.

(*Edgar A. Mowrer in The Philadelphia Inquirer*)

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

"Now that Germany has partially regained her former prestige, and will eventually be reinstated among those whom a few moons ago she sought to destroy, what are your future plans to offset this real menace?

"I am making a lone fight of it here, in the heart of plenty of German sympathizers.

"Please send me all data. I can and will use it to best advantage."

SGT. JOHN T. PECK.
Lincoln, Nebraska.

Dear Sir:

"As the Chairman of the Universal Relations League, I wish to thank you for the material which you have already sent to my group, and hope that you will be able to continue to send literature so that we may keep abreast of events in Germany. We are operating on a very limited budget since most of the groups are college or graduate school students, and such material is a real boon to us. . . ."

JOHN J. MORRISSEY, JR..
West Medford, Mass.

Dear Sir:

"It was 8 years ago when the Empire of Japan's airforce, under pressure of Adolf Hitler, attacked Pearl Harbor, in the Pacific, and thus officially made the United States a fighting member of the Allies of World War II.

"It was 8 years ago that every American called our enemies of then all sorts of names.

"But what is happening today?

"We pity the poor Germans, who were dragged into a war they did not want.

"We feed the poor, hungry Germans, send them soap, and clothing, and rebuild their industries, without a thought of the future. A future, that might prove even more disastrous than the last 35 years have been.

"World War II is not over by a long shot.

"World War I never was over. The period between these two world wars was just a weapon-stand-still—a suppressed war, that only flared up a little here and there, now and then.

"The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 was never completed. The Germans always will want Alsace-Lorraine, and the French always will want control over the Ruhr Valley.

"Instead of sending food, clothing, soap, and cigarettes to Germany; instead of us rebuilding Germany's industries, send the Germans the raw materials to grow and raise their own food, to manufacture their own clothing, and to rebuild their own industries on a limited scale—merely to improve their own economic situation and conditions—and keep the management divided under international control.

"Let Germany prove herself worthy first of the honor of being a peaceable nation among peace-loving nations of this world, by officially and in the hearts and minds of the population rebuking any ideas and power-dreams of Nazism, Communism or Fascism—and then, and only then accept Germany into the group of Western civilized Democracies. . .

"What will happen, when our occupation forces leave Germany? Which way will the Germans turn?

"Towards Communism?—Maybe.

"Towards Prussian Supremacy (Nazism)?—Could be.

"Towards Western Democracy?—No!

"Don't forget, soft-soaping a defeated nation or person will never make them see it your way. On the surface they will appear polite, nice and friendly—as long as you keep your eyes wide open and on them. But watch out, if you should ever turn your back on them, or close your eyes—the knife stuck between your ribs need not have a steel blade; it can be much worse—ridicule, sarcasm, irony and eventually World War III.

"Lest we forget—Hitler-Mussolini-Tojo; and the total support the people of Germany, Italy and Japan gave their leaders in starting and fighting the 3rd longest war since 1600, World War II."

WILLIAM OSTEN,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

". . . You may rest assured that I am in full accord with your program and shall do my share in acquainting others as to the real type of Americanism program as sponsored by your organization. . . ."

BRUNO FRANKEL,
Bronx, New York.

Dear Sir:

". . . I was quite astonished at the comprehensiveness of the material contained in your magazine. In fact, the range and detail of the material might very well serve as an 'Outline of Current History,' that is an outline illustrating how certain of our leaders are choosing for us THE SHORTEST ROUTE TO SUICIDE. I believe that suicide is the simple, accurate term for our current destination. Perhaps it is possible to be charitable regarding the causes of World War II and so allow something for ignorance. However, the lesson of the recent past is too close upon us to allow the same ignorance to be an excuse for a repeat performance. . . .

"What is most discouraging is the fact that German inventiveness culminating in its greatest triumph, 'Human Bakeries,' has not been proof enough for most people of the German capacity for destruction. Crematories are merely brushed aside as unrelated to American policy and foreign to the 'New Germany.' The failure of our Western Conscience to grasp the significance of the crematory is the strongest possible commentary on our culture and our leaders. I only hope that The Society for the Prevention of World War III will be able to exert enough influence to bring to the conscious minds of influential persons the simple fact that the 'New Frankenstein' possesses all the traits and motives of its forefather—Nazi Germany.

"Again let me thank you for your letter and material. If I can be of use to you thru some application of the written word or otherwise, I will be most happy to donate my services."

GEORGE MARQUISEE.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

". . . As a former Chief Prosecutor at the Nuremburg War Crimes Trials, I am familiar with present conditions in Germany. Your observations and conclusions concerning the future danger of a German resurgence are in harmony with the conclusions of the most able of Western European diplomats.

"In addition, your publication clearly points out the dangers inherent in another alliance between Germany and the totalitarian regime of the U. S. S. R. In my opinion, the U. S. S. R. remains our primary concern, but it can not be disputed that Germanic support of the Russian foreign policy would seriously aggravate the situation and precipitate another major war . . ."

H. W. WILLIAM CAMING.
Miami Beach, Florida.

(*Continued from page* 40)

versity Press. $4.00), translated from the French and edited by Willmoore Kendall, is particularly interesting to us for its chapter dealing with the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, in view of present Russo-German relations.

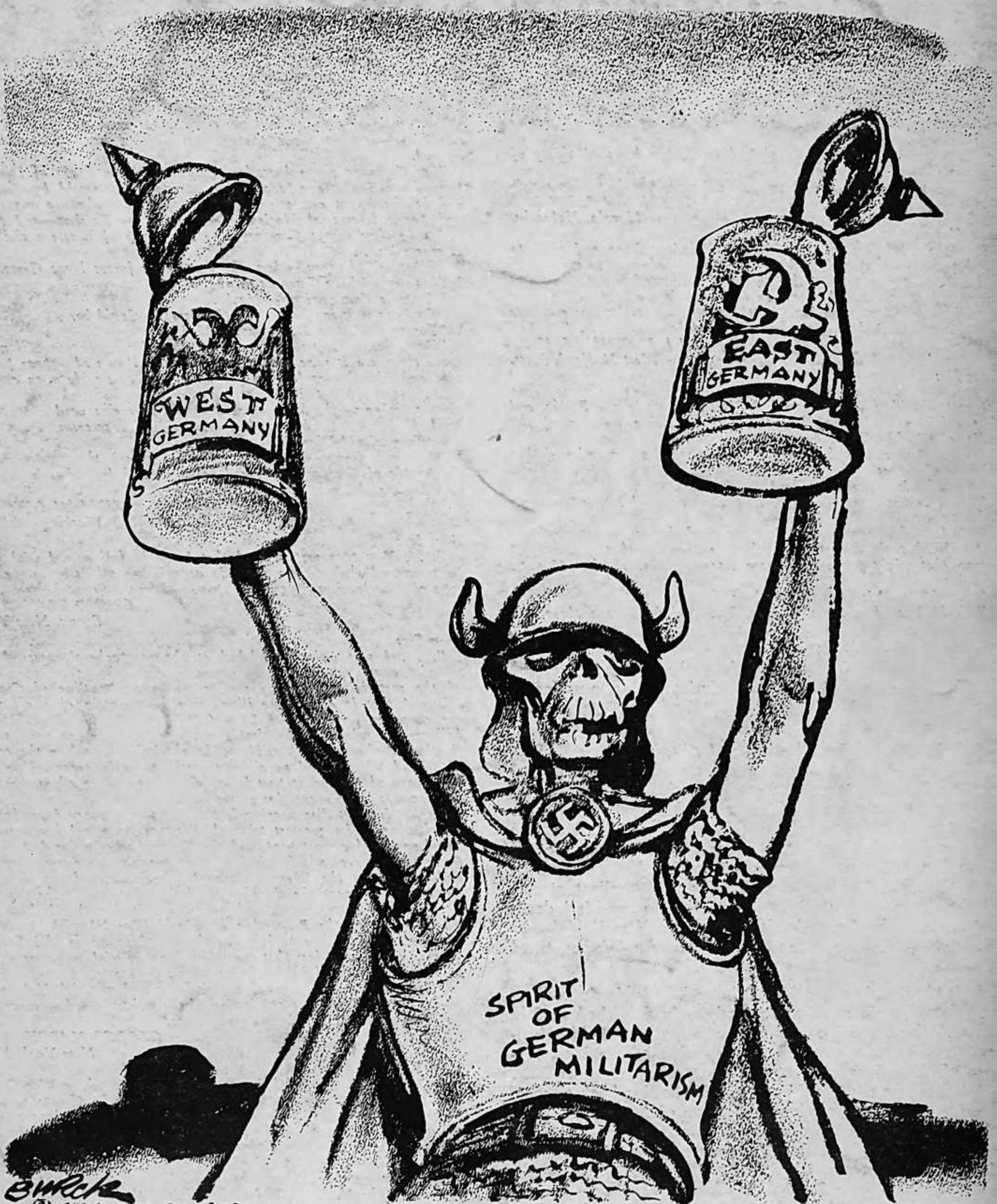
"A Treasury of Great Reporting," edited by Louis H. Snyder and Richard B. Morris with a preface by Herbert Bayard Swope (Simon & Schuster. $5.00), is a brilliant compilation of what the authors call "literature under pressure." It contains 175 masterpieces of journalism from Dickens, Victor Hugo and Mark Twain, to Walter Winchell, John Hersey, Edward R. Murrow and Quentin Reynolds. We are glad indeed that the anthology also contains two excellent reports on the first visit of U.S. correspondents to the Nazi death factories, one by Gene Currivan from the *New York Times* of April 18, 1945, and one by Tarick Gordon-Walker, titled "I Went to Belsen."

It is also good to find here Rebecca West's classic story on the Nuremberg war criminals (originally published in *The New Yorker* magazine), as well as Kingsbury Smith's brilliant eyewitness account of the execution of the Nazi bigwigs of Nuremberg.

"A Treasury of Great Reporting" is a lasting book of enormous value and we are happy that one of the editors, Louis M. Snyder, associate professor of history at the College of the City of New York, was formerly on the staff of the Society for the Prevention of World War III.

"Again the Goose Step" by Delbert Clark (Bobbs-Merrill. $3.00) reviewed in the issue No. 32 of *"Prevent World War III."*

"The State of Europe" by Howard K. Smith (Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75).


WEST GERMANY
EAST GERMANY
SPIRIT OF GERMAN MILITARISM
BURCK
© 1949 CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

"SIEG HEIL!"

Cartoon by Burch.—Courtesy Chicago Sun-Times.

No. 34
MARCH - APRIL
1950

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985
No. 34 March - April, 1950

McCloy's Speech — A Turning Point?

The speech made by American High Commissioner, John J. McCloy in Stuttgart on Feb. 6th, was characterized as a "major policy" address. In reading it, however, we cannot get out of our mind the fact that Mr. McCloy took the opportunity to make this major policy speech at a time when there are bills and resolutions in Congress which call for an investigation of our policies in Germany under Mr. McCloy as well as his predecessor, General Lucius D. Clay.

Far be it from us to say that Mr. McCloy, in delivering this talk, was trying to anticipate the moves of his critics in Congress or to steal the thunder from those who have been exposing the grave shortcomings in our German policy. Regardless of the reason which impelled Mr. McCloy to make this speech, it cannot be denied that he has now openly recognized the fact that this German policy has not fared very well. We are happy indeed that Mr. McCloy has had the courage to speak up and admit some of the abuses which are manifesting themselves in Germany today. We believe that honesty is the best policy and it is our fervent hope that Mr. McCloy will continue to speak out without mincing words and without reservations or qualifications, which could mean one thing to the Germans and another to the Americans.

Not that all of the things which Mr. McCloy said were clear cut and devoid of misinterpretation. Undoubtedly, the American people are gratified by Mr. McCloy's statement: *"Germany cannot be allowed to develop political conditions or military status which would threaten other nations or the peace of the world. That means that there will be no German army or air force. German security will best be protected by German participation in a closely knit Western European community."*

This appears to be a clear statement which tells the Germans that they will not be able to glory again in a new Wehrmacht. But there are certain things which remain to be clarified. For example, Mr. McCloy states that the Germans would not be allowed a military status "*which would threaten other nations or the peace of the world.*" Does this mean that the Germans could obtain military status if it were assumed that this would not be a "threat" to other nations or the peace of the world?

As a substitute for military status, Mr. McCloy declares that German security *"will be best protected by German participation in a closely knit Western European community."* Just exactly what does this mean? According to reliable information, circles close to Chancellor Adenauer's party and important figures in the Bonn Government are thinking of the following scheme: A German military unit should be permitted to join the defense forces of Europe. Such a unit, however, should be composed of volunteers. The German Officer Corps should be called in without establishing a German High Command. These officers would not be sworn in on the German state. In addition, there is no urgency to create a German armament industry at once as it would be far too exposed and as the production of weapons should proceed along a system of coordination. The *London Economist* in one of its issues advocated approximately the same kind of program. Is this also envisaged by Mr. McCloy?

While Mr. McCloy announces that Germany would not be permitted to develop an army or air force, he tells the Germans that other than this prohibition they will *"have the widest freedom to shape their future."* In one of our editorials, we showed that this was a contradiction and a very basic one. How can Mr. McCloy be so positive that there will be no German army when he gives them free rein to develop their industrial war potential?

It will be recalled that Germany was never disarmed after World War I because there was no provision for limiting her industrial might. Temporarily part of her army was disbanded, but there was no effective provision for restricting the rebirth of her great industrial war potential. Therefore, the attempt to keep Germany disarmed was futile, for the Allies never tackled the basis of modern armies. In the 20's and 30's, the Germans were not actually concerned with the establishment of large armed forces, but rather with the development of a heavy industry which could equip future armies. In that connection, Germany received billions from the United States to achieve this objective, and the rearmament of Germany when Hitler came to power became a comparatively simple task. Therefore, it is not sufficient for Mr. McCloy to say that Germany shall have no army, while on the other hand he permits the

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Germans to have the basis upon which such an army can be revived in the future.

On the question of the Saar, Mr. McCloy, who hurried to Washington after Adenauer's threats, tells the Germans that "a sensible statesman-like solution can readily be found. . . ." But why should Mr. McCloy talk about a solution of the so-called problem of the Saar when he knows very well that his government has already made firm commitments on that issue. He is fully aware that Secretary Acheson, with the approval of the President, has given full support to the French position. Under these circumstances, we are at a loss to understand the talk about a "statesman-like solution." Perhaps Mr. McCloy does not agree with the position taken by the United States? This is the opinion of the *U. S. News & World Report* which disclosed in its February 3rd issue that "John J. McCloy, High Commissioner for Germany, has not been pleased by the definite stand taken by the United States State Department against re-incorporation of the Saar into Germany. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, is inclined to try to regain for his Department a larger voice in his country's policy with regard to Germany." So much for the Saar.

As regards the question of renazification of Germany, Mr. McCloy expressed his concern over the reemergence of neo-Nazi and nationalist forces. He deplored the fact that "many undesirable former Nazis and nationalist forces were finding their way back into important places" and that there was still "too much traditionalism and authoritarianism in German life." This is an important admission.

The renazification of Germany is not incidental to our present policy which ignores German history in the first place and adopts a "business as usual" approach to a problem which cannot be solved by ostrich-like methods. Mr. McCloy expresses his concern. He is appalled at the fact that the Nazis and their supporters are becoming bolder and bolder. A year ago, his predecessor, General Clay, literally declared that Nazism was dead. Of course, General Clay was indulging in wishful thinking, to say the least. Yet it was our hope that when Mr. McCloy took over, he would adopt a more realistic and effective approach to the question of denazification. What did he do?

In an interview which appeared in the December issue of the *Information Bulletin* put out by his office, we find him expressing his opinion on return of the Nazis to positions of power. "*It is ridiculous,*" he said, "*to say that you can exclude all these people forever from the economic, political, and social life of the community.*" That was only two months before his Stuttgart speech. Perhaps Mr. McCloy expressed undue optimism and is now trying to correct an erroneous approach. If this be the case, then Mr. McCloy should act now. Certainly the Nazi bigwigs could not retain their positions of influence for long if Mr. McCloy showed that he meant business. However, when he paroles criminals like Farben's George von Schnitzler and Emil Puhl, the banker who made a hobby of collecting the gold teeth of Nazi victims, can we expect the Germans to take Mr. McCloy's admonitions seriously?

We take note of Mr. McCloy's warning to the Germans that the American press is keeping the people at home informed of developments in that country. We hope that Mr. McCloy does not object to this kind of reporting which is in the true tradition of a free press. Whatever shortcomings are reported, it is better that they be aired in public rather than be concealed and accumulate to a point where they one day will explode in the face of the American people.

Mr. McCloy has also criticized various utterances on the part of the Germans "*which do incalculable harm and set back the cause of Germany.*" Just what does he mean by that? Does Mr. McCloy want these people to keep quiet for the while until they are so strengthened that they will have no fear of producing "incalculable harm"? Does he want the neo-Nazis to stay under cover and remain silent? If this tactic were adopted—so that the German cause is not harmed—then the American people would be ignorant of the true feelings of the Germans. But what is the German cause? Is it not precisely expressed by those very elements which Mr. McCloy would like to see silenced for the while? In our opinion, the problem is not to keep them quiet nor to allow them to sound off. The real problem is to make sure that these elements are not in a position where they influence American policy.

We congratulate Mr. McCloy for certain passages in his address which we endorse wholeheartedly.

Speaking "*of those Germans who would not only deny their own guilt but also seek to place the responsibility for the consequence of that guilt exclusively upon the shortcomings of other people,*" Mr. McCloy stated:

"*There has been recently a tendency of certain spokesmen (in Germany) to jump all the way from a denial of collective guilt to an assertion that other peoples and countries are responsible for Germany's post-war difficulties and problems. . . . Such utterances . . . display a deep misunderstanding of the events of the past 17 years. They call to my mind what people are now disposed to forget—that is, the amazing docility and acquiescence of the greater part of the German population toward Nazi outrages. After all, it was these outrages which brought about the distress from which Germany now suffers and much more besides.*"

We cannot but applaud also another passage of Mr. McCloy's speech, namely, when he said:

"*Let me emphasize, however, and this I say particularly to the political leaders of Germany: we Americans are not here exclusively to feed the German people and to promote economic recovery, nor merely to see that tanks and planes are not built. Our main purpose is to help Germany achieve political recovery. By that I mean to help the German people establish a political democracy in which they can live as free men and enjoy the benefits of their freedom. . . .*"

Mr. McCloy also spoke about American policy to "*foster free trade practices through a program of decartelization and deconcentration of industry.*" We are indeed very happy that this is American policy. It has been all along, but up to now practically nothing has been done to carry it out. Mr. McCloy knows that this has been largely due to the fact that key officials in the Military Government sabotaged the program, and General Clay backed them up. We hope that the American trustbusters who are coming over will receive a better break, but that remains to be seen too.

All in all, we would say that Mr. McCloy's speech is a recognition of the fact that the German problem will not be solved by billion dollar subsidies or that efficiency for efficiency's sake will take the Germans off

Editorials

CHINESE MARKETS — A BIG STAKE

To check the growing expansion and influence of Communism, our State Department launched the policy of containment. In the words of X, reputedly to be George Kennan, writing in *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947), the policy of containment would "*confront the Russians with unalterable counter forces at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world.*" At the same time, however, that this doctrine was being put into practice, a new program for Germany was under way which, if carried to its logical conclusion, will burst asunder the chains of containment as envisaged by Mr. Kennan.

By the end of 1949, this self-defeating policy in Germany had made significant progress. The reparations program, designed to whittle down Germany's industrial war potential, was scrapped. There was a drastic revision in Germany's favor of the list of prohibited war industries. The programs for decartelization and denazification were emasculated. German heavy industry was given the green light to rebuild its terrible power.

The *London Economist*, in predicting the shape of things to come, declared recently: "*Specifically, the Federal Government, which leans heavily on the support of the industrial and business circles, will seek to end the restriction of steel production to 11.1 million tons, the restrictions on shipbuilding, the bans on civil aviation and on the manufacture of synthetic oil and rubber, and the unilateral subordination of German heavy industry to the Ruhr.*"

Thus, the building up of such a Germany in the face of contracting world markets and increased competition among the nations of the world is virtually an act of setting the fuse to a powder-keg. Containing Communism —while we revitalize German economic power is like trying to build a house during an earthquake.

The Germans, given excessive economic power and capacity, will eventually open the way for new Communist expansion throughout the world. In this connection, it is well worth recalling that the rebuilding of German industry after World War I with the help of American dollars, not only gave Hitler the basis for an army, but after his defeat opened new fields for Communist expansion. This is how German heavy industry and its rulers have served the cause of democracy!

The prospect of German economic power breaking up the containment policy, is not a fantastic dream. Indeed, there is much reality to it already, as can be seen from certain events in Communist China.

The spirit of Rapalloism, born in 1922 with the Russo-German Treaty of Rapallo, continues to spread in present-day Germany. One result of the Rapallo Treaty was that German officers and generals were dispatched to China after the first World War to organize and train the Chinese armies. The Weimar Republic constantly sold weapons and arms to China and did a boom business, in violation of the Versailles Treaty. In the late twenties, high-ranking members of the German general staff shuttled back and forth between Berlin and China.

It is interesting to note that the chief protagonists in this affair were those members of the German general staff with avowed Russophile inclinations. General Hans von Seeckt himself, who is responsible for the re-creation of the German army after the first World War, went to China and stayed there for some time supervising the organization of the Chinese armies.

This chapter of history has not been forgotten by the Germans nor by the Russians—and today we are witnessing the same story all over again.

Reports from Europe disclose that a number of German agents and officers who were formerly members of the Free German Committee in Moscow, have recently left for Communist China with the intention of resuming where their predecessors left off 25 years ago. It has been reported that the Chinese Communists have purchased and received from the Russians German weapons from the last war. If this is true, the Chinese would find it very convenient to have German technicians and officers return to China to acquaint them with the use of these weapons.

Alongside of these reports, it is noted that the Russians are tempting the industrialists of Western Germany to resume business with China on the grounds that this would afford a very profitable outlet for the products of German heavy industry.

According to the Swiss daily, *Tages Anzeiger* of Zuerich, the first inducement of an order for China was recently extended by the Russians to the Western German industrial magnates. The paper reported that a contract was offered to the Germans to deliver 100,000 tons of railway trucks to China. The British learned about it and intervened.

Vera Micheles Dean, writing in a recent issue of the "Foreign Policy Bulletin" (published by the Foreign Policy Association), openly states that "*Russia might invite Western Germany, already looking about for export outlets, to provide technicians and machinery for the industrialization of China.*" And she adds significantly that "*such an invitation could not be lightly disregarded by any German government, whether controlled by industrialists hostile to communism, or by Communists.*"

Another keen observer of the political scene, Marquis Childs, recently wrote in one of his columns from Berlin: "*(Leaders of the Free German Committee) are said to have gone to China where along with Russian observers they are attached to headquarters of Communist military leaders. According to one source, General Paulus himself is in Peiping. Back of all this speculation is the solid fact that the owners and managers of German industry want to find an outlet for their products and their skills in Eastern Europe and Asia.*"

It is therefore not surprising that German industrialists as well as conservative and right-wing politicians see their great chance for the future in an alliance with

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(*Continued from page* 2)

the back of the American taxpayer. His frankness in recognizing the rise of Nazism should be applauded and in our judgment emphasizes the need for an impartial investigation of the occupation—with the cooperation of Mr. McCloy. Honesty is always the best policy, and it is our hope that Mr. McCloy will continue to proceed along the paths which he appeared to outline in his speech and to finally formulate a positive program for Germany which will strengthen American security and the welfare of our Western Allies.

Soviet Russia. A typical example is Herr Josef Mueller, vice-president of the Christian Democratic Party. As reported by Drew Middleton in *The New York Times,* Mueller "*seeks the immediate expansion of trade with the Eastern German Communist state and Eastern Europe.*" The German industrialists know that a trade agreement with Eastern Germany and with the countries behind the iron curtain would pave the way for gigantic markets in Communist China.

MODEL NAZIS

"Five men were freed from the Landsberg War Crimes prison recently. In 1945 all had been sentenced by the Nurenberg tribunal to serve five-year terms; they were released months ahead of schedule. Among those so favored were these illustrious citizens of Hitler's Reich:

"S.S. Gen. *Ernst Wilhelm Bohle,* once the Nazi-designated fuehrer of all Germans living outside the Third Reich. In that role Bohle directed Nazi espionage and propaganda on a world scale. In 1938 Bohle was thundering: 'Citizens of the Reich cannot have one view of life and those outside our borders another. We demand that Reich citizens abroad shall be permitted to shape their life within the German colony according to Nationalist Socialist principles . . .'

"*Georg von Schnitzler,* a director of the infamous I. G. Farben cartel, found guilty of plundering occupied nations. The Nurenberg judgment against von Schnitzler read: 'He was the leading figure in Farben's general policy designed to achieve domination of the dyestuff and chemical industries of Europe.'

"*Dr. Emil Puhl,* director and later vice-president of Hitler's Reichsbank which converted into war cash the gold teeth and jewelry taken from slaughtered concentration camp prisoners and gas chamber victims. The Nurenberg verdict: guilty of crimes against civilian populations.

"*Karl Holdt,* a Wehrmacht general who served in France, Greece and Russia and was a major strategist in plotting the invasions of Poland and Yugoslavia. At Nurenberg he was found guilty of atrocities against war prisoners and civilians.

"*Joseph Alstoetter,* a top official of Hitler's ruthless Ministry of Justice, sentenced for membership in the criminal S.S.

"American officials stolidly explain that these five distinguished leaders of the dark Nazi age are being paroled for '*good behavior*' during the four years they served at Landsberg. They didn't kill a soul while they were in jail . . .

"The reprieve in the setting of modern Germany is a frightening symbol of our competition with the Russians to woo the favor of unreconstructed Nazis—just five years after the Battle of the Bulge. We wonder how Adolf Hitler would have fared if he had survived long enough to go on 'good behavior'; he might have been enormously helpful around the jail, painting things, writing books and never shooting anyone."

(Editorial in the New York Post)

The possibility of closer ties between Germany and Soviet Russia through such arrangements would open up new areas for Germany's industrial power. The German industrialists are aware that Moscow needs and wants the industrialization of Communist China and who would be better equipped for carrying out such a gigantic task than the industrial war lords of the Ruhr! Needless to say, these industrialists are solely concerned with the profitability of such a venture as it would enhance their power, just as the German militarists would be happy to practice their art in China for reasons of their own. The Russians, on the other hand, believe that they can use these German ambitions for their own political aims in the Far East.

The West German Government "has distorted the true picture of economic revival by altering the index of industrial production to make the state of recovery appear less than it actually is."

(Jack Raymond, in a dispatch to the New York Times)

"It will strike many in the United States as unpleasant, but it is nevertheless true that if the West is to retain its position and prestige among those it favors in Germany, it cannot return to government-by-fiat. All the signs—growing nationalism, return of Nazis and nationalists to important office, slowly gathering sentiment for remilitarization—may indicate that this would be the correct course. But the day is past when the United States—or its Allies—can say "Do this" or "Do that" in Germany. For this would give aid and comfort not only to the Russians but to the fiercely nationalist right-wing groups who, in the end, through their affinity with the extreme left, may compound with the Soviet Union a danger that will make our present difficulties insignificant."

(From a dispatch by Drew Middleton to the New York Times)

Thus, every plant not dismantled and every concession granted to Germany which helps to rebuild her industrial war potential in the Ruhr, undermines our policy of containment. The Germans, however, will not only reach out to China, but their economic power will impel them to seek every means possible to extend their influence at the cost of our containment policy. More than that, it will be the American taxpayers who, through their billion dollar subsidies to Germany, will be contributing to the breakdown of the containment policy.

Do our policy makers in Washington favor such a course of action? Do they agree that American policy in Germany should undermine the containment policy against Communism? They act as if they would.

BLACKMAIL TACTICS

Some weeks ago Chancellor Adenauer of the Bonn Government informed U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy that unless German demands on the Saar were met, the Bonn Government might reject cooperation with the West.

Adenauer's curt warning to Mr. McCloy received considerable publicity and now we find that the Saar has become one of the great "problems" that needs to be "solved."

Recalling how German reparations became a great "problem" to be "solved," we are not at all surprised that now it is the Saar which should come under the German axe. The Germans and their mouthpieces in this country are not unwilling to debate the future of the Saar. Indeed, they are trying to give the impression that it is a question which can be debated pro and con. They want to make it appear as though the Allied powers were unprepared to meet this issue and that there had been no commitments or agreements made on this subject.

In truth, however, the issue of the Saar was resolved several years ago by agreement among the U. S., France and Great Britain. It was an agreement which accepted the French position that the economy of the Sarr should be integrated with that of France.

Under these circumstances one may ask the question why the Germans should at this time pretend that the Saar is a lively and unresolved problem. It is not hard to find an answer. Recall for one moment that the Allied powers made solemn agreements and pledges regarding the delivery of German reparations to the victimized nations. Those agreements were emasculated beyond recognition thanks to the undermining work of the Germans and their cartel supporters in the United States and Britain. This was precedent enough to prompt the Germans to raise the "question" of the Saar. By granting the Germans concession after concession it is only natural that they should now be howling about the Saar.

We have stated on innumerable occasions that the German appetite is insatiable. They have never and will never reconcile themselves to the fact that the world is changing and that the peoples of Europe as well as the vast majority of Americans are no longer in the mood to accept a Germany which aims to dominate her neighbors economically or politically.

The world obtained a preview of the German position on the Saar when the Bonn Parliament first met last year. On that occasion German politicians vied with each other in drumming up nationalistic and chauvinistic sentiment. They said then that they would never be satisfied until all "their territories" were returned to the Fatherland, including the Saar. This ominous development was ignored by Allied officials in Germany who regarded this imitation of a Hitler rally as a healthy sign of democracy. The nationalist politicians were defended on the grounds that they were exercising free speech and that it was far safer to allow them to sound off in public rather than conspire behind closed doors. Consequently, the Allied occupation authorities preferred to sit on their hands while the German propaganda arsenal continued to blast away at Allied policy.

This is the genesis of the so-called Saar issue. After having allowed the Germans to build up a very cunning propaganda story about the importance of the Saar to the Fatherland, it would be asking too much for the Allies to take drastic action at this time to silence them.

Thus we are now presented with the so-called problem of the Saar which actually had been disposed of three years ago. The Germans became so emboldened in their campaign that they even threatened to break off trade negotiations with the French until they received complete satisfaction.

The German propaganda machine works on all fronts. Some of their leading politicians made fiery speeches which would have endeared them to Adolf Hitler. One of these harangues was made by *Thomas Dehler*, Minister of Justice in the Adenauer Government. Dehler was the gentleman who initiated the drive to free German war criminals on the grounds that the conviction of Hermann Goering and his henchmen would have never taken place today because things are regarded with more "dispassion." In his speech at Hamburg Herr Dehler attacked France for "starting" the first World War. He denounced the International Control of the Ruhr. He declared that it was a "myth" that Germany was an aggressor nation. Dehler declared that France was responsible for World War I and for the rise of Adolf Hitler!

Other politicians took up the Dehler line which undoubtedly made a great hit with the Germans. When the French protested, Dr. Adenauer told the press that the Dehler statement was "thoroughly improbable." On the other hand, Paul Bourdin, who was Public Relations officer for the Adenauer government let it be known that there was no fundamental difference of opinion between Dr. Dehler and Dr. Adenauer.

In reality there is no contradiction between the denials of Dr. Adenauer and the assertions made by his Public Relations officer. Dr. Adenauer is an old fox and knows how to play a double game. On the one hand he does not want to cause too much opposition among the occupying powers, and on the other hand Dehler's agitation is very helpful insofar as it increases Adenauer's bargaining power.

According to one report, the German strategy "seems to be to keep the question alive rather than to expect any speedy settlement." This is exactly what Mr. Adenauer is trying to do and this is certainly in line with the past performances of blackmail tactics pursued by former German governments.

While it is true that there is no treaty of peace with Germany as yet, it is also a fact that the fundamental principles with regard to the disposition of the Saar have been settled. In accordance with these agreements, France has gone ahead to develop the Saar in relationship to her own industries. The resources of the Saar have been integrated with those of Lorraine, and this has helped the French to recover from the devastating German occupation. The Saar has become, in fact, an intrinsic part of the French economy. In this connection, both France and the inhabitants of the Saar have benefited from these arrangements. Indeed, without the Saar, France today would be in an inferior position economically to that of Western Germany.

These are the fundamentals which attest to the correctness of the agreements made by the Allies on the Saar. They also explain the reason why the Germans are so violent in their opposition. In their long range plans the Germans hope to regain their former position of economic superiority and thereby reduce France to a subordinate role. Without the Saar it would not be easy for the Germans to accomplish this objective.

Therefore, in terms of the defense of Western Europe as well as the recovery of Germany's neighbors, the Saar must stay out of the German economic orbit.

Ever since our Germany Firsters have taken hold of the reins of the occupation, the United States has been losing friends in France and in other countries of Western Europe. This process was greatly accelerated after we consented to scuttle the German reparations program. We predict that if the United States should consent to any program which would nullify the original agreements and commitments on the Saar, we would alienate the overwhelming majority of the French people and many other nations in Western Europe.

Perhaps it was in recognition of this fact that Secretary Acheson told a press conference on January 18 that the United States, with the approval of the President, had supported and would continue to support the French position *"which was that the Saar should be detached from Germany and that it should be financially and economically integrated with France."* This is the least that we can do in terms of making sure that the Saar never becomes a part of Germany's industrial war potential.

United States support on this issue will most certainly receive the warm response of the French and other peoples of Western Europe. We think it will receive the firm support of all security-minded Americans.

AGRICULTURAL REFORM—WHEN?

Every now and then we are obliged to turn to the food situation in Germany because it is of fundamental importance in analyzing the real needs of the German economy. We have shown through facts and figures that the German food situation since the end of the war has been no worse than that which has obtained in the countries which were ravaged by the German armies. In spite of this fact, the Germans have received A-1 priority in food shipments from the U. S. which has been accompanied by an overwhelming propaganda campaign. We have declared time and again that this great concern over the German food situation has been often motivated by other than humanitarian principles.

The real reason for this agitation was to provide an excuse for the preserving of Germany's industrial war potential which, according to the Germany-Firsters, would produce products in exchange for necessary food stuffs. It was this spurious argument which helped to scrap a great many of our agreements, including those on reparations.

Naturally it has not been a pleasant task for us to expose this propaganda for it could be misinterpreted as a denial of the fact that hunger knows no boundaries. However, we have never for a moment advocated a policy which would deprive the Germans of necessary foodstuffs. All we have said is that the Germans, during the early post-war period, were eating much better than official statistics showed and that they could have a better diet if they were willing to rationalize their agriculture. This also pre-supposed an Allied program which would have been realistic and effective. It did not work out that way because the Germans deliberately created one obstacle after another, and the Allied authorities tolerated this sabotage.

In assessing the potential resources of German agriculture, we asked the following question: how could one know just exactly what the Germans need in the way of foodstuffs when they have not exhausted all the possibilities of producing indigenous agricultural products. That question, which touches the core of the problem, was never answered. The other day, however, we got an answer from Mr. Charles Bingham, an American businessman, who was former chief of the Foreign Trade Division of the Joint Export Import Agency at Frankfurt. In early February, he spoke before the Commerce and Industry Association in New York where he discussed matters pertaining to German trade and economics.

Among other things, Mr. Bingham said, "*the basic need of Germany and of all of Europe is to produce more food especially of the basic types which Europe lacks, namely, bread, grain, sugar, fats and oils*". In this connection, he said, "*a program of land consolidation is necessary before any mechanization can be applied to German agriculture. Through consolidation of land and through improvement of animal husbandry, the food production in Germany can be increased from 10 to 25%*". This pertinent information received scant attention and it needs to be aired even more now than ever before. Mr. Bingham implicitly reveals that the Germans, thanks to our paternalism, have refused to modernize and expand their agriculture.

This is confirmed by Mr. Robert Hanes, chief of the ECA in Germany. He recently wrote a sharp letter to Dr. Adenauer reminding him of the importance of increasing agricultural production in Germany. Mr. Hanes brought out the fact that 70% of total U. S. aid to Germany has gone for food. On the other hand, he disclosed that less than 10% of Germany's counterpart funds have been assigned to the development of agricultural resources. If Mr. Hanes is incensed about this situation, he should not only blame the German politicians and land owners, but those Allied officials who have tolerated this state of affairs.

In the U. S. Zone alone, 1,235,000 acres owned by 700 individuals and organizations were to be subjected to land reform, but as of April, 1949, only 71,000 acres were redistributed! This in spite of the fact that the law for land reform was passed 3 years ago. The failure to reform German agriculture has provided the excuse for the Germans to ask for more handouts at the expense of the American taxpayer, who thus are not only subsidizing German exports, but also supporting feudal conditions on the land in Germany. In terms of social as well as economic significance, this state of affairs is definitely detrimental to the democratization of the German people.

But apparently the Germans are not at all concerned. The Bonn regime has finally done away with rationing with the exception of sugar. They have done so, not because they have earned the right but because our policy, in fact, guarantees that no matter how little they produce, Uncle Sam will make up the difference. In contrast to the plethora of foodstuffs in Germany today, our British Allies are still under rationing controls. As a further contrast, we point to the millions of peoples throughout the world who are living on a starvation diet and who have never attacked the United

States.

The question of a self-sustaining Germany is directly related to the problem of agricultural reforms. Even Mr. Charles Bingham, who is all in favor of unlimited German industry, admits *"there is literally no prospect that Germany within the foreseeable future can pay for American goods except through Marshall aid or through the increasing of German imports to America."* The problem of importing to the United States, however, is not one which concerns the Germans alone. They are in for a rude awakening if they believe that they can recapture their old markets. Certainly with such poor prospects, there is no point in defending a program which emphasizes a huge industrial potential which will be able to produce the commodities which are supposed to be exchanged for foodstuffs.

If the Germans want to eat better and on a more stable basis and if the American taxpayers hope to be relieved of subsidizing German food imports, then agricultural reforms must be instituted and the sooner that is done, the better for all concerned.

THE TAXPAYERS "MUST"

Once upon a time the Allies made an agreement which stated, *"in the imposition and maintenance of economic controls established by the Control Council, German administrative machinery shall be created and the German authorities shall be required to the fullest extent practicable to proclaim and assume administration of such controls. Thus it should be brought home to the German people that the responsibility for the administration of such controls and any breakdown in these controls will rest with the Germans themselves."*

The idea that the Germans should be held responsible for the solution of their own problems was stressed by President Roosevelt as early as August 26, 1944, when he criticized the original Military Government handbook for Germany which had been prepared by the War Department. This view was also clearly expressed in the Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive 1067 to the Commander-in-Chief of United States forces in Germany, April 1945: *"You will estimate requirements of supplies necessary to prevent starvation or widespread disease or such civil unrest as would endanger the occupying forces. Such estimates will be based upon a program whereby the Germans are made responsible for providing for themselves out of their own work and resources."* In short, this was official U. S. policy, but things did not work out as originally conceived by either the President or the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

On the contrary, the real program pursued in Germany was one of paternalism. The American people were told that it was their obligation to see to it that every German was well-fed, well-clothed, and well-housed. It was such an unusual policy toward a nation which had committed horrible crimes against humanity, that even General Clay, in an unguarded moment, admitted that no other conquered nation had ever been treated with such consideration as the Germans.

It did not take long for the Germans to catch on to this spoon feeding policy and all that it implied. They put on an act of helplessness which to this day has reaped rich dividends. As a result, the American taxpayers have been obliged to pour billions into Germany and the end is by no means in sight.

The strange part about this situation is that very early in the game the Germans demanded complete freedom from Allied control. Our officials rushed in and said this was a wonderful thing because the Germans were learning the art of self-government. But there was a catch to all this. While the Germans demanded and received unprecedented powers they never let go of the fat money bags which Uncle Sam is placing at their disposal year after year. In short, they have achieved the miraculous; they are not only eating their cake but they have it as well.

The Germans are enjoying the ride on Uncle Sam's gravy train and they have no intention of getting off. They want to do and go as they please and they want their generous Uncle to finance whatever actions they decide to take. They make no bones about that. For example, Ernest Leiser, chief correspondent for the Overseas News Agency in Germany, reveals that the new German economic policy has encouraged the importation of many luxury and semi-luxury items, including goose liver and other non-essentials. On the other hand, this same policy has de-emphasized German exports which, it will be recalled, were supposed to be the "key" to European recovery.

Mr. Leiser reports that American officials are becoming critical, declaring that the Germans are living far beyond their means today, while the United States foots the bill. But this does not disturb Herr Ludwig Erhard, the Economic Minister for the Bonn Government. On the contrary, he told Mr. Leiser, "in spite of our increases in production, it will be difficult to balance the economy by 1952. It is up to the United States. The Americans must furnish the industrial capital we need and must lower its tariffs against our exports if we are to be self-supporting."

Note the word "*must.*" This is a favorite expression of the Germans and they know how and against whom to use it. Herr Erhard's ultimatum was seconded by that paragon of German ingenuity, Hjalmar Schacht. Schacht was never an admirer of democracy and he does not hesitate to say so. "What is called democracy in Germany today is nothing but the empty trappings of the occupying powers." After mocking democracy, Mr. Schacht then assumes the same "must" attitude as Herr Erhard. *"Let them (the Allies) abolish Germany's distress,"* Herr Schacht demands, *"and there will never be a Hitler era again."* Schacht, who should have been hung at Nuremberg with Goering et al, is not speaking for himself. He has become a favorite oracle of influential Germans and his views are rapidly becoming official German policy.

We are not interested here in the substance of these statements, but rather in the implications of the ultimata thrown out to the Allies by Erhard and Schacht. Herren Erhard and Schacht have made it clear that we, that is, the American people, "must" abolish Germany's "distress" and if additional billions are not forthcoming, then the Germans will take the path of Hitler.

We must bear in mind the fact that there are scores of nations which were devastated just as much and even more than Germany. Yet, is it not strange that only the Germans seem to have the predilection for Hitlers as a way out of their distress?

It is immaterial at this moment whether the Germans are bluffing or not. More important is the fact that their arrogance is a logical result of our paternalism. It does not matter if in compliance with these ultimata we rush into Germany with additional billions for that will not appease these people; Munich did not appease Hitler. The question, therefore, is how long will the American people take it.

If some of our readers believe that we are exaggerating when we say that the Germans still think the world owes them a living, permit us to quote from the *London Economist* of January 31, 1950:

"The Germans would like to return—and find it hard to grasp why this should not be so — to the days of Schacht and Funk, when almost every European country had to sell more or less unrequited exports in return for block balances in Berlin. The idea of getting something for nothing is deeply imbedded in the German mind."

SOVIETS FLIRT WITH GERMAN RIGHTISTS

"Some 4,000,000 *Germans with Nazi leanings may be laying the groundwork for another Hitler who could, ironically, lead his followers right into the camp of Red Russia."* Thus an Associated Press dispatch from Frankfurt called attention to a development which does not come unexpectedly to those who have carefully followed the trend of political events in Eastern and Western Germany.

For some time now, it has been obvious that strange cross-connections exist between some of the neo-Nazi groups and parties in Western Germany and their counterparts in Eastern Germany, officially sponsored by the Soviets. It is a matter of record that the extreme right-wing Nationalists and neo-Nazi in Western Germany hate and despise the West German Republic. They represent approximately 12% of Western Germany's 31,000,000 eligible voters. They have three common aims:

1. to disparage democracy
2. to build a powerful militant Germany
3. to fight for a united Germany.

Today it is no longer a secret that these extreme right-wingers and neo-Nazis are being openly courted by the Soviets. The drive for reunification of Germany was a clever move on the part of the Russians to woo these right-wing groups and personalities into their camp. The Russians know that nothing attracts a German right-winger more than a battle-cry for reunification of the Reich. As a result, the *"National Front"* sponsored by the Russians has gained adherents among the most reactionary and right-wing elements in Germany.

According to Drew Middleton of the *New York Times*, Communist pressure for the unification of Germany is directed especially against Western Germany's estimated 10,000,000 refugees; this pressure is exerted *"through the medium of the radical right-wing political groups."* Many of these rightists have recently taken an outspoken pro-Soviet orientation. These Nationalists include all kinds of people. Among them are industrialists who hope for a strong authoritarian state that will force the worker to slave labor levels. There are former officers with their passion for a revival of militarism. And there is finally a scattered fringe of anti-Semites, professional rowdies and opportunists.

Drew Middleton reports that German right-wing leaders not only follow the Soviet line, but look for financial support either from industrial and commercial interests who see better economic prospects in a united Germany, or from the Russians who dispense money now for future "cooperation." As far as Communist propaganda on the refugees from Eastern Germany is concerned, we should like to quote from Drew Middleton's dispatch:

"Soviet political strategists have penetrated a mass of often conflicting, never simple factors in Western Germany's political situation to establish a dual basis for action.

"The first is that the refugees, largely unemployed and many of them living in desperate poverty, present an area for political agitation unparalleled in any Western European country since the advent of the Marshall Plan.

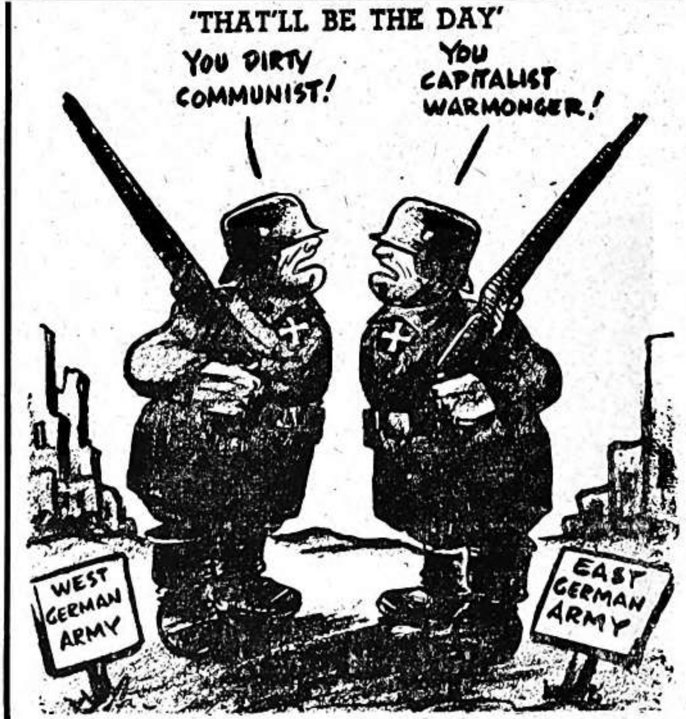
"The second is that since most of these refugees have fled or been expelled from Central or Eastern Europe, they are not receptive to communism, but will listen to those right-wing politicians whose goals, in many cases, are in accord with the initial steps in the Soviet program for Germany.

"The principal goal is unity, which to the refugees means an eventual return to their homelands or at least resettlement in the more familiar Eastern area, where, they are told, there is work for all.

"To the Russians unity means a reunited Germany in which, if the Communists are not at first the dominant party, they at least will have a chance to achieve domination of all Germany, and all that this means to the long-term plans of the Soviet Union."

Little wonder, therefore, that the propaganda for a united Germany with the capital in Berlin gains momentum, and it is not surprising that hand in glove with this propaganda, slogans now appear telling the Western Allies to *"go home."*

This fits perfectly into the pattern of Soviet strategy: on the one hand a drive for a strong united Germany and on the other hand the prospect of the withdrawal of the occupation troops. It is obvious that every German, leftist or rightist, will endorse such objectives.



(Cartoon by Stampone—Courtesy The Army Times)

INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE POLICY

The International Chamber of Commerce, which has branches in many countries, including the United States, is ostensibly devoted to the creation of sound economic relations throughout the world. This is a very fine purpose and it is a goal which is shared by all peoples concerned with the strengthening of peace and security through world prosperity.

International cooperation received a terrible blow when Hitler launched his wars of aggression. One would expect that international organizations, such as the I.C.C., would have had to curtail some of their activities, in view of the fact that the free world was engaged in a life and death struggle against totalitarian forces. But this was not the case with the I.C.C.

The *German Economic Press Review*, prepared under the direction of Allied authorities in Germany, disclosed the following information with regard to the activities of the I.C.C.: "*Since its foundation after World War I, this economic organization took up a genuinely business-like stand toward all economic policy matters which arose in abundance during the time between the two wars. It gave as much consideration to German suggestions as to those of other countries. The connections between the I.C.C. and the German business world have actually never been severed.*"

We have come across too many of these "business as usual" approaches during the time when American boys were sacrificing their lives, to be shocked by this disclosure. Nevertheless, we believe that our readers should be acquainted with some aspects of the I.C.C. It has great prestige and as a matter of fact is one of the few international organizations which has consultative status with the Economic Social Council of the United Nations. The United Nations was originally formed out of those states which banded together in a common effort against the Germans. Under these circumstances, it seems to be an incongruous situation that among its member non-government agencies there should be an organization which dealt with the Germans during the war.

The fact that the I.C.C. never severed its relations with the former enemy of the United Nations prompted us to examine this organization, and our preliminary findings show that its pro-German inclinations are indeed very pronounced.

For example, the Honorary President of the I.C.C. is one *F. H. Fentener van Vlissingen.* With few exceptions, there was no one in Holland during the German occupation who so actively collaborated with the invaders than van Vlissingen. Van Vlissingen helped finance and operate a silk plant in Germany which made parachutes for Goering's Luftwaffe. He was the leading spirit in the huge international rayon cartel, A.K.U., located in Holland.

The infamous *Deutsche Bank*, headed by Herman J. Abs, maintained very "excellent relations" with the A.K.U. group through van Vlissingen, according to U. S. Government sources. Through Abs' close ties with van Vlissingen, Abs was appointed vice-chairman of the A.K.U. in 1939.

Baron Kurt von Schroeder, Hitler's SS banker, told American investigators that the Deutsche Bank obtained the majority of the shares of A.K.U. Abs and van Vlissingen divided their labors directing the affairs of the A.K.U. According to von Schroeder, the German shareholders were told by Abs how to vote, while the Dutch shareholders were instructed by van Vlissingen. Van Vlissingen's tie-ups with the Deutsche Bank were very close. According to a key official in the Speer Ministry for Armaments and War Production, van Vlissingen "*was a customer of the Deutsche Bank. They valued his account very much.*"

American investigators found that van Vlissingen "*had considerable interests in German heavy industry, mostly where the Deutsche Bank figured prominently. His ties with the leaders of German industry and state were strengthened with his family's relationship with Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Nazi foreign minister, and the Henkell family. He was a commander in the Hitlerite order of the German Eagle, and subsequently cooperated with the Germans during the occupation of Holland.*"

In 1945, the Subcommittee of the Senate Military Affairs Committee characterized van Vlissingen as an "arch collaborationist" of the Nazis. In addition to his German industrial holdings, the Senate Subcommittee revealed that he had important property interests in the United States which were vested by the United States Alien Property Custodian in 1943.

During the years 1928-1938, van Vlissingen was a director of the German steel trust. In the same approximate period, according to the Subcommittee, van Vlissingen was President of the International Chamber of Commerce. Eight weeks after the Dutch capitulation to Germany, van Vlissingen joined up with the National Committee for Economic Collaboration with the Nazis. This organization was superceded by the Committee for Industrial Organization "*which had as its admitted task, the gearing of Dutch economic production to the needs of the German war machine in Holland.*" It was Adolf Hitler, who, in July 1937, decorated van Vlissingen with the Star Merit Cross of the German Eagle.

Van Vlissingen visited the United States ostensibly to attend a session of the I.C.C. in December, 1945. He told a press conference that the United States should provide Holland with $1,000,000,000 in order to heal the wounds of war. Van Vlissingen did not tell his press audience that he helped in no small way in making it possible for the Germans to devastate Holland.

Another important bigwig in the International Chamber of Commerce is *Lord Riverdale of Sheffield*, England, who is the Honorary Chairman of the Budget Commission of the I.C.C. Riverdale has always been a pro-German and is a close friend and collaborator of van Vlissingen. Riverdale's attitude toward Germany was revealed by the London Telegram of October 23, 1933, a few months after Hitler seized power in Germany. He was quoted as having said, "Will the Germans go to war again? I do not think there is any doubt about it, and the curious thing about it is that I am almost persuaded that some day we shall have to let the Germans arm or we shall have to arm them.... One of the greatest menaces of peace in Europe today is the totally unarmed condition of Germany." Lord Riverdale should have consulted Brig. Gen. J. H. Morgan who, as the British representative for carrying out the demilitarization of Germany after World War I, revealed that the Germans had never been disarmed.

Lord Riverdale, who is a British steel tycoon in his own right, was of course a strong advocate of the appeasement policy which finally brought England to ruin. But his conscience apparently never got the best of him. Indeed, after having attended the same session of the I.C.C. with van Vlissingen in New York, Riverdale told an American press conference that German industry—steel in particular—must be revived without delay. "*I think,*" he declared, "*there most certainly will be a German steel industry again. . . . Germany must become a strong industrial nation once again.*"

The influence of these two gentlemen in the I.C.C. must be very strong indeed, considering the programs which the I.C.C. has advocated with regard to Germany.

For example, in its pamphlet on the economic conditions of Germany and their international repercussions which appeared in 1947, the I.C.C. stressed the "importance" of reviving Germany's industrial power for the alleged purpose of stimulating economic recovery in Europe. The pamphlet stated, "*the world and Europe especially needs every contribution that Germany can make to general rehabilitation.*" It deplored the "*continued paralysis of Germany's productive powers since the end of the war.*"

The I.C.C. believed that this so-called productive paralysis was the result of certain factors including denazification. Thus it said, "*The long drawn-out nature of the denazification policy has had serious effects on the efficiency of government and industry. Suitable men fear to put themselves forward lest they should be victims of jealous (sic) denunciation. Decisions are too long delayed and prevent able and experienced men from filling responsible positions.*" Was the pamphlet referring to Herman Abs, Hjalmar Schacht, Krupp, or the gang of criminals that ran I.G. Farben?

As for decartelization, the pamphlet expressed dismay over the "*uncertainty about the future ownership of German industry* [*which*] *has resulted from the American policy of decartelization and the declared British policy of decartelization.*" The pamphlet spoke about the "dangers" of decartelization which has made "*German industrialists and managers completely uncertain of their future status and property rights with a consequent adverse effect on production.*"

Apparently, the I.C.C. was more interested in what they called "efficiency" than justice and human rights. As far as property rights are concerned, which the I.C.C. is so anxious to uphold, the pamphlet did not take to task the Germans for looting the properties of other peoples and countries. In their practical way of looking at things, this must have been "water under the bridge".

The entire pamphlet stresses the importance of building up Germany, of having export markets for the herrenvolk, yet it contains a very curious comment: "*It is likely that the beneficial effect of an increase in German trade will tend to become progressively less if German trade revives, as the most urgent of other nations' needs are supplied and the competitive element becomes stronger. It is also probable that a German export trade artificially concentrated on light industries (as envisaged under the first Level of Industry Plan), will have fewer beneficial effects on Europe's economy and more harmful effects from a competitive point of view than an export trade which was allowed to develop along 'natural' lines. Security reasons may make such a concentration desirable but it would be unwise to overlook the disadvantages to competitors of forcing German competition on a comparatively narrow group of products.*"

This is a very interesting statement as it reveals that the International Chamber of Commerce opposed the original American program for Germany which sought to reduce the war potential in her heavy industries and encouraged the development of light industries. But the I.C.C. was not concerned with the security of other nations which in the past have been the victims of German heavy industry's products, guns and tanks, but was more anxious to avoid hypothetical repercussions resulting from an intensification of the light industries.

To those who are informed on cartels, the I.C.C.'s fears are understandable. They know that it is far more difficult to straight jacket competition in the field of light industries, whereas in heavy industry, effective apparatus can be set up, such as cartels and trusts, which can exercise proper controls over the danger of "undue" competition. In other words, the I.C.C. was making a plea for the resumption of the cartel structure in German heavy industry which could be more easily controlled. Security did not figure into the calculations of the I.C.C. It was more interested in resuming the old business methods in Germany which caused so much ruin and misery throughout the world.

The pro-German slant in I.C.C. policy is therefore unmistakable. Whether by coincidence or otherwise, it has found influential advocates among some of our high officials.

GERMAN BANKS

A short while ago the press reported that a group of American trustbusters had been sent to Germany to take up the fight against the German cartels. Up to the present, every round has been won by the Germans who, strangely enough, have had Americans in their corner coaching them on how to deliver the most effective blows against the Allied decartelization program. We sincerely hope that this will not occur during the

". . . A few weeks ago Mr. McCloy assured the world that the revival of German nationalism was inconsequential. Now all that is changed. Most important, McCloy revealed that the U. S. will not tolerate the resurrection of a German army and air force. . . .

"An even more meaningful clue to the course of our policy in Germany may be the ultimate fate of those leading Nazi war criminals who have so far evaded the noose. . . . McCloy was said to be weighing pleas for an amnesty for some of Hitler's most distinguished lieutenants. What happens to these men will be viewed throughout the world as a measure of the earnestness of McCloy's speech. He has said in effect that the Soviet threat will not blind us to the peril of armed German fascism. Execution of the top Nazis whose death was decreed at Nuernberg would be a new and needed reassurance to those Germans who never did business with Hitler."

(*From an editorial in the New York Post*) next round, for otherwise our trustbusters will be wasting their time and the taxpayers money.

We hope that this new investigating team will not overlook the German banking system. A great deal of noise has been made about the so-called reorganization of German banking along the lines of our Federal Reserve System. The reorganization of the German banking system took place shortly before currency reforms were instituted and was supposed to break up the banking monopoly enjoyed, in particular, by the Deutsche and Dresdner Banks. Accordingly, a central reserve bank for all of West Germany was set up which is called the *Bank Deutscher Laender*. In addition, each of the eleven states in the German West Federation has its own autonomous central bank which is directly linked to the *Bank Deutscher Laender*. The BDL has enormous powers of credit and ostensibly is the ultimate controller of banking policy throughout Western Germany. Private banks, such as the Deutsche and Dresdner, have been "broken up" so that according to the regulations no private German bank may maintain branches in more than one state. This was to prevent these former banking monopolies from regaining control over German industry.

We do not question the sincerity of those who instituted this reform. We are certain that German banks will no longer be allowed to include the gold teeth of concentration camp victims as part of their assets. Nevertheless, we are not so sure that what has been accomplished in the way of reforming German banking practices has produced the desired results. There is not much official information as to how the system actually operates, its personnel, etc., but there are indications which we believe could be significant and certainly deserve the close scrutiny of the American trustbusters.

For example, we have recently received a copy of a German trade publication titled *The German Market*. This publication advertises the wares of many of Germany's foremost industrial outfits which only a few years ago were producing the guns and tanks for Hitler's war machine. The magazine also carries advertisements of a number of German banks. The names of these banks would not be familiar to those who have done business with Germany in the past, but this difficulty is easily solved because below the name of each bank we read the following caption: "*formerly Dresdner Bank*" or "*formerly Deutsche Bank.*" It is well known, of course, that these two banks not only provided the financial kitty for Adolf Hitler, but were the arch spoliators of German occupied Europe.

Is it not strange that these so-called new banks should continue to identify themselves with the Deutsche and Dresdner monopolies? Is it merely a sentimental gesture or does it show that while the form has changed, the substance remains unaltered? We think that our trustbusters should try to find the answer.

The magazine carries an article on the German banks "as auxiliaries of foreign trade." The article contains several passages which also deserve the attention of the new decartelization team. *"On the resumption of German foreign trade the occupying powers immediately made use of the German banking institutions which have remained intact, and allocated numerous tasks to those institutions which had been nominated as foreign trade banks. . . . In practice the foreign trade banks can today again carry out many of the normal transactions and international banking activities. The restrictions still in force are practically the same as those existing in other countries in which currency controls exist. There are indications that at a not too distant date further relaxation will be notified. . . . The banks were able within a comparatively short period of time to resume and extend the very good foreign relations which they enjoyed prior to the war. Their world-wide connections, the concentration of all foreign business transactions in their hands as also their close intercalation in the foreign trade procedure, permitted them to gain ample experience and made of them centers of the informative and consultative services."*

Judging from these remarks, it would seem that the power and influence of the German banks has not changed in spite of "reforms." It may be worthwhile for our trustbusters to delve into this matter.

In discussing the new banking set-up in Germany, the *London Economist* declares that in its actual operations "*the weaker members have usually been quite willing to allow a few men of standing to call the tune.*" To this, the *Economist* adds, "*many influential posts in the new system are filled by old Reichsbank officials to whom decentralization is anathema.*"

In connection with the kind of personnel which seems to be dominating the German banking system, the *U. S. News and World Report* of July 29, 1949, stated: "*Men who were powers of German banking and investment operations before and during the war are back in positions of inflence. Herman Abs, a Berlin banker, who was highly regarded by Hjalmar Schacht during the Nazi rise, often is called 'the most powerful man in Germany' . . . Now he is the head of a German corporation set up to finance the growth of industry. In his new job he dominates industrial investment in reviving Germany.*"

Senator Guy Gillette of Iowa has recently drawn public attention to the criminal background of Herman Abs and readers of *Prevent World War III* will recall that the Society has also gone into much detail on the notorious pro-Hitler background of Abs.

Aside from the reappearance of the same elements which financed Hitler, the *London Economist*, in appraising the results of the so-called breaking up of the Deutsche and Dresdner banks, says the following: "*Thus the old Deutsche Bank in the Ruhr, previously the largest bank in Rhineland-Westphalia, has become the largest bank under the new regime (it now operates under the title of Rheinisch-Westphaelische Bank). By contrast the successor of the Commerz Bank . . . has perforce dwindled to relative insignificance. Since the currency reform the larger banks in the larger states have increased their lead by attracting the lions' share of new deposits.*"

Statistics on the results of the banking reform show that from July 1948 to July 1949, the number of banks in Western Germany decreased by 634, while during the same period, savings deposits increased eightfold, from 312.9 million d.m. to 2584.4 million d.m. On the face of it, these statistics show that there is now a tendency toward greater concentration of the German banking system than during the most profitable days of the Nazi regime. Again, we would not want to pre-judge the findings of the trustbusters, but we certainly believe that what has been said above should be thoroughly investigated.

It seems incredible that after suffering so much at the hands of these predatory German banks, there should be certain special interests in Allied countries who are whooping it up for the re-monopolization of German finance. Certain circles among the British would like to see a re-concentration of the old Deutsche and Dresdner banks. In fact, their government has been negotiating with German bankers and American authorities on this subject.

Even some Germans are frightened as to the prospects of a return of the old scheme of things. *The New York Times* of December 29, 1949, reported the following: "*A high German source recently expressed grave apprehension over the infiltration of former big bankers into German banking life. He said that while they had been cleared as Nazis, they nevertheless had been accustomed to conducting their business along cartel lines traditional in Germany.*"

If the British, and we have no doubt that certain American circles feel the same way, are ready to recartelize the banking system in Germany, we can hardly expect the Germans themselves to become enthusiastic proponents of decartelization. Which explains why Franz Bluecher, the vice-chancellor of the Bonn Government recently advocated a return to the good old days of German banking. Bluecher said this was the only way Germany could amass enough capital both at home and abroad, to get things going again.

In line with this agitation, it will be recalled that a few months ago Herman Abs visited the United States to reestablish the old friendly relations between the German financial community and some of the folks in Wall Street. Whether in his discussions with his friends here, Mr. Abs called for their support for the recartelization of the German banks is not actually known. But, judging from Mr. Abs' record, it would not surprise us at all if this was part of his mission.

Following Mr. Abs, Bluecher himself traveled to the U.S.A. According to his biography, Bluecher was a top official in the National Bank in Essen during the days when Hitler was running rampant throughout Europe. The National Bank was associated with Abs' Deutsche Bank in aryanizing the banking house of Simon Hirschland of Essen. Aryanization, of course, means in plain language the looting of property belonging to someone else. After having looted Simon Hirschland, the Deutsche and National Bank set up a purely "aryan" institution called Burkhardt & Co. According to the War Department, the top personnel of the Burkhardt Bank consisted of "*individuals who in an outstanding way thrived under national socialism, who welcomed it in the beginning, aided the Nazis to obtain power, supported them in office, shared the spoils of expropriation and conquest. . . .*"

In the December, 1949, issue of the notorious pan-German publication *Der Weg*, which is published by the Nazis in Argentine, Bluecher was quoted as having said: "*We will have to have a serious talk with the occupying powers about the amnesty of all those condemned for political reasons after 1945.*" This is a tall order for it would mean the freeing of most of the war criminals.

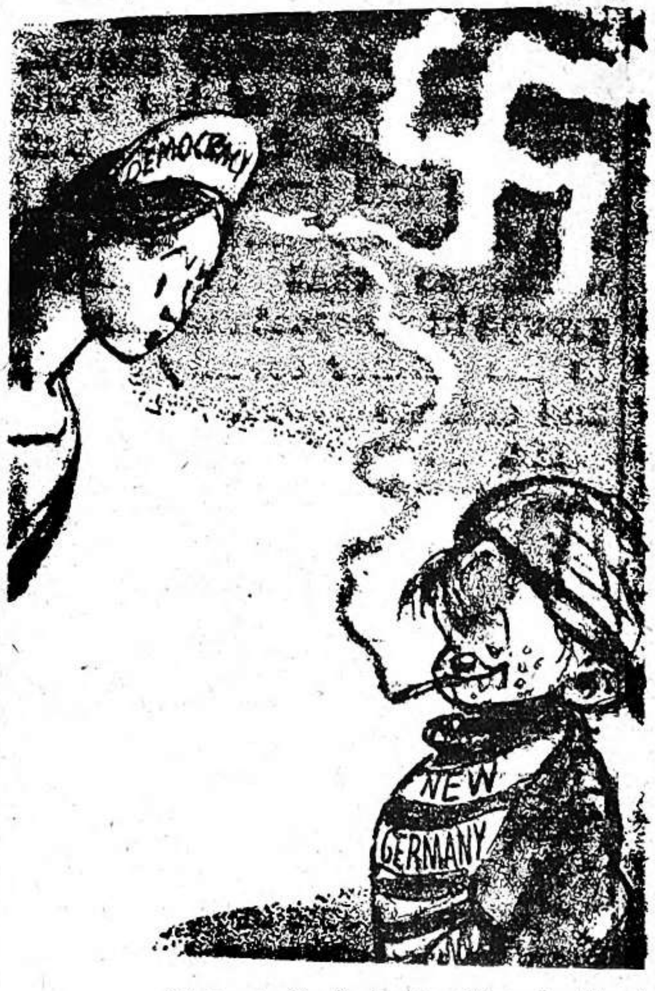
The fact that Bluecher has come back into prominence with his friend Abs, should be a broad enough hint to our trustbusters as to the real situation in the German banking system today.

"John J. McCloy, the American High Commissioner in Germany, talked tougher, more specific and more forthright language to the German people in a Stuttgart address . . . than any allied spokesman for many long months. The rebuke he administered was deserved; the timing was right. The lessons must not go unheeded . . . (the Germans) have been inclined to forget at times matters that are of the most immediate concern to the Allies. These matters are abuse of power, abuse of responsibility, failure to assume duties imposed upon them by their new position in Europe, inability to understand or accept basic principles laid down by the powers . . .

"It is now up to the Germans, including the free German press which he applauded, to see to it that his words are heeded. For unless they are obeyed, more drastic measures may be necessary to achieve the denazification and democratization to which the Allies are pledged . . ."

(From an editorial in the New York Herald Tribune)

"WHERE THERE'S SMOKE"



(*Cartoon by Burck—Courtesy Chicago Sun-Times*)

"Rapalloism" Soviet Russia's secret weapon in Germany

Prussian general calls Stalin message "A moral alliance between Germany and the Soviet Union"

The intense degree to which German Communist leaders in the Eastern Zone continuously stir up the hate campaign against the Western Allies is not too well known. American correspondents in Berlin have so much to report on the level of high policy that news of the anti-American hate campaign is not given the prominent place it deserves.

The extent to which these Communist hate mongers spew their lies is best evidenced by the fact that February 12th, the so-called fifth anniversary of the Western air raids against the city of Dresden, was officially observed in the Eastern Zone with an almost unbelievable barrage of falsehoods against the United States and Britain.

The official Berlin newspaper of the Soviet High Command the *Taegliche Rundschau*, sounded the keynote when it screamed to the Germans that *"destroyed Dresden should remind you to fight against the imperialist robbers."* The official newspaper of the SED, *Neues Deutschland*, prominently displayed an article by the Mayor of Dresden, Walter Widauer, who spoke of the raids as *"a dreadful deed"* which killed 35,000 civilians but *"had not been a military necessity."*

This theme was echoed through the Communist press in Eastern Germany. In speeches, lectures, articles, radio broadcasts, etc., the Western Allies were bitterly criticized for the bombing of Dresden which occurred at the height of the war. The implication was plain that Soviet Russia had been opposed to such bombings!

The Red newspapers used this occasion, as reported by the AP to print *"lurid tales of planes sweeping low to strafe fleeing civilians, as refugees and wounded milled helplessly about the city."*

The fact that the German Communists are openly permitted by the Russians to incite the Germans against the Western Allies for military activities during the war, should be exposed for its hypocrisy. While no rebuttal was made by the American authorities, the British Foreign Office hit the nail on the head when it pointed out that the Dresden bombings were carried out to support the troops of Marshall Zhukov. The British declared that *"At the Yalta Conference it was decided that the Western Allies would give all possible tactical support to the advancing Russian forces."* And the British spokesman added that it should not be forgotten that *"Dresden was the main communication center for the defending German Armies."*

Touching another side of the story, the British spokesman stated: *"When speaking of bombing, the German people should remember the German bombings of Warsaw on September 1, 1939, which started the whole chain of events."*

Hand in glove with this hate propaganda, the *Taegliche Rundschau* recently went so far as to announce on its front page that *"Anglo-Americans murdered 600 concentration camp inmates."* The dispatch, which was dated at Kiel, declared that a few days earlier a mass grave with 89 bodies of concentration camp victims was found near Haffkrug-Scharbeutz. The *Taegliche Rundschau* added that these concentration camp victims were killed by Western Allied bombings in the last days of the war while working in the port of Kiel. Even if this news is true, it is significant that the official Soviet newspapers headlined it with *"Anglo-Americans murdered 600 concentration camp inmates,"* completely disregarding the fact that their deaths resulted from an action carried out in the midst of war.

Sometimes the anti-Western campaign backfires, as in the case of the comment by the Moscow *Isvestia*, which was widely quoted and reprinted in the Eastern German press. While the trial against General von Manstein was going on in Hamburg, the Soviet newspaper and its German stooges called the trial *"an impertinent demonstration of solidarity between British-American warmongers and Hitler's henchmen."* According to *Isvestia*, the goal of the Manstein trial was not only an acquittal but a justification for future alliance with the "fascist murderers." The faces of these editorial writers must have been pretty red when they learned that the British Court condemned the German general to 18 years in prison.

While no day goes by without the Western Allies being exposed and smeared for permitting the Nazis to gain high positions in their respective Zone, the official Soviet line in Eastern Germany has gone to extremes in whitewashing the Nazis. The slogans "National Front" and "Unity of Germany" are being used as a pretext to pave the way for the participation of all former Nazis in the movement under Communist emblems.

Some documentary evidence on this point seems to us quite interesting. On October 4, 1949, the SED Party issued an official decree which was not reported in the daily press but only in the party's indoctrination periodical *Neuer Weg*. This party decree stated *"We are for cooperation with all German patriots, among them also with the former members of the Nazi Party; the former officers; the small and average employers; and that part of the grossbourgeoisie in Western Germany which cares for the interests of Germany, and which wants to aid the efforts of the German people to regain its unity and independence."*

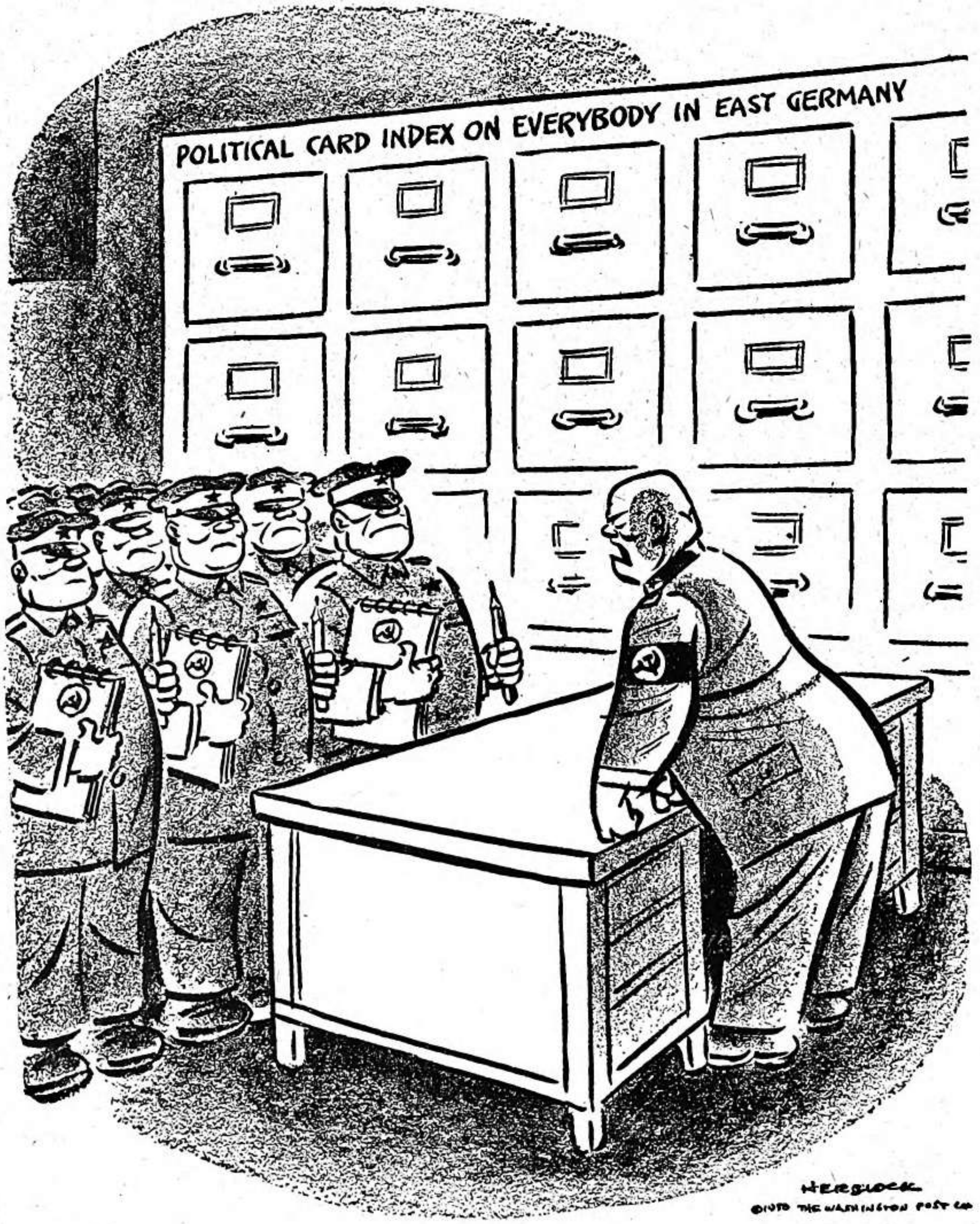
As far as the juridical status of former Nazi party members in the Soviet Zone is concerned, an article in *Neuer Weg* (November, 1949) stated *"It is clear today, at a moment when the inclusion of all honest Germans into the national front is the order of the day, that the question should not be asked any longer to which Nazi organization a person had belonged—because the criteria can only be the individual person's position toward the unity of Germany, and where he stands in the fight for peace."*

It seems that many anti-Nazis presently members of the SED did not particularly like the idea of Nazis being put on an equal footing with themselves. It seems also that these anti-Nazis felt rather uneasy about the new situation. How they were rebuked by Communist boss Walter Ulbricht is best evidenced in a speech which he made before the party activities group of the SED:

"The questions who was a Nazi and who was not a Nazi are at present no longer open to discussion. At present only one standard counts: Who is a peaceful person? Who wants the unity of Germany? We do not ask what party book he previously had; whether or not he belonged to the Hitler Party. The problem is very simple. Whoever under these conditions brings the question of the former Hitler party membership of a present fighter for Germany's unity into discussion, works against the national front."

The other day one Kurt Schumann was named President of the Supreme Court for the whole Eastern Zone.

"Don't Worry About Nazis. Get Those Damn Liberals"


POLITICAL CARD INDEX ON EVERYBODY IN EAST GERMANY
HERBLOCK
©1950 THE WASHINGTON POST CO

(Cartoon by Herblock—Courtesy Washington Post)

The Communist newspapers reported his nomination, but only one paper, the *National Zeitung*, official organ of the National Democratic Party, probably unconsciously—frankly stated in the biographical note on the new president that from 1935 until 1942, he was a judge in the Nazi Wehrmacht Courts. Thus a man who had the high job of a judge in Hitler's Wehrmacht courts for a full seven years, partly during peace and partly during the war, is today given the chair of a President of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Zone.

The SED party has a so-called Reichs party school in Klein-Machnow near Berlin. In this school a "progressive intelligentsia" is being indoctrinated in the new ideology. One of the instructors is a woman named Sonja Klinz, who today is a fanatical Communist despite the fact that she was a high-ranking leader of the Bund Deutscher Maedchen — (the Hitler Youth Girl Association of the Third Reich). Another professor at that SED party university is a certain Behrens—a former leading Nazi party propagandist.

Then take the case of Dr. Otto Lang. He is presently the chief of the new Red Gestapo in the Eastern Zone with the special task of infiltrating Eastern Zone Communists into the Western Zone. He is *persona grata* with the Soviets and enjoys high privileges. This Dr. Otto Lang was an ill-famed torturer of Himmler's Gestapo!

The Russians do not care whether somebody was a Nazi or a Gestapo man or a torturer—if he now has become a fanatical Communist. One must not think that this one hundred per cent acceptance of Nazism is restricted to Germany. In Austria too, the Soviets are openly dealing with the Nazis.

The American correspondent Richard Mowrer had a very interesting report recently in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* and the *Christian Science Monitor.* Writing from Vienna, he reported that a new fifth party had just appeared on the Austrian scene—with full blessing of the Soviet authorities. The party calls itself *"Nationale Liga-Bund Schaffender Oestrreicher"* (a long-winded appellation meaning: League of Working Austrians). By calling itself League instead of party the group bypasses or hopes to bypass the scrutiny of the Four-power Allied council which has the power to authorize or veto new parties in Austria. According to Mowrer, it looks as if the new party could well turn out to be, in time, a Soviet fifth column designed to bring all Austria eventually under Soviet control.

The group has similarities with the Soviet sponsored extreme rightwing parties in Germany, like the National Democratic Party, and with the so-called Nauheim circle of Professor Ullrich Noack, who advocates closer German relations with Soviet Russia under the concept of neutrality. The new Austrian group also takes the same line.

Let us quote from Richard Mowrer's dispatch:

"It is interesting to note that the kind of people who make up the fifth party in Austria, the Nazis-under-the-skin, former army officers, and Hitler youth leaders, are simply the Austrian counterpart of the pro-Soviet extreme rightists who make up the National Democratic party in East Germany. It is well-known that an important segment of the right wing military caste in Germany is more attracted to Russian totalitarianism where the regime's power rests largely on the army, than to the democratic West where it is the civilians who govern. Moreover, the Soviets struck responsive chords amongst the German military by reiterating their wish for a 'strong Germany.' This makes it possible, in Germany, for extreme right wingers to be pro-Russian.... It is a useful reminder that the extreme right and the extreme left, the fascists and the communists, have so much in common that it is the easiest thing in the world for them to get together to contrive the subjugation of the anti-totalitarian masses."

Thus, the outline for Soviet policy becomes clearer every day. On the one side Nazi leaders, SS men, Gestapo chiefs, Wehrmacht officers are being accepted as full fledged citizens in every job they might desire if they become members of the new right-wing pro-Soviet parties. On the other hand, under the slogan of "German unity," all these nationalist right-wing elements are being wooed, together with the leftists, into a super-duper "National Front." The key to the whole propaganda setup is a continous drumming into the ears of the Germans that their only chance of survival and reconstruction is a close friendship with Soviet Russia.

A typical example of this propaganda line is a speech made recently by Johannes Dieckmann, President of the People's Chamber of the German Eastern Republic. In this speech Dieckmann said:

"Whoever has read the speeches which Stalin made during the war to the Soviet people and to his army, knows that the Russians still expected, during the war, a German mass revolution against fascism. . . . Significant for the Soviet viewpoint with regard to Germany was Stalin's sentence spoken at that time during the war, that Hitlers come and go but the German people will remain. This statement by the leader of the Soviet people is worth a place in the memory of every German, for as the German democrats of all political shades see today, the National Front is the only way to regain prestige for the German people."

Perusing the Soviet-sponsored German press of the last few weeks, there is not one day when in one way or another either Stalin's statement during the war or his now famous congratulatory message to the new Eastern German Republic is not stressed. A few new slogans have recently appeared which seem to us quite significant. Up to the first world war there was a pacifist slogan in Germany: *"Nie wieder Krieg"* (Never Again War). Now the new slogan spread all over the Eastern zone says: *"Never Again War Against the Soviet Union."* Another slogan says: *"Das Ganze Deutschland Muss Es Sein!" (It has to be the whole of Germany!)*

Georges Blun, the Berlin correspondent of the Paris daily, *Le Monde*, in one of his recent dispatches, analyzes what he calls *"the progress of 'Rapalloism'. . . ."* In his opinion, Rapalloism has been making quiet but considerable progress in very important and powerful German intellectual and industrial circles. The term "Rapalloism," derives from the so-called Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and Russia, which since has become synonomous with a Russo-German alliance. A large number of conservative and even right wing Germans have recently joined the ranks of the Rapalloists, among them Pastor Niemöller. Another figure whose role becomes stranger every day is Dr. Josef Mueller, present Vice-President of the Christian Democratic party in Bavaria, who during the war belonged to the *Abwehr* under Admiral Canaris. Mueller too has recently taken an outspoken Rapallo line.

Some of the fanatical neo-Nazi rabble rousers, usually considered as belonging to the lunatic fringe like Karl Feitenhansl and Otto Ernest Remer (See Page 24 of this issue), have more or less secretly taken up connections with the Eastern zone. The usually well-informed London newsletter, *German Affairs*, recently confirmed other reports of cross-connections between Herr Remer and ex-General Arno von Lenski, chief of the Soviet-sponsored National Democratic party in Berlin.

There is no doubt that people like Remer and Feitenhansl will play the Soviet game if it suits their purpose, for basically there is no difference whatever between a German general like Von Lenski, a former member of the Free German Committee now in an important place in the Eastern zone, and a nationalist of the type of Remer, who is inciting the people in the Western zone. Basically, a new Russo-German alliance would be as enthusiastically welcomed by certain German generals, SS leaders and Gestapo men in the Eastern zone as well as in the Western zone.

The Russians know this only too well and they don't miss a trick to work toward their goal. Along these lines is the most recent and probably most effective slogan launched by the propaganda minister of the Soviet zone —Gerhart Eisler. Addressing himself to the Western Germans he shouted the other day:

"You must pound into the ears of the occupation powers, 'go home'. . . ."

In conclusion—we must quote a few remarks made recently at the end of a speech by General Otto Korfes, former member of the Free German Committee and now Chairman of the National Democratic Party.

Speaking at the "House of Soviet Culture" in Berlin, Korfes declared that *"All true German patriots struggle today in the national front in close cooperation with the Soviet Union on which they rely."* Korfes told his listeners that all his energies are concentrated on expanding the National Front and that he *"has a tremendous correspondence with a number of generals, officers, soldiers, businessmen and workers in Western Germany."*

Referring to Stalin's congratulatory message on the occasion of the founding of the Eastern German Republic, Korfes called the message *"a moral alliance between Germany and the Soviet Union."* Then he went on to say that whoever wishes the best for Germany should claim the help of another power. That was the leitmotif of German heroes like Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Clausewitz and many other Prussian officers who worked together with Russia. Finally, comparing the development of the Soviet Union with that of Russia, Korfes finished his speech with the words: *"Long live Soviet Prussia!"*

What is this but the handwriting on the wall? . . .

E. T.

LET'S FACE THE FACTS

". . . Defiance and hatred gleam from millions of German faces. They await only 'der Tag' when they will reverse their defeats against their soft and spineless enemies who do not even, in victory, know how to be conquerors. And if we continue to be blind, perhaps they will succeed next time and darken the lights of civilization forever.

"Is Russia a justification for our present policy? Russia is a dynamic, expanding dictatorship and therefore today's greatest enemy of democracy and liberty. But what assurance have we that a militarily restored Germany will not join hands with Russia to crush us? It did last time. Even after Hitler called Communists 'scum,' he made a pact with them. Remember, it was not Stalin who broke that pact. He ruthlessly shared the spoils of this partnership and remained loyal to it. It was Hitler who broke it. The next Hitler might be smart enough to destroy the West before turning on his Russian associate —if he turns on it at all.

"In building up Germany, we are making available to Russia the very military assets she lacks at present—modern industrial efficiency and military science of high order. Some may differ about the inevitability of a Russian-German alliance, but let anyone concerned with peace honestly ask himself whether the risk is not real and too great to be taken. It is natural for dictatorships to stand together in their program of pillage and conquest. There is genuine affinity between them . . ."

(Louis Nizer)

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The German Inch Equals a Mile

"Bonn Said to Slant Recovery Figures"...
"Bonn to Protest Saar Mine Leases"...
"Bonn Says It Owns Saar Coal Mines"...
"Farben Owners in Drive to End Allied Control"...
"Germans Accused of Cutting Prices"...
"Scandal Is Bared on Denazification"...
"Bonn Set to List Economic Burdens"...
"Top officials in Reich Civil Service called Threat to Real Democracy through Ability to Sabotage Laws"...

This is only a short selection of recent headlines in *The New York Times, Herald Tribune* and *St. Louis Post Dispatch.* The headlines are self-explanatory and illustrate clearly what's going on. After a period of meekness and tacit consent, the Germans are once again at their old game of blackmailing the Allies.

A political observer who carefully analyzes the daily dispatches from Germany appearing in American, British and French newspapers will constantly read phrases like "Adenauer Asks," "Adenauer refuses," "Bonn demands," "Bonn does not want," "Bonn protests," etc. After achieving in a comparatively short period of time a tremendous number of successes and gains which annihilate slowly but surely the Allied victory, the Germans cleverly use the present East-West tension to their own advantage.

Ludwell Denny, *Scripps-Howard's* excellent columnist, in one of his recent columns spoke of "West Germany's campaign of bluff, bluster and blackmail." Wrote Mr. Denny:

"Mr. Adenauer knows from experience how easy it is to play the three Western powers against each other. . . . The German method is the ancient one of asking an inch and taking a mile. That is how they licked the Allies on the issue of dismantling war plants. Each time the Germans pressure the Allies into saving another batch of plants on the promises the issue will not be raised again. But within a month they are at it again, chiseling more."

Being an expert on the German problem, and having returned only recently from a prolonged stay in Germany, Mr. Denny knows what he is talking about. His statements should, therefore, not be taken lightly!

"In addition to trying to exempt more plants from dismantling, in violation of the recent Bonn agreement, the Adenauer government's immediate objectives include: Disguised remilitarization through civil aviation, production of war supplies for the Allies, and German troops for a West European Army. Recovery of the Saar territory by plebiscite or otherwise. Foreign capital for German economic expansion."

Walter Lippmann, too, stated his opinion that Adenauer's policy "is to obtain every possible concession from the Western nations before he comes to grips in his negotiations with Eastern Germany and the Soviet Union," and Lippmann adds:

"(Adenauer) wants enough soldiers to offset the East German soldiers if and when the Red Army withdraws. But he wants also to have a free hand in his negotiations with the East. He would have a very free hand if there were nothing left—as regards territory, reparations, or sovereignty—which he has to negotiate with the West. There is almost nothing left now except the Saar, permission to rearm, and the American subsidy which gives the Western Powers a hold on the Adenauer government. If he could get the Saar now, if he were allowed to rearm now, and if he could be assured that the American subsidy would continue for some considerable time to come, then the German settlement and the German peace treaty would be made—with France, Great Britain and the United States on the outside of the real negotiations more or less committed to the unreserved support of Dr. Adenauer but without any certainty that they knew what was going on. Dr. Adenauer would then have everything that the West has to offer before he began to deal with the East. . . ."

Let us examine some of the recent violations committed by the Bonn government:

1. As reported by Jack Raymond in *The New York Times,* the West German government "has distorted the true picture of economic revival by altering the index of industrial production to make the state of recovery appear less than it actually is." According to Raymond, a memorandum by an Allied official states:

"There is strong reason to believe that the change in the index was not motivated by a purely professional desire to improve the index." And Raymond continues: "Another Allied official accused the economic Ministry at Bonn of seeking to 'fool friendly nations, fool the people of Germany and that it is suffering under the delusion it can get away with it.'"

2. A London dispatch to the *New York Times* states that "German ship repairing concerns were deliberately quoting below cost to regain foreign business." These accusations were made by George S. Cromar, chairman of the British Drydock Owners and Repairers Central Council. He stated that the Germans were able to undercut British and other continental prices because of their lower wage levels, lower overtime rates and fewer labor laws and regulations. But Mr. Cromar added, "These factors alone do not explain the mystery of some of the recently quoted German prices, which are half as low as the British prices." "The situation," he added, "raises the question whether the Germans had undisclosed exchange privileges or subventions."

3. Reporting to the New York *Herald Tribune* from Frankfurt, Don Cook writes:

"In its first major exercise of its restrictive powers over the West German government, the Allied High Commission has ordered suspension of German plans to end gasoline rationing Feb. 1. . . .

"In a general stiffening of attitude in many directions, the Commission is also understood to be taking the Bonn government sharply to task for two other contraventions of Allied economic directives—failure of the Germans to carry out Allied instructions to end food subsidies and publishing of tariff schedules without prior clearance from the High Commission.

"The first the High Commission knew of the end of gasoline rationing was when they picked up their newspapers. The West German government had been given full authority to fix rationing policy but only in so far as rationing does not affect the balance-of-payments position. All food rationing has ended except in the case of sugar, for example.

"The need for gasoline rationing is so evident it is difficult to see why the Germans ever contemplated abolishing it or how the commission could have taken any action other than it did. Germany is importing $25,000,000 worth of petroleum from the hard-currency areas every year. Until the balance-of-payments position is solved and she is no longer dependent on dollar aid it is impossible to justify a free market with free imports and free pricing for petroleum."

"The German government was directed to end the grain subsidy by Dec. 31—particularly for corn, which is imported at a cost of $75 per ton under the European Recovery Program and sold internally at $45 a ton.

"The Germans have so far ignored the order to end the subsidy and the result has been a heavy switch in farm production from grain crops to root crops. This gives the farmers a two-way profit since it is cheaper to buy the subsidized corn for feeding animals than it would be to raise it themselves. . . ."

4. In another dispatch to *The New York Times*, Jack Raymond exposes Bonn's tricks on the recovery plan:

"In blistering language, the Economic Cooperation Administration Mission for Germany denounced West German economic plans for a second time, describing the leaders of the Bonn regime as lacking the experience, foresight and courage to achieve recovery.

"A critique signed by Robert M. Hanes, chief of the ECA Mission, said the Federal Republic set its sights too low and then failed to outline measures adequate to reach even its modest targets. The Government attitude toward unemployment, the most critical element in the economy, was described as 'defeatist.'. . .

"The new analysis by the ECA Mission follows by a short interval a highly critical report on German economic planning for 1949-50. It is blunter than the first document and concerns itself with 1950-51 plans of the West German Government.

"Commenting that the upswing in German production had slowed down 'prematurely' in the spring of 1949, Mr. Hanes declared this was because of the 'shortage of currency and capital, the relatively small devaluation of the Deutsche mark, lack of adaptability and competitive vigor in the business and labor community and lack of experience, foresight and courage at the top level of government.'. . .

"The West German leaders were accused of setting inadequate export goals to balance the imports required for achieving 'reasonably full employment,' yet even these inadequate goals 'can hardly be reached' by the methods outlined in the German program.

"'The industrial production targets,' said Mr. Hanes, 'represent stagnation rather than recovery.'. . ."

5. Drew Middleton reports to *The New York Times* from Bonn on the question of halting dismantling "on the three industrial plants that were left on the dismantling list under the Bonn protocol."

". . . One of these is the Hermann Goering steel works at Watenstedt-Saltzgitter and the two others are Fischer-Tropsch synthetic fuel plants.

"Since the Bonn protocol was supposed to be 'final,' the German request appears audacious. Yet, as one Allied diplomat said today, 'having obtained so much why should they stop now?' However, the Allied attitude is stiffening. Unless there is a sudden change of heart, Chancellor Adenauer will be told that dismantling will continue.

"The Western case is that all three plants are uneconomical and that the Fischer-Tropsch plants represent pre-war German efforts to build up a synthetic fuel reserve for war. . . ."

6. Again from a dispatch by Don Cook from Frankfurt to *The New York Herald Tribune*:

"A protective association of I.G. Farben stockholders called a press conference to launch a campaign to end Allied control of the huge industrial combine and turn the Farben decartelization problem over to the German government.

"With thorough preparation of a program and handouts for the press in both German and English, telling how simple and easy the solution of the Farben problem can be made, the stockholders' group timed its proposal well. . .

"The German government, meanwhile, is drafting its own decartelization legislation, with the aim of coordinating a program with the Allied High Commission. It was to the German government that the stockholders appealed."

7. From still another Jack Raymond dispatch from Frankfurt to *The New York Times*:

"Western Allied officials charged the Bonn Government with procrastinating in attempts to solve the refugee problem. German officials were accused of hoping that the surplus population in West Germany would bolster the argument for German 'living space' and return of the Oder-Neisse territories and the Sudentenland. . . ."

8. Drew Middleton, in a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Frankfurt, reported:

"The embargo on shipment of steel to Eastern Germany, proclaimed by the Bonn Government, is not operating effectively and about 1,000 tons of steel a day are entering the Soviet zone. . . .

"The major error of the tragicomedy of errors was the failure of the Bonn Government to suspend previously issued export licenses for steel to Eastern Germany when it had decided to impose the embargo.

"There were 'literally hundreds' of these licenses outstanding, according to a United States official, and their holders continued to ship steel as though nothing had happened.

"In the view of American observers, the Western powers with the best intentions relied on the Bonn Government to shut off a valuable German trade relationship with Eastern Germany. The government did so, but forgot the existence of the outstanding export licenses, an error that allowed the powerful steel interests in northwest Germany to continue the business. . . ."

All these facts point toward a concerted drive on the part of the Germans to rot the fruits of Allied victory.

They show that the long record of German betrayal compounded by ruthless duplicity did not end with the breakdown of the Nazi Reich. The Germans grow more arrogant because they seem to believe that it is an American obligation to give them all they need while they themselves can await and escape their obligations.

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Flashes . . .

"Newsweek" magazine reports: "A new high-or-low in vicious anti-American propaganda was reached by Radio Moscow when it blared forth over its Near East transmitters a story that "an American company was buying the remains of those executed in a Nazi concentration camp for industrial purposes!"

Then it declared: "This bestial, despicable and dastardly form of cannibalism will evoke the disgust of the honest people of the world."

★

Memo to the wishful thinkers . . . From an AP dispatch from Berlin: "The Gestapo is returning to East Germany—this time to protect Communism. . . . (The) secret state police system (is) rivaling the dreaded Geheime Staatspolizei—Gestapo for short—which Nazi Heinrich Himmler created in the 1930's. . . ."

★

From a dispatch by Landrum Bolling to the ONA: "In Berlin I talked to a highly-placed East German Communist. . . . 'There's no point in trying to mislead you,' he said. 'I don't know whether or not all Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Germany. But my firm belief is that practically all of them will have left German soil within a year. Oh, they may keep a few special units. But my guess is that by the end of 1950 most Germans in Eastern Germany will no longer be conscious of the existence of even the remnants of an occupation army.'. . ."

★

The current hit tune in Germany is the song "Were you with the SS?" The lyrics run as follows: "Were you with the SS? . . . Yes, yes, yes. . . . Were you with the SA? . . . Ja, ja, ja. . . ."

★

According to Genevieve Tabouis, ex-General Eugen Ott, former Nazi Military Attache to Tokyo, is scheduled to become the Chief of the new "Abwehr" (Intelligence Service) of the Western German Government.

★

From the "Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger Zeitung" of Chicago, Ill.: "Among all the men who betrayed our country not a single German name appears."

From the newspapers: "German-born Dr. Klaus Fuchs has confessed he betrayed American and British atomic secrets to Soviet Russia for seven years. . . ."

★

Dorothy Thompson finally made it! The hate sheet "Broom," of San Diego, Cal., applauds and reprints a speech she recently delivered in Philadelphia.

★

Franz Bluecher, Vice Chancellor of the Bonn Government, on his recent arrival in New York stated that in his opinion 95% of all Germans in Western Germany have the longing for democracy. (Sic)

★

According to the French weekly "Inter," Herr Franz von Papen is trying to renew his old connections in Turkey with the hope of succeeding himself one day in the not-so-distant future as German Ambassador.

"...DAMAGING TO OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS..."

On February 19, 1950 The New York Times printed a letter-to-the-editor by Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War. In this letter, Mr. Libby went all out in defense of Nazi war criminals, and in particular of those guilty of the crime of Malmedy, where American prisoners of war were massacred by a gang of S.S. men.

Wrote Mr. Libby: "Will it strengthen the democrats in Germany to have the United States execute a man such as Sepp Dietrich, a defendant in the Malmedy case, who has already been punished beyond anyone's deserts? He has been kept alive under a death sentence for more than three years. Presume him guilty as Satan, there is still a limit to what we can do without brutalizing ourselves. Germans of all political complexions have heard of the findings of the U.S. Senate Armed Forces Services subcommittee, which investigated the Malmedy trials."

Thus spoke Mr. Libby. But he omitted to mention a very important part of the committee report, namely the one dealing with his own organization, the National Council for Prevention of War. Here is what the Report of the Armed Forces Services subcommittee had to say about Libby's organization:

"*. . . the subcommittee is convinced that its (the National Council for Prevention of War) activities in this matter, which go far beyond the Malmedy case, have been most damaging to the national interests of our country, and to the cause of peace. The subcommittee feels strongly that the proper investigations should be made to determine the real motivation in back of the activities of this organization and the influence it has had on many individuals within the United States who have accepted as fact the allegations publicized by it. . . .*"

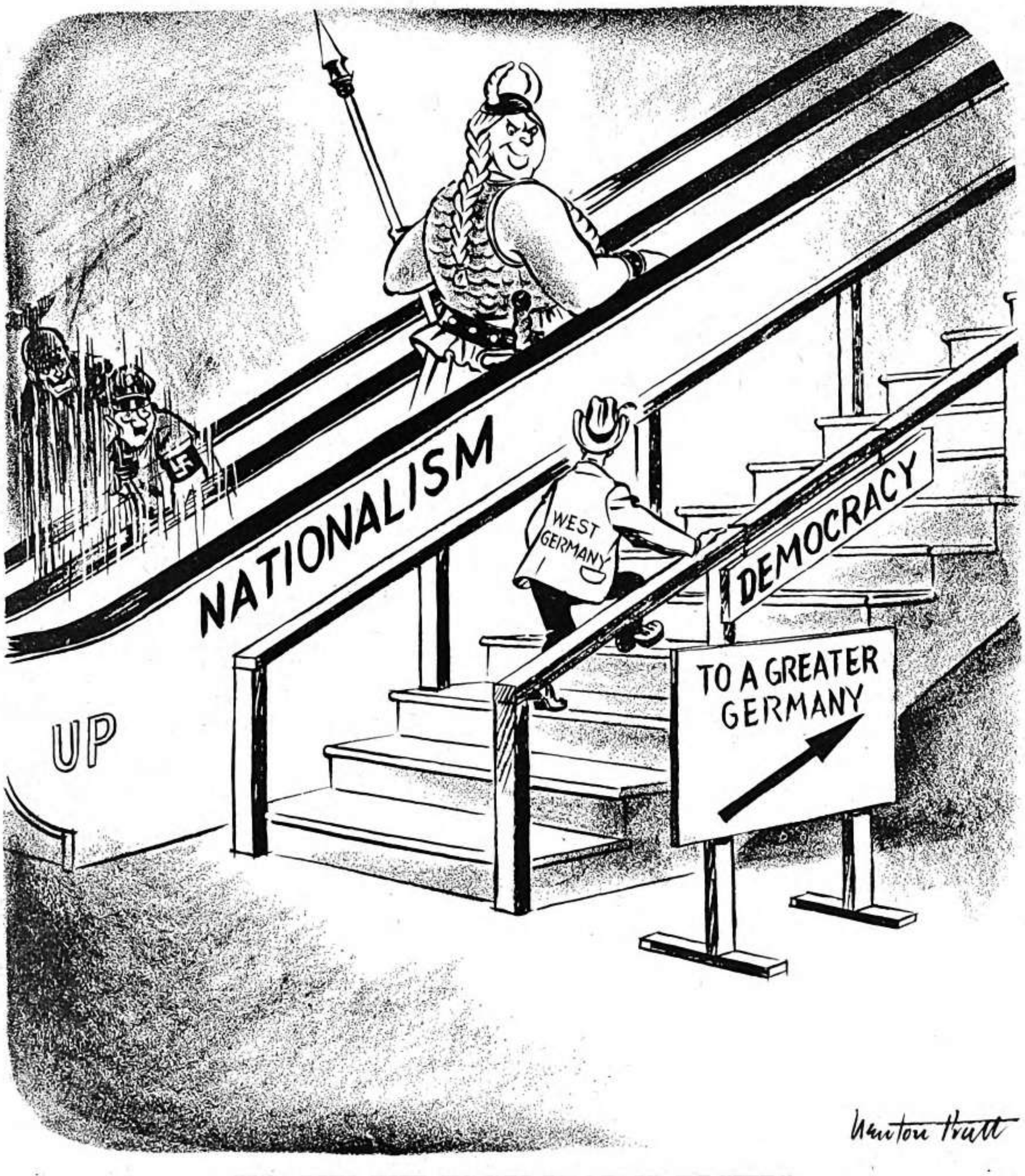
The question arises: Why is such an investigation not being made? And what is the "real motivation in back of the activities of this organization" which tries to arouse pity for convicted mass murderers?

FLASH!

Ilse Koch, the illfamed "bitch of Buchenwald" who was recently released from an American prison, will soon be sent to—an insane asylum for observation! The transfer was urged last January 3, by Professor Dr. Leibbrand of Erlangen, Germany. It is interesting to note that Ilse Koch's own lawyer, Dr. Alfred Seidl is said to be opposed to the transfer of his client to an insane asylum for observation. He is convinced that Ilse Koch will be acquitted anyhow, because, as he states, the material of the prosecution would not be sufficient for a verdict of guilt. Ilse Koch is supposed to come up for trial very soon and it will be interesting to see how the theme of her "insanity" might eventually be played up. . . .

Presenting the Neo-Nazi Parties of Today . . .

Newspaper reports from Germany mention almost daily some new Neo-Nazi Party coming into the foreground. A great number of such Neo-Nazi Parties are presently mushrooming all over Western Germany. The following tabulation of these parties with detailed facts and data was compiled by the Stuttgarter Nachrichten, one of the very few really democratic newspapers in present-day Germany. We deem it important for the record to publish this tabulation which gives an interesting picture of the men and the forces behind each of these parties. →


NATIONALISM
UP
WEST GERMANY
DEMOCRACY
TO A GREATER GERMANY
Newton Pratt

"JA, BUT THE ESCALATOR IS EASIER"

(Cartoon by Newton Pratt—Courtesy Sacramento Bee)

	Deutsche Partei	*Deutsche Rechtspartei*	*Deutsche Reichspartei*	*Tatgemeinschaft freier Deutscher*	*Sammlung zur Tat*	*Deutscher Block*	*Bund fur Deutschlands Erneuerung*	*Sozialistische Reichspartei*	*Vaterlaendische Union*	*Katakombe Scheinwerfer*
Date of foundation	September, 1947	1946	January 21, 1950	September 15, 1949	March 12, 1949	beginning of 1948	September 10, 1949, as circle of the Friends of Strasser	September 2, 1949, separation from DRP	April 27, 1949	illegal for two years
Founded by	Hellwege & Seebohm	Schlueter	Dr. Richter (DRP) Karl Schaefer (NDP)	Gerdspindler, Goebel, Mertens	Karl Steinfeld	Karl Meissmer	Otto Strasser, represented by Kurt Spengler	Dr. Dorls, Prof. Krueger, Ernst Remer, Westarp	Feitenhansl	unknown
Territory	British Zone	Lower Saxony	Lower Saxony and Hesse	Northern Rhine—Westphalia	Southern-Baden, Southern-Wuerttemberg	Bavaria	Bund territory	British zone	Munich	discovered in Munich
Seats in parliament	Bonn—17	Bonn—1	Bonn—4	none	none	Landtag—1	none	Bonn—1	none	none
Publication	Niederdeutsche Zeitung	Das Vaterland	none	Der Fortschritt	Informationsdienst	none	Courier und Herold (published in Canada)	Informationsdienst	Der Aufbruch	Der Scheinwerfer
Cross-connection	None	faction: Nationale Rechte	loosely-connected to Strasser	Deutsche Gemeinschaft, Spindler to Strasser	attempt connections with all groups, also with Strasser	loosely connected with Strasser; von Ostau	all groups	NDP Wiesbaden; Vaterlaendische Union, Strasser	SRP, Banderovici	Banderovici, Strasser, illegal Austrian organization Die Spinne
Splinter groups	Landespartei lower Saxony	see: S.R.P. and Deutsche Reichspartei	none yet	3 singular groups	rally of small groups and individual persons	Republican Party of Germany; Deutsche Gilde	Koelner Gruppe	none	none	unknown
Foreign policy program	For a unified Germany with protection of national interests and equality of rights.			equality of rights for Germany	mediator between East and West	nationalistic	against the West with the exception of France; against Soviet Russia	third force between East and West	militant anti-bolshevist	European conception on a national basis
Interior policy program	against Socialism. Hellwege: Federalist. Seebohm: Centralist	against socialism; conservative, national	national socialism	Leistungsstaat	middle of the road between socialism and capitalism	parts of program of Nazi party	German socialism	National Socialist	National Socialist	reform of the Reich
Form of government	democracy	conservative democracy	authoritarian	elite leadership	inclination toward Corporative State	authoritarian	authoritarian	Corporative State with the elite	authoritarian	Fuehrer State
Flag	black-white-red	black-white-red	not decided	not decided	not decided	black-white-red	not decided	not decided	black-white-red	unknown
New Wehrmacht	with reservation—yes	yes	yes	presently no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Pro-German Apologists In the U. S. Smear President Truman as "War Criminal"

We formerly featured in Prevent World War III a regular exposé of the German language press in the United States. Recently we omitted this regular feature because of the constant repetitions along well known pro-German and Nazi-apologist lines which the American German language newspapers present endlessly.

However, the other day our attention was directed to a particularly vicious piece in one of the leading German-language newspapers and we decided again to look into the present state of mind of the German-language press.

The piece which aroused our particular disgust appeared in the *Deutsche Wochen Schrift* of St. Louis, Mo. It was titled "*No Tears*" and dealt with the New York afternoon newspaper *The Sun*. Recently, the 117 year old *Sun* ceased publication; this fact was objectively reported by the whole American press and in a spirit of fair play, newspapers and weekly magazines gave editorial farewells to one of their most distinguished colleagues. It will be of interest to our readers to learn what the *Deutsche Wochen Schrift* had to say about the death of the *Sun*. The very first paragraph of its obituary reads as follows:

"*The New York Sun and its pestilential-smelling soul recently passed away. The Deutsche Wochen Schrift does not shed any tears at its unexpected death. The Sun for a long time now was no longer a paper of loyal American traditions in the sense of an independent free Republic, such as the founding fathers Franklin, Washington and Jefferson had planned and had fought for.*"

The *Deutsche Wochen Schrift* is angry because the attitude of *The Sun* allegedly was "even before the first World War to defame and to condemn everything that was German."

The crime of *The Sun* in the opinion of the German editorial writer was that "it helped to push our Republic into the war (with Germany.)" Finding in his files some anti-German editorial which *The Sun* allegedly published back in October, 1918, the editorial writer goes on:

"*In the last World War, too,* The Sun *was a hatemonger and prostituted its columns with many infamous lies and exaggerations. The fact that it finally ceased publication will not be regretted by our loyal American citizens; least by those of German origin and blood. Those sentimentally inclined will shed some tears of joy. As an anglophile propaganda sheet,* The Sun *stood in the first rank. We hope that many others of the same ilk will follow it soon. The Republic can only welcome such losses with all its heart!!*"

Here you see the fanatical German-American chauvinist in his true color! A fine conservative newspaper which certainly cannot be accused of the traditional smear of "*Morgenthauism*," is spat at in the most derogatory way—because it had dared to criticize the Germans!!

* * *

In the newspaper *Nord Amerika* of Philadelphia, Pa., we found a contribution by Professor A. J. App, significantly titled "*The nonsense about enforced German disarmament.*" App, enthusiastically endorsing a recent editorial in *Life Magazine* in favor of German rearmament, comes out with the following morsel:

"*Enforced disarmament is frustration: It has no moral value for the nation suffering it, and it is a crime and tyranny on the part of the nation imposing it. It reduces the disarmed nation to an aggregation of slaves whose only hope of freedom is to follow a rebellious leader or to sell their services to the highest bidder.*"

In App's opinion "*Americans have absolutely no right to enforce disarmament on Italy, or on Japan, or on Germany, or on anybody except themselves.*"

What Herr App thinks of our national defense and how he characterizes our policy makers in Washington is stated in the following paragraph:

"*For American politicians, while boasting of building the largest army, navy, air force in the whole world, moralizingly to swing a club over any other nation and order it forever to be disarmed and defenseless, portrays literally and truly the mentality of gangsterism. Every gang of gangsters holds and practices exactly that kind of disarmament.*" And App adds that "*enforcing disarmament on another is paganism and tyranny.*"

Speaking of App, it is interesting to read his "Factual Outline" on his recent trip to Germany. In this mimeographed leaflet which he is sending to friends and sympathizers along with his hate pamphlets, App states among other things, that Germans consider "*Allied dismantlings, territorial robberies and expulsionism as crimes on a vaster scale than Hitler's. . . .*"

Reporting on the impressions received during his German trip, App when speaking of bombed towns never omits to mention and stress the point that they were "*American-made.*"

Herr App's most recent smear and hate pamphlet is called "*Action on a War Crime.*" It is published by an outfit called Boniface Press in Philadelphia. The whole pamphlet is a fantastic smear against President Truman, who is being held personally responsible for the fate of the Sudeten-Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia! Here are two significant sub-titles from App's pamphlet:

"*How many people did President Truman order 'forcibly deported?'*"

"*What should the American people do about their President's Potsdam war crime?*"

The tone of this "smear-Truman pamphlet" is by far the most vehement we have seen for a long time. By implication, the President of the United States is called a war criminal. Under the sub-heading "*What should the American people do about their President's Potsdam war crime,*" App quotes his fellow German apologist, Father Reichenberger as saying: "*We will not demand that those responsible for the expulsion crime be judged according to their own Nuremberg laws. Such eye-for-an-eye morality we leave to the Morgenthauists and their stooges.*" And then App adds with tongue in cheek:

"*We presume that the American people do not want to hang their own war criminals as they hanged alleged German and Japanese war criminals.*" Note the subtle implication of the heading speaking of the "*President's war crime*" and the paragraphs that follow; note also the word "*alleged*" in connection with German and Japanese war criminals.

Perusing the German language press, one is not surprised to discover that Freda Utley and her book *The High Cost of Vengeance* have become the Bible of all pro-Germans and Nazi apologists. The book is quoted and endorsed enthusiastically all through the German-language press, while Miss Utley delivers lectures in various German communities.

Nord-Amerika of Philadelphia quotes from one such lecture of Freda Utley, recently held in Philadelphia. While the reawakening of Nazism and anti-Semitism in Germany is now a confirmed fact,—as evidenced by John J. McCloy's recent official statement,—Miss Utley still sings her song of the "conspiracy of silence in the American press" with regard to the "brutal Allied occupation policies in Germany."

Drew Middleton, the able *New York Times* correspondent who was one of the first, in a series of brilliant articles, to expose the rise of Neo-Nazism in Germany, has become the target of a systematic smear campaign in the German-language press. The *California Staats Zeitung* complains about what it calls the "*new wave of hate against Germany*" and blames it upon "*a certain Drew Middleton who is presently in Germany and who sends to his paper, the New York Times, reports which seem disgusting even to native Americans.*"(!) Referring to Middleton's report on ex-Nazi teachers regaining their former positions, the German editorial writer, sitting far away on the West Coast, states, "*naturally there is not a true word in it, that these reinstated teachers are Nazis.*"

And he adds: "*Those who know the Germans and Germany from their own experience only shake their heads when such nonsense is published in that New York newspaper.*"

The *Deutsche Wochen Schrift* of St. Louis, like other German-language newspapers, the other day used more than three columns on its front page to feature a story about the Nazi war criminals interned in the Landsberg prison. Significantly titled "*Here speaks the other side,*" the story is reprinted from the Munich newspaper, *Sueddeutsche Zeitung.* The whole thing is a clever sympathy-arousing report on the criminals. Take, for instance, this paragraph on Nazi butcher Oswald Pohl. We reprint it here literally translated in order to show how one of the worst mass murderers of modern time is being whitewashed:

"*Oswald Pohl (it states) since March, 1942, chief of the SS Economical Administration, Main Office, and condemned to death two years ago, enters the room in a scarlet-red windbreaker. . . . He has just been called away from the football game, of which he assures me he is still a first class player. The robust man in his late fifties—Northern—German, gray hair, light temples, dark-eyed, intelligent, vital, energetic—estimates his real chance for an amnesty, which he pursues cautiously. . . . No individual offenses of his were proved or even related. 'I had nothing to do with the delivery and discharge (of concentration camp inmates); I had no executive and penalty power. We were only the exhibition puppets upon whom the whole concentration camp system was to be exposed. Not personal guilt but knowledge and position were punished'. . . .*"

Thus the campaign for amnesty for one of the worst mass murderers among the Nazi war criminals reaches its peak. They call it "The other side of the story," but are guilty of wilfully arousing pity for Pohl, who, to quote John Hohenberg in the *New York Post* "was the boss of this concentration camp—the master of the furnace and gas chamber, of the blood hunt, electrified fences, of the Nazi doctors, who conducted death-dealing medical experiments on their prisoners."

To conclude we would like to quote from an editorial by "*Politicus*" in the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger Zeitung* of Chicago, official organ of the German-American Citizens' League of Illinois. In a recent issue "Politicus" dared to write the following:

"*We fought Germany and destroyed it, although Hitler was a most determined enemy of Communism and, what has not been stated in our press, had concentration camps mostly for Communists, who, just as they are doing here tried to undermine his and the German peoples way of life.*"

How many misleading statements and lies this paragraph contains! How determined an enemy of Communism Hitler really was, is best shown by the famous pact he made with Stalin in 1939 and which helped to start World War II. And as far as the Nazi concentration camps are concerned where, according to 'Politicus" "mostly Communists" were kept, everybody knows that only an infinitely small part of the KZ inmates were Communists. When Hitler made his pact with Stalin, even this small percentage of Communists was released or given jobs bossing the other inmates. But for "Politicus" and for the *Deutsch Amerikanische Buerger Zeitung* this doesn't matter at all. Let us recall that this same paper recently published that significant "Open Letter to Stalin" which we exposed in No. 33 of *Prevent World War III.*

The pattern of "Politicus" ideology is perhaps best shown in the paragraph of the same editorial in which he regrets that "*we refuse to make a friend out of a nation which has proven in two terrific wars, that it consists of people with a determination, with an inner strength, which no other nation on earth so far has shown to possess.*"

What is this inner strength "Politicus" is talking about? The death camps? The concentration camps? Aggressive warfare? Genocide? . . .

Deutschland ueber alles—of course!

> **". . . And as Russia edged westward into Europe and the West girds to prevent further infringements, the century's traditional point of discordant friction, Germany, looms gradually again as a potential danger . . ."**
>
> *(C. L. Sulzberger in The New York Times)*

Neo-Nazism Grows—Right Under the Eyes of U. S. Occupation Authorities

There is an old saying: *"If you give them an inch they'll want a mile."* Seldom has a proverb so properly suited the present situation in Germany. Observers well acquainted with the German mentality have warned that the Germans will always misinterpret any favor they get and ask for more and more. Not only is this happening today, but the re-emergence of German requests, demands, refusals become more and more outspoken and arrogant.

In recent weeks, this political trend has taken a turn for the worse, and while it would be easy to describe this situation as *"The old spirit is back again"*—the truth of the matter is that the behavior of a great number of party politicians, members of the Bonn Parliament, political wirepullers, etc. can only be called insolent.

Unfortunately, the American press, with very few exceptions, does not give this matter the attention it deserves. Few papers even care to publish the reports about neo-Nazi activities, and those which do mostly bury the items. We deem it necessary, therefore, to present a factual report on a number of significant incidents which happened in recent weeks in Germany.

There is, for instance, the Case Hedler. As a deputy of the Deutsche Partei (which has seventeen seats in the Bonn Parliament) *Wolfgang Hedler* at a political rally in Einfeld stated that it was the *"anti-Nazi underground that lost the war for Germany"* and that *"international armaments caused the war and not the German people."* Furthermore, he said that opinions differ on whether sending the Jews to the gas chambers might have been the right course, but he added that *"other means could have been used to get rid of them. . . ."*

According to the stenographic record made by a German press representative, Hedler stated: *"The Deutsche Partei wants to be on the record that Germany has the least guilt on the start of the second world war. Guilty for our misery are the resistance fighters because it should be kept in mind that Germany did not lose because of total exhaustion but through treason and through sabotage of the resistance movement. . . . But there are still Germans who talk of our guilt in this war. . . ."*

It is true that this particular speech of Hedler caused an uproar in certain quarters. His own party, however, defended Hedler and his statement, and endorsed it wholeheartedly. Hedler's immunity as a deputy was withdrawn and the Bonn Parliament had no course but to express its condemnation of his bluntness. But, it is interesting to note that along with the extreme rightwing parties the Communists, too, voted against suspension of Hedler's immunity!

A reporter of the newspaper *Echo* of Hamburg recently interviewed Hedler. Here are some verbatim excerpts from this interviw:

Asked the reporter: *"You have reproached the German resistance fighters for having caused the debacle of '45. (Thus you concede) that there was really a debacle?"*

Answered Hedler: *"Looked upon from a lofty standpoint the military capitulation of Germany is only an episode. Certainly the first outfit of the Nazis was qualitatively not the best."*

Question: *"Would you therefore cautiously say that the good of National Socialism should be kept, perhaps even reconstructed?"*

Hedler: *"Yes!"*

Question: *"Your favorite scapegoats are the men of July 20th and the Jews?"*

Answer: *"I am against everyone who acts against the historic mission of his people and I am also against those who do not belong to our people but nevertheless want to order it what to do."*

Question: *"Did you say this at the rally in Einfeld?"*

Answer: *"Yes, exactly and even a little stronger."*

When Hedler's parliamentary immunity was withdrawn and he was compelled to appear before a court, some naive observers believed this proved that the Neo-Nazi rabblerousers could not get away with it.

What has happened? Wolfgang Hedler was acquitted by a German court in the town of Neumuester in Schleswig-Holstein! According to an official of the State Government, two of the three judges who acquitted Hedler were former members of the Nazi Party. Beyond a doubt, Hedler's acquittal is the first victory of the reawakening Neo-Nazi forces in Western Germany, and it reminds one of similar acquittals of people of the same ilk in the period following the first World War. For once, we agree with Kurt Schumacher, who commented that Hedler's acquittal is something from which the world "will draw its conclusions regarding the political mentality of the German people."

There might still perhaps be people who think that Hedler's statements are only pronouncements of an isolated rabblerouser. Our domestic German apologists will undoubtedly take this line. It is therefore interesting to call attention to a letter-to-the-editor of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* which recently appeared in connection with the Hedler scandal. The writer of the letter, one Lothar Stilp, a former railway inspector, in condemning Hedler, stated that it should not be forgotten that Hedler *"has only said what millions of Nazis still think today."* The letter writer expressed his belief that Hedler is not at all an isolated case but one of many. As a matter of fact, the neo-Nazis in Germany greet each other now *"Heil Hedler."*

In a previous issue of Prevent World War III (No. 32) we disclosed the case of ex-Nazi Major General *Otto Ernst Remer*. We reported the outrageously pro-Nazi statements he made; now another item can be added.

Speaking recently at a political rally in Luechow, Remer called the accusations against Hitler-Germany *"loose talk"* and shouted that *"the fairy tale of the German concentration camps will disappear one day."*

Leonhard Schlueter, a member of the German Rechts

Partei, speaking at a political meeting in Gifhorn, Lower Saxony, said that Nazism was the "*healthiest movement in Germany in the past few centuries.*" He expressed his conviction that "*the day of a national revolt—not movement—is not far away.*"

Still another German political leader, *Karl Feitenhansel*, leader of the Vaterlaendische Union, at a secret meeting of his organization in Munich in the presence of 70 former SS officers, Gestapo agents and members of the SD (Nazi Security Services) declared: "*The German people do not need to be ashamed. The German soldiers have behaved more decently than the allied soldiers do.*"

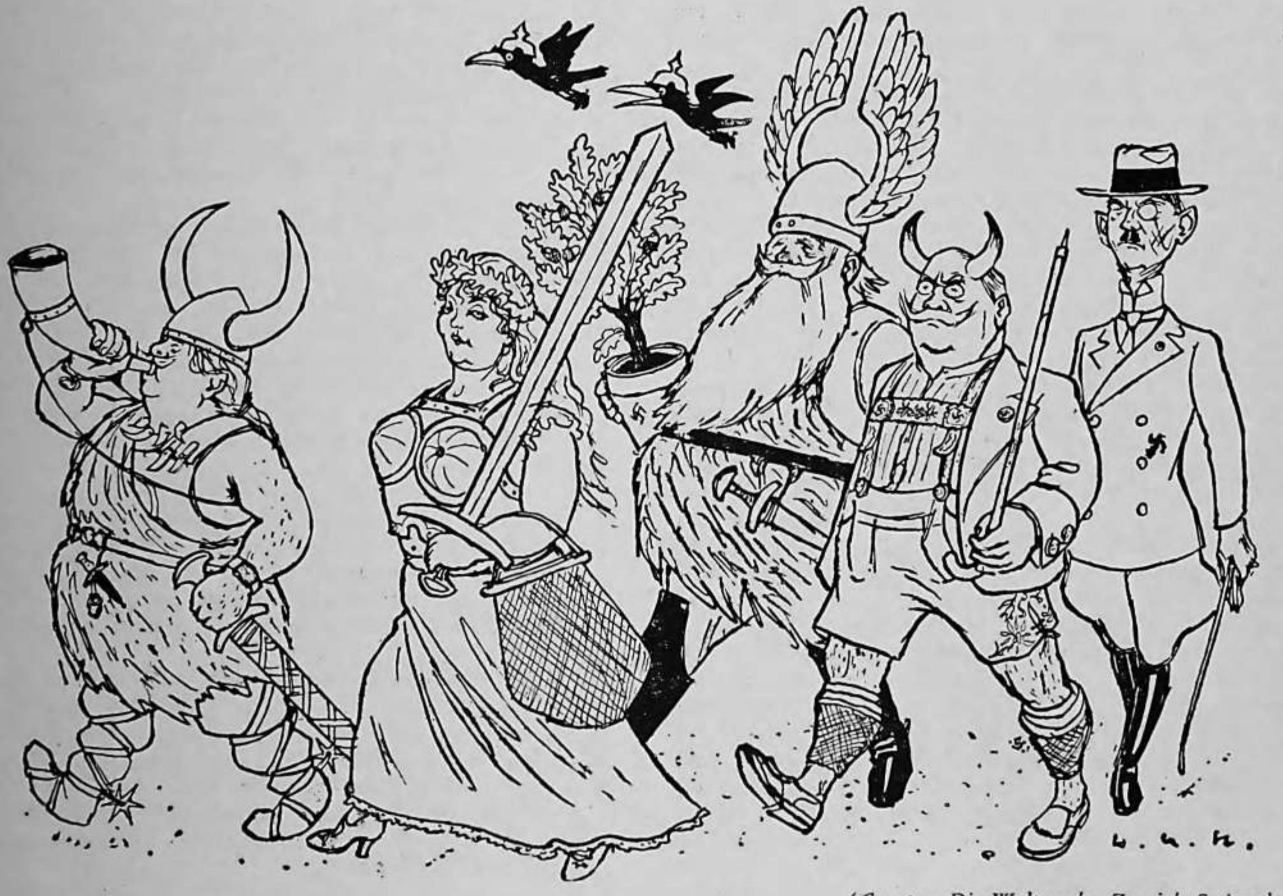
It is true that the outrageous statements made by the Hedlers, Schueters, Feitenhansels, Remers, etc., are being made by neo-Nazi party leaders. But what should one think when Chancellor Adenauer's own Justice Minister, *Dr. Thomas Dehler*, the Chairman of the Bavarian Free Democratic Party, publicly makes similar poisonous remarks?

Speaking recently at a meeting in Hamburg, Dehler declared: "*We have reason to refute the fairy tale that Germany had decisive guilt for the first world war.*" As far as the first world war is concerned in his opinion Germany's guilt is not greater than that of France. And speaking of Nazism Dehler stated: "*Time has come to speak out that Germany's is not the exclusive guilt on the phenonema of Hitler.*" Hitler was, said Dehler, "*a consequence of the Versailles Treaty*" and a result of the despondency of France which didn't want Germany to regain its old place; which created a *cordon* of security around Germany and which barred the return of the Germans in Austria and Bohemia back to Germany! In short, not the Germans were to blame for Hitler, but the French! And the belief that Germany was an aggressor nation was pure myth.

When the French occupational authorities displayed anger at these statements, Dehler declared he had been misquoted, which is the usual way of disclaiming responsibility where the issue gets too hot.

On all sides, new nationalistic and chauvinistic groups, outfits, organizations and parties are mushrooming all over Germany. One such party was recently founded in Hameln and called the *Deutsche-Nationale Volks Partei.* The new outfit is supposed to be the successor of the pre-Hitler right wing party which had the same name. As a matter of fact, Alfred Hugenberg, the old founder and chairman of the *Deutsch-Nationale Volks Partei*, was offered the Chairmanship of the new organization but he refused, as did Herr Schacht. Newcomer by the name of *Hans-Joachim Gottsleben* took over its leadership. He is a young writer and in founding the party he declared that he has the moral support of Herr Hugenberg and Herr Schacht. His new party does not attach great importance to the "*masses,*" but whoever comes "*from the people*" is accepted cordially. As far

ALL OVER AGAIN . . .



(*Courtesy Die Weltwoche, Zuerich, Switzerland*)

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as the other leaders of the party are concerned, they are *"finer people who therefore want to remain anonymous."*

Herr Gottsleben will not present a new party program but will instead adopt the old program of the *Deutsch-Nationale Volks Partei.* In a pamphlet addressed to *"All nationally conscious,"* Herr Gottsleben, among other things, states a few significant ideas, which we deem important to call to the attention of our readers.

"If the now defenseless (disarmed) Germans should be forced to bear weapons they would rather desert, than fight against their own brothers. But if it should happen they will soon enough place themselves on the side of the more powerful, who clearly will win out and from whom the Fatherland can expect the best. We will go with the stronger, be it the Russians or the Americans, depending on who develops to be the strongest."

Another new party flaunting the black, white and red flag of the Kaiserreich was formed through the merger of the National Democratic Party of Hesse in the American Zone and the German Reichs Partei of Lower Saxony in the British Zone. The new party is headed by *Franz Richter* and by *Dr. Heinrich Leuchtgens,* an aged banker who was leader of the National Democratic Party. Both Richter and Leuchtgens are members of the Bonn Parliament. A few points of the program Franz Richter presented for the new party are worthy of note. Said Richter: *"No price is too high to pay for German freedom"*—which some listeners interpreted as including cooperation with Communism. Another significant point along the line of reawakening German arrogance was the demand that courts should be established *"where Germans could take part in trying allied war criminals for crimes against the German people."*

Still another, perhaps even more dangerous outfit, is the recently organized *Society for the Reunification of Germany.* Its chairman is *Andreas Hermes,* former Cabinet Minister for Agriculture under the Weimar Republic. While Hermes is in the foreground, the real wirepullers are a number of German diplomats like Nadolny, von Prittwitz, von Richthofen, as well as industrialists and other Russophile conservatives. The goal of the new organization is, according to its first communique, *"to work for the reunification of Germany through self-determination."*

The abovementioned are only a few of the new parties which have come to light since the end of the licensing of political organizations in the American Zone. Space prevents our naming all these innumerable little new foundings which remind one only too well of similar mushrooming outfits after World War I. But one cannot conclude this exposé without mentioning the so-called *Brotherhood of Former German officers,* which has established centers in Hamburg, Hanover, Duesseldorf and Munich. The new outfit is generally called a shadow organization of former German officers, and it is significant that its chairman, former *Lt. General Kurt von Manteuffel,* has more recently become Dr. Adenauer's chief confident on military questions.

A straight line leads from the outspoken Nazi statements of Hedler, Remer, Schlueter, Feitenhansel, Richter, Gottsleben to the chauvinistic outbursts of Dehler and finally to Manteuffel's new shadow organization. All these trends point toward the danger of neo-Nazism, growing right under the eyes of our own occupational authorities.

TELLING THE TRUTH!

During a recent poll by the American occupation authorities in Germany, a number of former high-ranking officers of the German army were asked what their role would be in the event of a future war. One general who played an important role in the recent war refused to answer.

When the American questioner insisted, the general asked, "Do you order me to answer?" The American said yes.

Thereupon the general answered the question: "In case of a war between the West and the East on whose side will you be?" as follows:

"On the side of Germany."

A NEW McCLOY?

No longer is everybody wondering what Chancellor Konrad Adenauer will do next: The question now is what the High Commission will do.

This Mr. McCloy has achieved by the simple act of telling the German people clearly, concisely and unmistakably that they are still committing a lot of their old traditional political mistakes, and that before the world will trust the new Germany she must humble herself and learn the lesson that "humility leads to strength and not to weakness . . . that the highest form of self-respect is to admit mistakes and to make amends for them. . . ."

What has produced the change in Mr. McCloy's attitude?

"A man can't go on being patient with the Germans forever," one of his high advisers remarked in discussing the matter. In the past six months Mr. McCloy gave in tremendously to Chancellor Adenauer and the West German government—gave in at what many felt was an alarming rate in the hope that demands would cease, but only to be confronted with other demands from other quarters. . . .

A chief factor in Mr. McCloy's new approach was the mood of American opinion he found on his last trip home—concern, he felt, at the growth of the old German autocratic temperament instead of the humility and Pan-European spirit of which he spoke in Stuttgart.

The High Commissioner had set a new pace for his mission in Germany and the favorite topic of conversation now is the question: "Is this the new McCloy?" Germans being the people they are and the politicians they are, he should not have to wait long to prove whether his speech is backed with policy.

(Don Cook in the N. Y. Herald Tribune)

Champions of Free Enterprise?

by

JEAN PAJUS

PART III

THE SAAR PROBLEM AGAIN

Perhaps the emergence of the Saar dispute between Germany and France will serve as a reminder to the West that nothing is more real than the facts of history. Coming as it does at a time when the democracies have been thoroughly sold on the necessity of integrating the West into a closer economic association, the Saar dispute brings us back to that fateful year—1935. It was a year of Hitler's first triumphs in the international game of politics.

Looking at 1935 in retrospect, it is clear that the return of the Saar to Germany was just one aspect of the pattern—not of justice—but of power for the Third Reich. The removal of one of the great grievances of Germany, calculated to perpetrate an act of justice did not normalize Europe; this act merely served as a forerunner for things to come. Today it is clear that the Western world misunderstood the true meaning of the Saar plebescite. It is fair, therefore, to ask whether the recent concessions made to Germany in the name of "integration" will not prove as deceptive as those made in the 30's.

Our policy of integration seems to be based on two points:

(1) We are trying to help create an integrated community of free nations strong enough to resist communist aggression and capable of serving as allies against the growing Soviet power.

(2) We are trying to prevent the Germans from allying themselves with Russia as they did after World War I. In order to accomplish this aim, we are endeavoring to integrate Germany into Western Europe.

Because of these two aims, we have completely reversed our Potsdam policy; we have given Europe the Marshall Plan; we have created the Western German Republic; we have supported the creation of the Western European Union; we have sent our military observers to Fontainebleau; we have joined the North Atlantic Pact; and we have passed the Military Arms Program.

MR. HOFFMAN'S INTEGRATION OF EUROPE

Mr. Paul Hoffman has been doing yeoman work to preach integration. Although the bill of particulars is still missing, Mr. Hoffman continues to preach that "a single trade area" must be established in Europe which will provide the Germans an outlet for their energies. Mr. Hoffman advocates the abolition of governmentally imposed barriers to international trade in Europe, import quotas designed to regulate the individual trade of pairs of countries, government monopolies in various commodities, dual prices like those imposed by Britain and Germany for coal sold at home and for export, multiple rates of exchange, and the abolition of cartel practices. The West has been told that unless Germany is integrated economically with France, Britain and Benelux, Germany would develop along nationalistic lines. It follows, therefore, that Germany must not be restricted in her "peaceful" pursuits.

What have been the results of this policy of integration? Not very encouraging. First of all, Germany has succeeded in liquidating the dismantling program, leaving her a far greater industrial capacity than she needs for her peacetime economy. In January 1950, Mr. McCloy was able to announce proudly to the world that Germany had reached 95% of the 1938 production—the year of intensive preparation for war. Germany has regained her merchant marine; she was admitted to the International Patent Office and the Brussels Customs Commission. We are now about to reverse the Occupation Statute, giving the Bonn Government, in addition to commercial and consular representation abroad, the right to designate its high functionaries. And looking at them who can say that they are the true representatives of German democracy and free enterprise?

And what did we get in return for all these concessions? All we got so far is that Germany joined the International Ruhr Authority, set up December 28, 1948, for the purpose of controlling the German war potential. We will let the German Minister of Justice describe the power of the International Ruhr Authority in his own words. On January 24, 1950, the Christian Science Monitor reported Dr. Thomas Dehler's (Minister of Justice in the Adenauer cabinet) characterization of the International Ruhr Statute as *"hollowed out and out-stripped."* This was the great victory reported in November, 1949, when Germany succeeded in scuttling the reparations program.

Last but not least, we are being told that Germany is ready to be admitted into the Council of Europe and, in due time, fight for the integrity of the French and Belgian frontiers.

GERMANY'S CONTRIBUTION

This is the balance sheet of our policy toward Germany. J. Emlyn Williams of the Christian Science Monitor January 10, 1950, summed it up thus: *"since the change-over from military to civilian government in Germany last September 21, the duties and spheres of influence of the three western powers are much restricted. . . . It is probable that within a few months the Germans will have even greater power handed to them."*

And as regards the activities of the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner, Mr. Williams had this to say:

"The American element in the Commission is regarded by sections of the German community as primarily supporting big industry because of future investment loans to this country."

Let us now appraise Germany's contribution to the integration of Europe. The story goes back to September-October 1949, when Germany unleashed her most intensive propaganda, both at home and abroad, to stop the dismantling program. As a result of this agitation, early in November, 1949, Mr. Acheson went to Paris to discuss the German problem with Messrs. Bevin and Schuman. The first result of this meeting was the decision to halt the dismantling of surplus German plants.

Subsequently, Mr. Acheson went to Bonn to talk with Dr. Adenauer. This gesture was calculated to show the Germans our goodwill. Exactly what happened at the meeting, we do not know. We do know, however, that Adenauer made the most eloquent plea in favor of Germany's biggest steel cartel, the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke*. At his side was Dr. Pferdmenges, who is closely associated with the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke*. How well Mr. Adenauer succeeded with Acheson can be seen from the fact that originally he had asked for the cessation of dismantling of three Vereinigte Stahlwerke plants. At the conclusion of Mr. Acheson's visit, Dr. Adenauer succeeded in removing six plants from the dismantling list—all belonging to the Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

NEW LOAN FOR THE GERMAN STEEL TRUST

Strengthened by this unexpected success, Adenauer addressed a secret memo to the three foreign ministers in which he asked for a loan of 300 million marks in order to improve the facilities of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke—225 million marks to come directly from the United States and 75 million marks from Belgium, France, and Luxemburg, but indirectly also from the United States. This sum was to be added to 250,000,000 marks already invested by the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke* since the monetary reform some 18 months ago. Presumably it came largely from the German counterpart of the Marshall Plan.

In return for these favors, Dr. Adenauer held out the prospect of linking the Rhine industries—that is, those of Germany, France, Belgium—in an integrated whole. Dr. Adenauer took advantage of the situation to proclaim himself as one of the most ardent defenders of European unity and integration—via the old and trusted road of international cartels. In plain English, what Adenauer proposed was the formation of a trust in which Krupp, Thyssen, Klockner, and Mannesmann would cooperate with the Comité des Forges.

Thereupon, Herman J. Abs of the Deutsche Bank, once Hitler's most successful banker, was dispatched to the United States to negotiate the 300 million mark loan. He landed in New York on November 12, 1949, and immediately began to make the rounds of Wall Street. While in New York, Mr. Abs loudly proclaimed his repugnance of the Nazi regime and naturally did not fail to express his sympathy for the Nazi victims—especially non-aryans. We are told he made a very favorable impression upon his listeners.

Something, however, went wrong with Mr. Abs' plans, for his presence was soon detected by Senator Guy Gillette. The State Department was thereupon asked a series of questions regarding the activities of Dr. Abs in the United States. As the State Department's answer to Senator Gillette was not satisfactory, Abs' presence in the United States was made public on January 6th. One day later, Mr. Abs abruptly left our shores.

However, during Vice Chancellor Franz Bluecher's recent visit to the United States, he has probably taken up the problem of loans for the German steel industry.

A DEAL WITH BRITAIN?

Meanwhile, Dr. Adenauer was not idle. While Abs was in this country spreading goodwill among us and praising Paul Hoffman's integration plans, Adenauer was busy wooing the British. It seems the British, especially the Iron and Steel Federation, did not particularly like Adenauer's idea of reconstructing the international steel cartel on the model of 1926. When the British Iron and Steel Federation took a look at Adenauer's proposals, they became alarmed. Here again, Adenauer was ready and willing to satisfy the British. He selected for the job Baron von Lersner, an experienced diplomat, to discuss the whole German-British problem with Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick of the German Division of the British Foreign Office. The latter was invited in December, 1949, to come to Dusseldorf to meet with a group of 22 bankers and industrialists. Among these were Dr. Dinkelbach of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke and head trustee under Law 75. Also present was the liberal member of the Bonn Parliament, Middlehauve, of the Franco-German Committee. These 22 bankers and industrialists were also very anxious to sell their version of integration of Western Europe.

But when it finally came to setting their terms, the Germans proposed that the British agree to the lifting of the German steel production from 11,100,000 tons—the ceiling set by the Allied authorities—to 16,000,000 tons per year. In return for this concession, the Germans were ready to make a deal with the British heavy industry and to revive the old fashioned bilateralism of Europe.

Around Christmas time, Dr. Adenauer dispatched Dr. Walter Schwede of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke to discuss the problem of bringing the British into the international steel cartel. Ostensibly, he went to London to discuss the sale of German steel. His real purpose, however, was to make a deal with the British whereby the European steel market would be divided among the British and the Germans, and to convince the British that the decartelization of Germany should be abandoned. (Parenthetically, this German emissary is the same Vereinigte Stahlwerke representative who sent, over a year ago, the famous brochure to some selected U. S. Senators in which he threatened Americans with dire consequences if the dismantling program were not stopped.)

And all this was going on while Hoffman was lecturing to the OEEC in Paris that Europe must integrate into a single trade area, where all nations would find an outlet for their energies and where there would be no opportunity to foster a self-contained economy such as practiced by Germany under Hitler.

Thus the German proposal of a private deal with the British was Germany's contribution to Mr. Hoffman's idea of integration of Western Europe. In other words, the Germans tried to doublecross Mr. Hoffman's cherished idea of multilateralism.

While all these negotiations were going on, the Germans had already succeeded in wresting additional concessions from the British. In December, 1949, it was also reported that the British agreed to rebuild the Thyssen Trust and the *Bochumer-Verein*. On December 12, 1949, the *Herald Tribune* reported that, following the appeal of Adenauer, the Allied High Commission decided to halt the shipments of huge machine tools from the Krupp Steel Works, despite vigorous protests of the Inter-allied Reparations Agency.

In this connection, it must be recalled that two years ago, young Krupp was given a 12-year sentence and his properties confiscated. Apparently, not only has the property not been confiscated, but it seems the Krupp combine has acquired a new lease on life.

STEEL CARTEL FOREVER

On November 20, 1949, the *New York Times* reported from Geneva that the German-French steel interests had begun serious discussions with the knowledge and approval of the French High Commissioner, André Francois-Poncet, for the purpose of reestablishing the international steel cartel. How the French fared in the past is the clue to what they may expect in the future, if the Germans have their way again.

While there were smaller international cartels in which Germany participated, they were of no great consequence. There was the International Railmakers Association which was founded in 1883 and included England, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Germany. It lasted until 1886 and was revived in 1904 when in addition to the original member countries, France and the U. S. A. joined. The revived cartel lasted until 1914. In all cases, these international agreements arose out of unpleasant experiences of cut-throat competition. As could be expected, Germany, as one of the new industrial countries backed by the imperial government, was one of the leaders in this economic competition. World War I broke up the early cartels, but soon after the first war Germany assumed the leadership, and in 1926 the first international steel cartel was founded.

The chief protagonists of this cartel were the Germans. The iron and steel capacity inside the new and smaller Germany had been increased in the twenties almost to the size of that of the pre-war Reich. France and Luxemburg, on the other hand, had a great deal of capacity, a sizable portion of which they had been accustomed to marketing in Germany. The position was particularly dangerous from the German point of view because the mark was then established, whereas inflation in France, Belgium and Luxemburg was at its worst which meant that the latter could dump their excess output in Germany. Against this, the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles compelling Germany to give duty-free entry to iron and steel from Belgium, France and Luxemburg, had ceased to operate in January, 1925.

The Germans began making overtures to enter into a cartel deal. The agreement entered into on September 19, 1926, at Brussels, Belgium, provided the means to check production. Percentage quotas based on crude steel output in the first quarter of 1926 were allocated to each of the five participants —Germany, Saar, France, Belgium, and Luxemburg.

The cartel agreement covered production for both domestic and export markets and provided a system of deposits and fines to compel adherence. To cover administration costs, there was a basic charge of $1.00 for every ton of crude steel produced. If a country exceeded its quota, it paid a penalty of $4.00 a ton. If a country failed to reach its quota, it received a compensation of $2.00 per ton.

In addition to the main agreement, there were special agreements to cope with the problems of finding a market for Lorraine and Luxemburg output. The various German syndicates undertook to purchase certain percentages of German consumption from France and Luxemburg. The agreement between the French and German governments permitted the Saar works to sell about one and a half billion tons per year of their output duty-free to Germany. In addition, a private agreement provided a market of 500,000 tons per year for Saar iron and steel in France.

THE FRENCH ARE OUTSMARTED

This in brief was the nature of the first major international steel cartel entered into in 1926. The French were elated about it. They thought they had made an excellent bargain, since—pennywise and pound foolish—they thought that a $4.00 penalty for over-production was a very good bargain. However, they did not make the proper calculations, and they knew little about Germany. For the facts are that at that time Germany had a steel capacity much in excess of demands. On the other hand, the Germans deliberately asked for a smaller quota than they were entitled to have. This was the bait they extended to the French.

The results were not long in coming. Six months after the establishment of the International Steel Cartel, the Germans paid $6,044,000 out of a total of $7,317,000 in overproduction fines, and the final upshot was that Germany went ahead expanding her industries, acquiring new markets, establishing a demand for their products, and shortly thereafter established herself as the largest producer of steel in Europe.

Nor was the cartel limited to the four contracting parties. Strengthened by its newly acquired position, the Germans were able to corral Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1927. Britain was reluctant at first to join the cartel. In 1927, however, Britain began to realize that she was losing her position in the world's steel market. A cartel committee was set up to study the question of international sales syndicates. But it accomplished very little.

Following the collapse in Wall Street in October, 1929, commodity prices fell sharply and the International Steel Cartel made futile attempts to introduce some form of price control. In 1930 export control of individual semi-finished and finished steel products took the place of crude steel production control. It took Britain four years to elaborate the proper scheme for joining the cartel. One of the most difficult conditions to work out was to secure adequate centralized control of the industry in each of the member countries. This necessitated a reorganization within the British steel industry. With the active help of the British Government, this was accomplished in 1934, when the British Iron and Steel Federation was formed out of the old National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers. Its functions corresponded to those of the German Rohstahlgemeinschaft. In 1935, the British joined the International Steel Cartel. Although the British gained some concessions from the cartel, they never recovered the losses sustained after World War I.

Meanwhile, as Germany's capacity increased, she began protesting against the smallness of her quota which was originally set at 40%. These protests were heeded and her quota was increased and the system of fines was restricted to export markets only.

The depression of the early 30's had a detrimental effect on the agreement. In 1932, however, the International Steel Cartel was strengthened by the addition of the control of sales, prices and export quotas. In 1933, further revisions were made and the agreements restricted to export markets, with quotas applying to ingot as well as products.

Although various U. S. producers were members of international sales agencies for steel products, the U. S. steel industry remained aloof from the cartel. However, by 1938, the Steel Export Association of America agreed to collaborate with the International Steel Cartel. Thus the Germans succeeded in the space of fourteen years in cartelizing the world steel producers.

GERMAN DOMINATION OF EUROPE

The salient feature of the International Steel Cartel was the fact that all quotas, compensation, and penalties, were determined on the basis of each nation as a unit. There were of necessity, exceptions—for instance, in the case of the U. S. where an attempt to force non-members to conform to the engagements of the Steel Export Association would be a violation of the anti-trust laws.

With the outbreak of World War II, the ISC and the commodity cartels were put in abeyance without formal dissolution. During its existence, the ISC controlled more than 2/5 of world production and 5/6 of all the international steel trade. Moreover, it was in a position to fix prices and, to a large extent, world production.

Such is the history of Germany's contribution to the free enterprise system in the past. Did it do Europe any good? Not much need be said here—the aftermath of World War II is still visible to all. The German international cartel system softened up Europe and contributed greatly to Germany's success in World War II. It accomplished this in two ways:

1. It gave Germany the means of establishing her industrial

domination of her neighbors and prospective victims and

2. It enabled the Germans to obtain the secrets of her neighbors' industries and to infiltrate not only Europe but Latin America, so that the cartels became a part of an imperial scheme of world domination.

The International Steel Cartel brought together many of the international industrialists in Europe, but the Germans dominated, and they increased their capacity at the expense of their neighbors. And when that capacity increased sufficiently, they threatened to dissolve the cartel unless the restriction on their production was lifted. This was the pattern which the German cartels always followed—to increase their own production at any cost, and then, with the threat of their increased capacity, to negotiate commercial agreements which recognized the dominant position they had attained.

PERPETUAL BLINDNESS . . .

Since some French steel interests and politicians seem so eager to accept Adenauer's proposal to reestablish the International Steel Cartel, let us see what happened to them in the past. In 1926, when the first steel cartel was organized, German production of pig iron was only 2½% greater than that of France. In 1938, production of pig iron and steel by one German company alone—the Vereinigte Stahlwerke—exceeded the combined production of all the French mills. As the German Steel Trust reported for the year 1938, *"Germany succeeded in putting out more than 23 million tons of steel, its highest production since its inception. It was able to increase its share of the world production of steel from 15% in the previous year to 22%, and thus attain second place immediately behind the U. S. A., the production of which country fell during the same period by almost a half."*

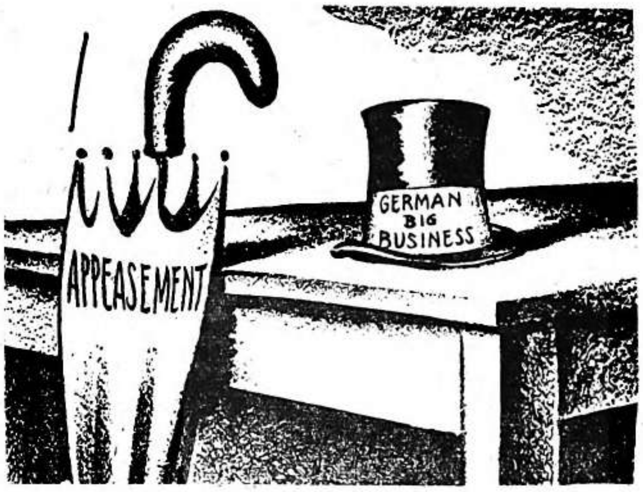
As a result of Germany's activities in the International Steel Cartel, the German steel industry grew steadily and acquired controlling interests in the steel firms in the rest of Europe during the period when the Germans were arguing that their country was on the verge of bankruptcy. It did so not only in a way which violated the peace treaties, but was calculated to prepare Germany for war and to prevent or at least restrict production in other European countries. It was a combination of the steel and coal trusts which decided that the way to cripple the French steel industry was to request the German industrialists (who received indemnity from the German Government) to build new and more modern mills in the Ruhr and then to use the German control of coke and the pricing of coke as a club over the French mills. Nor were Germany's intentions kept secret. A Krupp official stated it quite bluntly when he said: "the first war convinced us that it is not iron and ore which count most in the iron and steel industry but the coke supply." This was true in the 30's as it is true today.

Statistics are available to prove the point. In 1948 the French steel production exceeded that of the Germans by 1,700,000 tons. In 1949, however, the German production was almost equal to that of France. There is no doubt that Germany will produce 11,100,000 tons in 1950—the limit allowed under the tripartite agreement.

Should the Germans succeed in reestablishing the International Steel Cartel, the results would not be difficult to guess. Germany, of course, would take all possible advantage of the opportunities presented to her. Moreover, since the Germans themselves are quite frank about their intentions, it is quite clear that the West is deliberately deluding itself about Germany's contribution to the integration of Europe.

It is fair to say that the West did not fight off two aggressions in order to perpetuate the German-dominated cartel system. For to do so would be worse than a crime—it would be downright stupid.

RETURN ENGAGEMENT?



(*Cartoon by Fitzpatrick—Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch*)

". . . The German officers, though their armies have been disbanded and most of their heavy equipment removed, continue to have the main elements of a general staff, appointed, it is supposed, before the surrender in 1945, and they are known in any event to be operating an intelligence service. There is no impenetrable iron curtain separating the German officers who live in the West from those who live in the East, and there can be little doubt that more or less clandestine communication and intercourse goes on continually among the officers on both sides of the line, as well as among politicians and business men. The estimate of these officers as to what is coming—namely decisions affecting the whole of Germany—must be taken seriously.

"So, too, must the French estimate. For among the three Western delegations the French delegation now in Germany is by all odds the most competent, the best informed and the most expertly trained, in German affairs. The action of the French government in respect to the Saar shows that like the Bonn government it believes that the time is rapidly approaching when the German peace treaty will be dealt with. Mr. Schuman and Dr. Adenauer agree about the Saar. But they understand each other very well because they both know that the period of the great decisions about Germany is near. Both are getting ready for it."

(*Walter Lippmann in his column "Today and Tomorrow" in the New York Herald Tribune*)

Distorting German History

Current Publications in Former Reich Whitewash the War and Hitlerism

by

DR. ROBERT M. W. KEMPNER

The author served from 1945 to 1949 as United States Deputy Chief Prosecutor in Nuernberg and guest professor at German universities.

Today Western Germany, our solicitously nurtured test-tube democracy, is being swamped with nationalistic and militaristic literature singing the praises of the grand old times of the Third Reich. With more or less outspoken nostalgia, many political writers in Germany are telling their people that Germany would have been fine if Der Fuehrer had not gotten a little out of hand. Adolf Hitler should have listened a little more to the diplomats, to the generals, to the admirals, and Germany would have been the victor in World War II.

Let us take a look at some typical newspapers, periodicals and books now in heavy demand in Germany, and see how they are treating the recent political past.

From Duesseldorf, Rhineland city near the seat of the Bonn Federal Republic, the spicy weekly "Herzdame" (Queen of Hearts) is distributed over all Western Germany. In the issue of Sept. 10, 1949, we find on the cover page Adolf Hitler's picture three times, three pictures of his Reich Marshal Hermann Goering with wife, Emmy, and infant daughter Edda, and one picture of the Fuehrer's sweetheart Eva Braun; on other pages, a picture of Hitler with the wife of his architect, a picture of Eva Braun with Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, a picture of Hitler and his deputy, Rudolph Hess.

Munich contributes the periodical "Revue" (Review) with a picture of Der Fuehrer smiling somewhat shyly at the side of his niece, Angelica Reubel, a girl whom the records indicate, he later, in a less gracious mood, had killed by poisoning. Here in the picture niece Angelica smiles radiantly out at the post-war public, attired in a charming dirndl dress, and Adolf's friendly arm is about her shoulder. Last September, the "Revue" began serial publication of "The Great Lover, Adolf Hitler," a story in which movie director Leni Riefenstahl is one of the leading ladies. Here again Der Fuehrer is humanized, this time his loves are sung by the connoisseur and Hofbrau cavalier, Hermann Esser, once State Secretary for Tourism in Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. After his release from detention as a suspected war criminal, Hermann Esser went in hiding and made use of the time that the German police were seeking him to compose his great lover stories. Sentenced in absentia to five years of hard labor by the Bavarian Denazification Court, he finally was taken into custody when he went to pick up his publisher's payment.

While the nationalistic sentiments of the women of Germany are roused by moving stories of Hitler and Goering, the appeal to the men is based on doughty episodes from the "best time of their lives," the military time. This campaign is a bold, whitewashing attempt on behalf of the military men who, willingly following their beloved Fuehrer's bidding, led the German people to disaster. Today their line is: Hitler alone is responsible for the defeat; if we had been heeded, we would have waged a better war, and we would have led the nation to victory!

The militaristic brochures are offered for sale to the public under the most blatant advertising, and they fill an enthusiastic demand. "Hitler als Feldherr" (Hitler as Strategist), with the picture of Der Fuehrer on the cover, put out by the chief of his general staff, Franz Halder, is an apologia for the German generals, who could have done things better. The contents are in crass contradiction to Halder's own diaries from the Nazi time.

The German navy gets its share in recent German articles on the "Heroic Battle" of the cruiser Bismarck, and the miraculous breakthrough of the Bremen. The Munich paper "Revue" competes in this theme with the Stuttgart weekly "Christ und Welt" (Christ and World), which otherwise did an excellent job in sponsoring the integration of refugees from Eastern Germany.

More dangerous for most Germans than these publications are articles and books of latter-day Hitler enemies. They call themselves "experts" and employ the subtle venom of quoting each other as proof for their theories.

A typical instance of the ricochet self-promotion going on in this mutual society for muffling the Third Reich record is the publication of Hitler's chief interpreter, Paul Otto Schmidt, in the "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" (South German Newspaper), Munich, on the occasion of the ten-year anniversary of the outbreak of war in September, 1949. Instead of placing before the public from the files of the German Foreign Office, the Fuehrer-loyal diplomatic preparation of the Second World War, this series of articles, which is already available in book form, makes the reader believe that the negotiations with the British and the Poles were sincerely intended and that the outbreak of war came as a surprise to the same men who had organized its initiation! Paul Otto Schmidt, eyewitness of the diplomatic preparations for the murder of the French General Maurice Mesny and similar acts, has, of course, the perfect right to suppress the darkest chapters of his experiences. However, for German publishers to present Paul Otto Schmidt's stories as the recounting of an objective historian to their trusting readers, will lead to dangerous consequences for Germany's future.

A very harmful book in the political field has unfortunately been published by the reputable Nymphenburger Publishing House. The book "Was Wirklich Geschah" (What Really Happened) claims to be an objective representation of the German policy. However, it became a publicizing effort on the exclusive guilt of Hitler and possibly of a handful of his fanatic henchmen, and a bold whitewashing of other top officials, no matter how notoriously implicated. It is typical of this method of history-writing that the horrifying diplomatic documents pertaining to the massacre of the prisoners of war and of the Jews are missing.

Two high Hitler officials who were acquitted of major war crimes charges in Nuernberg for lack of sufficient evidence have taken up their pens to give their expert versions of the past years: Hjalmar Schacht and Hans Fritsche. The field of recent German policy is covered by a book of Hitler's one-time financial wizard, the much over-rated Hjalmar Schacht. With no lack of a bold front he titles his book "Abrechnung mit Hitler" (Settling Accounts with Hitler). Encouraged by his success, Herr Schacht recently published a sequel volume on his dubious financial theories.

Hans Fritsche, the notorious radio boss of Nazi Progaganda Chief Paul Joseph Goebbels, devoted his book "Hier Sprecht Hans Fritsche" (Here Speaks Hans Fritsche) to his experiences in Hitler and post-Hitler days. The book, published in Switzerland, enjoys a wide circulation in Germany and a German publisher is preparing a new edition.

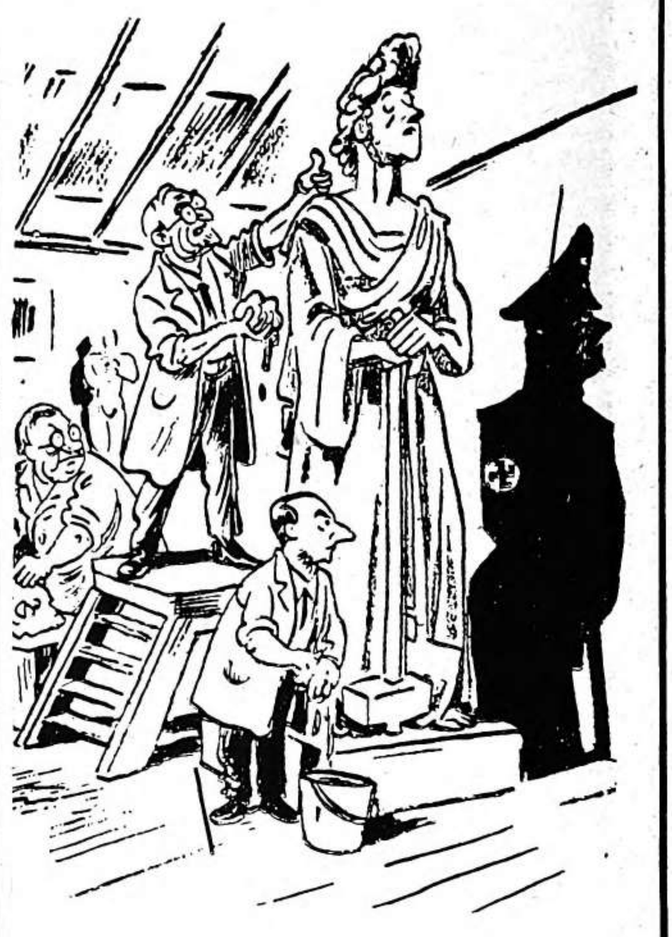
Indeed, a survey of the books and articles on the Nazi regime currently offered shows only a few authors forthright enough to present their experiences in the Third Reich without too much caution about the roles they played. One is Werner Stephan, a former councillor of the Propaganda Ministry, in his book "Joseph Goebbels, Demon of a Dictatorship," in which a sincere account is given of Goebbels' personal life and his propaganda machine. Another open-minded author is Rudolf Diels, the first chief of the dread Gestapo, preceding Heinrich Himmler in that office. In his book "Lucifer ante Portas," he tells the story of that agency in the first beginnings, when the groundwork was laid for the abolition of all civil liberties. A third publication giving an accurate historical account is the book of the general staff officer, Gerhardt Poldt, "Die Letzten Tage der Reichskanzlei" (The Last Days of the Reich Chancellery).

In this connection, some books of real resistance fighters should be mentioned, such as general staff officer Fabian von Schlabrendorff's "Offiziere gegen Hitler" (Officers Against Hitler); Ambassador Ulrich von Hassel's posthumously published diaries, and the excellent German edition of Allan Dulles' "Germany's Underground." The book of the anti-Nazi Bernd Gisevius, "Bis Zum Bittern Ende" (To the Bitter End) was published in Germany about two years ago. Today, it would be hard for a German publisher to take the risk of such a publication.

To the utter disgust of the falsifiers of recent history, a series of well-based articles on Nazi foreign policy was published by Wanda von Bayer in the magazine "Frankfurter Hefte." An objective document collection on Nazi-Soviet collaboration was published by Dr. Alfred Seidl in Munich.

What are we to conclude from the poll of present-day German publications on recent history? Is the situation hopeless? In Germany itself we hear such discouraged voices as that of Friedrich Sieburg in an editorial in the November issue of the magazine "Die Gegenwart" (The Present Day): "We are entirely unconvinced that the ever mounting sensational publications concerned with Hitler and consorts can be dismissed as mere stupidity. . . . The incontrovertible fact is that the public is lining up at the newsstands and asking what there is on Hitler. Of course, they are not asking with that for any of these historic records brought to light in the Nuernberg Trials which are not available even for any one who might show an interest." Sieburg's comment is very interesting since he speaks not only as a German but as one who went through the Nazi mill and is none the less able today to look the ghosts of the Third Reich in the face.

> **". . . The moment we put arms in the hands of any great numbers of Germans, that moment Germany will be calling the tune, not we. The moment Germany is rearmed, she holds the balance of power—not we . . ."**
>
> *(Hanson W. Baldwin in The New York Times)*



Bidault to Truman and Bevin: "What a strange shadow it casts."

(Il Paese, Rome, Italy)

I myself, during the years from 1945 to 1949, have had the opportunity to discuss this problem with representative publishers in Germany, Switzerland and Austria, and I have come to the conclusion that there are indeed many publishers who would sincerely prefer to tell the history of recent years objectively. But they lack the financial backing to undertake such risks. The market for objective books and articles on the Third Reich would have to be developed from scratch, and with long-range financial backing.

It is high time to publish and place before the German public the wealth of interesting, factual material that has come to light in German archives, in the Nuernberg investigations, and in the clarifying statements of true German patriots. This is the only way to combat the systematic poisoning of the German mind going on under our very eyes in the infant German Republic.

(Copyright and courtesy, N. Y. Herald Tribune)

The Number One Problem — Steel

To understand the far-reaching economic and political repercussions which could result from policies that place overemphasis on the development of Germany's industrial power, it is necessary that we resort to some cold statistics. Admittedly, statistics can be boring and even frightening, but at times there is no other alternative but to take the gamble and hope that the reader will stay with us throughout.

The steel division of the ECE (Economic Commission for Europe), a United Nations agency, recently made public its report on the steel situation in Europe. The report indicated that European demands for steel in 1953 would be roughly 58 million tons. It was also estimated that for the same year Europe might be expected to export about 4,100,000 tons of crude steel. On the other hand, the steel programs of various European countries surveyed by the steel division, amount to a total production of 70 million tons. Thus, according to the steel division, 8 million tons of steel may not be able to find a market in 1953.

The Economic Commission for Europe, as reported by the *New York Times*, January 1, 1950, found that in the year 1949 there were 6 million tons of steel capacity idle in Europe, excluding Germany. When these two facts regarding the situation in steel production in Europe are considered alongside the report that American steel capacity has reached the enormous level of 99 million tons per year, then the world is faced with a problem of the first magnitude.

The Germans are fully aware of these facts and yet their steel barons agitate day and night for the overthrowing of all limitations on steel production in Germany on the allegation that the export of German steel and steel products are necessary to fill in the gap between Germany's exports and imports. The Germans shy away from the crucial question of how they intend to sell more abroad, in the face of contracting markets throughout the world. They have good reason to avoid answering the question because there is no magic formula that could wish away these facts. But let it not be said that the Germans are bereft of ingenious plans. *The London Economist*, in trying to answer the German urge for all-out steel production, declared that the Ruhr industrialists envisaged the present organization of the Marshall Plan nations evolving *"into a new international cartel."* Once the cartel is set up, then *"the Ruhr, a cheap producer, economically well-situated can look forward to the collapse of plans for establishing steel industries for such countries as Italy and Norway."* In other words, the Germans in their bid for economic resurgence hope to organize a new and more gigantic steel cartel that would dominate Europe.

The prospect of German steel dominating Europe frightens Germany's neighbors. Furthermore, some leaders in the American steel industry are aware of the implication of a revival of the German power house. As a matter of fact, Eugene G. Grace, the Chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation told its stockholders recently that Bethlehem steel exports during the fourth quarter of 1949 dropped 4.1% of the company's total shipments. "That is how quickly our exports have nose-dived," he said. Touching on the program for enlarging Germany's steel capacity, which incidently has not been mentioned officially by American authorities, Mr. Grace declared that this would result in Germany having 8 million tons of steel available for foreign markets over and above her domestic needs. This too, Mr. Grace implied, could have a serious effect on the steel industry in the United States.

Some may say that there need be no fear of German competition, but the Germans do not compete according to normal business practices. On the contrary, the Germans have a history of resorting to every kind of shady practice backed up by the German State, to undercut competitors. Even today the Germans are preparing to employ huge subsidies for their steel industry. There are already signs that there will be a reorganization of the industries of the Ruhr whereby the coal mines would be owned by the steel trusts which, as in the past, would run them at a loss in order to dispose of the finished steel products at cut-rate prices. We know that the steel industry in Germany today receives a subsidy in the form of cheap coal, while the same coal sells higher for export.

The Associated Press reported that the German federal railways would introduce special freight rates for iron and steel exports via German seaports. The reduction of freight rates provided for is by ⅓ lower than that before the war. Other plans are afoot whereby German exports would be accelerated by a 10% foreign exchange bonus. Together with these contemplated subsidies and the notorious cheap labor in Germany, we can discern the outline of the new German assault in the economic sphere.

We are told, however, that Germany would not be allowed to set up any cartel devices which would help carry out this grandiose plan. On the supposition that that is true, what about United States policy as regards the ultimate capacity of the German steel industry? If, on the one hand we solemnly pledge that Germany shall not be permitted to use her power in steel to undermine the economies of her neighbors, and on the other hand, wink at German agitation for the lifting of present limitations, we shall be creating a new Frankenstein monster.

It should be recalled that a good part of German heavy industry in the past was out of balance. It did not correspond to the genuine domestic needs of the German people and it was confronted at that time by shrinking world markets. Particularly after World War I, the real nature of the German economy became clear when the Germans initiated the cartel system in Europe. The establishment of these huge cartels was an implicit recognition of the fact that under normal competitive business conditions, Germany's productive capacity could not function at full blast.

The tremendous industrial war potential which Germany possessed prior to the war, including steel, is for the most part intact. As in 1930 these top heavy German industries are facing contracting markets abroad. It is clear that dangerous consequences flow from the present policy in Germany which permits an excessive industrial potential. After World War I the Germans "solved" this dilemma by the building up of the German war machine and preparing for aggressive war. Is it not clear that this double game of so-called decartelization, and at the same time recklessly building up the German steel industry, will produce the same urge on the part of the

Germans to seek other outlets for the employment of this huge industrial war potential?

Yet Mr. John J. McCloy, American High Commissioner has intimated that serious considerations have been given to the resumption of American investments in German industry. We do not know whether this is part of the point four program which is supposed to develop backward countries, but we do know that there is tremendous pressure to permit new multimillion dollar investments in the German steel industry. For the German steel barons, such investments would serve as the opening wedge for unlimited steel capacity.

But there is another angle which was neatly expressed by the astute German politician, Gustav Stresemann. In his memoirs, Stresemann talks about the Dawes Plan of 1924 which was the precursor of enormous American investments in German industry. He said, *"The Dawes loan will cause 300 thousand Americans to make propaganda for Germany because they will be interested in her prosperity."* Herr Stresemann knew whereof he spoke. Chancellor Adenauer too knows the score.

Professor Ludwig Erhard, Minister of Economics for the Bonn Government, who has taken a hand in the propaganda drive of the German steel trust, admitted that whether the present limitation will be sufficient for Germany "was not an economic but a political question." In other words, from an economic point of view, the German demand has no sound economic basis. It is rather linked up with other considerations such as profitable investments and perhaps military strategy.

The military consideration was very succinctly expressed by Mr. Jackson Martindell, President of the American Institute for Management. After a recent on-the-spot survey of the European situation, he had this to say with regard to Germany:

"In part, this is a duplication of what happened to France after World War I. As part of her indemnities, France obtained from Germany old and obsolete rolling stock and other equipment which she put into use in France, leaving Germany stripped bare of many essentials. Germany then borrowed money from England and the United States and rebuilt with the most highly modern equipment, resulting in Germany—the defeated nation—being technologically far ahead of France, the neighboring victor."

Mr. Martindell said that the same thing seemed to be occurring again. He related the story of a British salesman who asked him *"Why are you Americans letting Germany have all this wonderful machinery if your purpose is not to ruin both of us?"* In commenting on this point Mr. Martindell said:

"This is no mere passing phase. The tendency is strong for the reestablishment of German industry, at least in the West. What has not been dismantled and shipped out of the country has been damaged by war and is now being replaced. Germany, defeated in two major wars, is likely to come out of the second one far superior in technology to any country in Europe or Asia. If the Western powers then decide to arm Western Germany so that she might be a buffer against Russia, we will have created an industrial war potential overshadowing our combined allied might."

Is it not clear from all this that one cannot permit the Germans to build up her steel capacity under present contracting market conditions without creating a situation which will induce the Germans to resort to rearmanent again? Policy makers refuse to tackle this dilemma.

While our primary concern is the danger of the revival of Germany's industrial power which could be the basis for any future Wehrmacht, the scrapping of present limits on her steel capacity would create havoc among the economies of Germany's neighbors. It would increase unemployment and create political unrest which would play into the hands of extremist elements. Nor would American industry or labor be immune. Here too there would be a falling off of steel production and employment which would have a chain reaction throughout the American economy.

> **"... The 'right people' in German today are often the wrong Germans from a democratic point of view. Just as at Bonn, where ultraconservatives are rising to power despite the association of many of them with the leaders of Hitler's Reich, so in the schools the influences left over from the old Germany are strong ..."**
>
> *(From an editorial in The Christian Science Monitor)*

IN THE AUSTRIAN NATIONAL elections late last year one of the surprises was the success at the polls of the so-called Independents, who grabbed themselves off nine seats in the new parliament. This is an ultra-nationalist outfit and, in reading the party manifestoes, bifocals are not required to see the tender regard with which these unregenerate gentlemen continue to embrace the memory of a onetime Austrian house painter, lately deceased. They ape many of the Nazi party's ritualistic and mystic mannerisms, even to saluting with a stiff upraised right arm.

Last week a platoon of these Independents paraded preparatory to holding one of their meetings here, and an observant American correspondent, viewing these infantile but potentially dangerous antics, noticed one dissimilarity in their salute from that of their Nazi predecessors. When Hitler's minions saluted, the fingers of the right hand were extended. The Austrian Independents, however, close their fists with the exception of the pinky, which coyly peeps out, much in the manner of your excessively refined Aunt Theodora having herself a cup of Pekoe with the other elderly ladies of the church bazaar. The correspondent finally cornered the leader of the Independents, and asked whether there was any significance to be read into this pinky business which seemed to him, he said, curiously effeminate for these inheritors of Der Fuehrer's mantle.

"It's very simple," the leader replied. "We have a Five Year Program, like everybody else. This year we show only the little finger when saluting. Next year our men will expose two fingers. By 1954, when my men will show all their fingers, Hitler will know that he has been vindicated. But we are starting modestly, and this year show only the kleine finger (little finger)."

Must American labor and management be sacrificed in the interest of 300 thousand new potential investors? These are the considerations which deserve the careful study of American management and labor. In our opinion, a program which would limit Germany's industrial potential to genuine peacetime requirements as recommended by the United States Foreign Economic Administration, would not only avert this economic danger, but would at the same time strengthen American security and world peace.

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

JACK RAYMOND reports to the New York Times:

"Robert M. Hanes, chief of the Economic Cooperation Administration mission in Western Germany, has written a sharp letter to Chancellor Adenauer reminding him of the importance of increasing agricultural production at a time when the U. S. is still supplying huge amounts of food for Western Germany and the German diet is growing faster than expected.

"An ECA report on the West German aid program pointed out that the Germans had reached their 1951 food consumption targets a year in advance because of a good harvest and heavy food imports. . . . In his letter Mr. Hanes called attention to the fact that 70% of the total of the U. S. aid to Germany had gone for food. Yet up to the present, he said, less than 10% of German counterpart funds had been assigned to the development of agricultural resources. This appeared to be an incongruity that ought to be rectified, Mr. Hanes declared. Several persons in the U. S. High Commissioner's office, it was learned, felt the letter was too strong' . . ."

★

FROM AN ARTICLE by C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times, titled, "Germans Use the 'Cold War' to Speed Return to Power":

"By hard work and shrewd national instincts the German people have . . . placed themselves in a position from which they may some day again be able to dominate Europe. Political divisions between the East and the West and among Western Allies themselves have provided Germany as a nation with the mechanism for accelerating its physical recovery at a rate unforseen when victorious statesmen met to survey the ruins from Potsdam. . . .

"In an effort to gain permanent control over the Eastern occupation zone, Moscow has been lavish with favors to its supporters. This procedure has stimulated the West to boost the industrial potential in its zone—above all in steel—far above any levels foreseen even two years ago. Prodding this tendency has been a veiled blackmail hint by Western Germans to the effect that 'we will never turn eastward to the Soviet Union for help as long as you treat us fairly.'..."

★

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN reports:

"(Recently) the Poltiical Directorate of the Allied Council in Vienna decided unanimously that 'Great Rapture,' a book written by a former S.S. agent, Erich Kernmayer, contained military and Nazi propaganda and warranted full action by the Council. . . .

"Now the Austrian paper 'Alpenruf,' which has already received one warning from the Allied Council, started to serialize the book 'in order to make it available to returned soldiers.'"

Here are some typical passages from Kernmayer's book:

"Once, however, there was a cheerful hour in all the terrible news that befell us time and again. Once again we were sitting together round the bunk of an old colonel from Hamburg and argued until we were red in the face.

"'We ought to have got England,' a young Luftwaffe officer, decorated with the Knight's Cross, exclaimed. 'We ought to have rubbed out that damned aircraft-carrier at all costs. It was a deadly military mistake that we didn't dare jump the Channel after Dunkirk. Where could the United States air fleet have started from? Would the United States have entered the war at all? England was the great decision long before Stalingrad.'

"'Dear comrades,' the old colonel said, with a deadly serious voice, 'let us therefore raise our coffee cups to the victorious Labour party.' Speechless, we looked at him. . . . The old gentleman laughed until the tears came. 'You think I am somewhat wrong in the head. Not at all, but you would say yourselves that no one could have avenged us so thoroughly on England as the Labour party has done. Everything England wanted to defend has gone. Her mighty Empire has gone to the devil. We would never have thought of such war aims in our dreams — India, Palestine, Egypt, and, you watch, shortly the Near East. And who has England got to thank for it? Whom do we thank for such a splendid satisfaction with our shattered and annihilated Germany? I admit my glee is a little childish, for it does not help us, but let me have this little satisfaction. Therefore, up the cups, hooray for the good Labour party.'"

★

FROM A COLUMN in The New York Times by Hanson W. Baldwin:

". . . We have not followed either the Carthaginian policy or the slave satellite policy in Germany. Instead, naively, we have tried, with all sorts of ineptitude and against powerful forces all tending in the opposite direction, to 'democratize' in a few years a nation with centuries of military and ultra-nationalistic tradition.

"Today that tradition is far from dead. The spirit of Hitler and of the German General Staff still stalk Germany. And nationalistic groups — probably secretly linked underground—are nourishing the ancient tradition of 'Deutschland Ueber Alles.'"

★

MARTIN WEISS and August Hering, commandants of the Vilna Ghetto during the Nazi occupation, were sentenced to life imprisonment by a German court in Wuerzburg following their conviction on charges of responsibility for and participation in the mass murder of 30,000 Jews. The two, instrumental in the liquidation of the entire population of the Vilna ghetto, were also accused of personally murdering many people. One prosecution witness accused Weiss of having personally shot her child while she was carrying it in her arms.

★

THE NEW YORK TIMES reports from Buenos Aires:

"Fritz Thyssen, former German industrialist, and a wartime U-boat captain who boasted of having sunk more than twenty Allied ships totaling 350,000 tons arrived in Buenos Aires on separate vessels.

"The 76-year old Herr Thyssen said he would remain in Argentina for a few months with his wife, Zurhelle, to visit their daughter, the Countess Zichy, and their two grandsons.

"Herr Thyssen said he had completely retired from politics and business and would return to live in Belgium.

"The former submarine commander was Heinrich Willenbruck who, with three other men, piloted a fishing smack here from Hamburg in 116 days. Herr Willenbruck said his torpedo exploits in the North Atlantic off both the United States and British coasts had won him Hitler's Cross of Swords.

"He described his companions as engineers and said they all hoped to stay here."

★

FROM AN ASSOCIATED PRESS dispatch from Hamburg:

"Metal Nazi swastikas about the size of a nickel were scattered from a speeding automobile through the Hamburg business district today—the anniversary of Adolf Hitler's proclamation as Reichschancellor in 1933.

"Similar occurrences took place in Dortmund and Hagen. Police speculated it was the work of a neo-Nazi underground. . . ."

★

THE NEW YORK POST reports from Washington:

"Former Nazi storm troopers, Communists and other undesirable DPs have gained admittance to the U. S. through forged credentials, John W. Cutler, Jr., a Displaced Persons Commission employe, charged recently. . . ."

★

NEWSWEEK REPORTS:

". . . A party of former high-ranking Nazis, reportedly disguising themselves as Holy Year pilgrims, recently escaped from Western Germany into Italy. Leader of the group was Hartmann Lauterbacher, former gauleiter of Hannover, who made a getaway from an internment camp in the British zone of Germany."

★

FROM AN AP report from Berlin:

"East Germany's Communist rulers drafted the Soviet zone's youth into a tightly knit force along the lines of the Hitler youth of Nazi days.

"The Communists rammed through their parliament a law organizing 3,000,000 youth down to the last details, even including sports activities.

"Under the law, a boy or girl in the Soviet zone will belong to the FDJ—the Free German Youth—or will not be able to participate in even ordinary everyday activities such as football, picnics, hiking, certain school-work and eventually choice of profession. . . ."

★

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS reports from Frankfurt:

"American agents disclosed today they are investigating a secret Nazi underground organization agitating a new brand of Hitlerism in Germany.

"The size of the underground group is unknown but one allied official called it 'certainly dangerous.'

" 'It must be watched,' he added. 'On the other hand, its importance should not be overemphasized.'

"Calling itself the 'Katakombe Scheinwerfer' (Catacomb Reflector), the underground movement has its headquarters somewhere in Munich. It publishes a secretly-distributed newspaper glorifying Nazism and brands all Germans who opposed Hitler as traitors.

"American agents said they are making a full investigation to uncover its strength and leadership, how it is financed and how it distributes its illegal literature.

"Officials said the group apparently is in touch with underground fascist groups in Austria, Italy and possibly in Argentina."

★

THE ONA reports from Vienna, Austria:

"One recent instance of the hardihood of the Hitlerite spirit was so conspicuous that the newspapers were compelled to give it space in their columns. This was a meeting of six former leaders of the Hitler Youth in Austria at a mountain resort. They made no attempt at secrecy but foregathered in a large recreation hall among other resort guests. Police carted them off to the local constabulary clad in full SS regalia and swastika emblems and, later brought before a magistrate's court, they complained vehemently of the 'disrespect' shown toward their uniforms by the minions of law."

★

FROM A REPORT by Mark Strage to the ONA, from Frankfurt:

". . . The blackmarket is still a flourishing enterprise today in Frankfurt. Recently the police picked up a pair of operators in a restaurant which is the HQ for blackmarket affairs. Several months ago they teamed up and since then have swindled American soldiers of several thousands of dollars. Both of them, former SS men, when arrested, were quite ready to rationalize their activities. 'We never cheated Germans' they asserted self-righteously, but with GI's it's different, of course."

★

FROM THE DAILY MAIL, Paris edition:

"The 'psychological groundwork' for the triumphal return of Nazi ideology is being laid in the West German Federal Republic, according to Dr. Kurt Schumacher. The danger of a resurgence of the Nazi-type State, Schumacher maintained, lies not in the present, but rather, would coincide with the Republic's first economic crisis—and that crisis might well come at the end of ECA help in 1952. He expressed special apprehension at the allocation of funds by 'Ruhr capitalists' for the support of the Right-wing fringe groups which have sprung up in recent months, dedicated to the re-establishing the 'good phases' of National Socialism. Various small merchants and industrialists also were giving support to the neo-Nazis today, just as they had to Hitler in 1931."

★

ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS in West Germany, directed particularly against Jews returning here from overseas to reclaim their property under restitution legislation, are increasing. A number of incidents in which crowds openly shouted anti-Semitic epithets at individual Jews in the towns of Kassel and Fuerth were reported. . . .

Meanwhile, desecrations of two more Jewish cemeteries in West Germany were reported. Vandals knocked over four tombstones in the Rauschenburg cemetery, located near Kassel, and two in the old cemetery at Ebermannsburg. . . .

* * *

FROM GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY'S book, "Decision in Germany":

". . . Out of the 1,672 trials came that of Ilse Koch, the branded 'Bitch of Buchenwald,' but as I examined the record I could not find her a major participant in the crimes of Buchenwald. A sordid, disreputable character, she had delighted in flaunting her sex, emphasized by tight sweaters and short skirts, before the long-confined male prisoners and had developed their bitter hatred. Nevertheless, these were not the offenses for which she was being tried, and so I reduced her sentence, expecting the reaction which came. Perhaps I erred in judgment, but no one can share the responsibility of a reviewing officer. Later the Senate committee which unanimously criticized this action, heard witnesses who gave testimony not contained in the record before me. . . ."

* * *

AP REPORTS from Duesseldorf:

A German plan to end Allied control of the vast coal, iron and steel combine of the Ruhr, protect private interests and reorganize West German heavy industry on a purely German basis was circulated in Duesseldorf.

The plan was issued by the Protective Association of Security Stockholders, claiming to represent former shareholders and creditors of West German industrial concerns. It criticized the Allied coal and steel groups for unwarranted delay in reorganization . . .

To replace the Allied coal and steel control groups which have been working on decartelization since last September, it is proposed that only the West German Government, aided by the German Coal Board and the steel trustee associations, be concerned with the redistribution of economic power.

I read with disgust John Hohenberg's accounts about those convicted Nazi war criminals. These men are now petitioning the authorities for clemency in their sentences. Back in April of 1948, all of them were condemned to death by a legal body given empowerment by the Allies. John McCloy, High Commissioner in Germany, is the last obstacle before this sentence is carried out. Mr. McCloy seems to be taking his good sweet time about putting those Nazi rats into a hangman's noose. What the blazes is he waiting for? Is it part of our State Department policy to consider stalling expedient for our dealings with the Germans? I know a few G.I.'s who'll break an old Army rule and volunteer for the job of hanging these 16 men. Here's hoping those Nazis are buried . . . preferably in garbage where they belong.

(*Don Baum in a letter-to-the-editor of the New York Post*)

ANTI-NAZIS PERSECUTED

A new persecuted class had been created in Germany: the "collaborators." Many people are in this category: former refugees who returned and are surrounded by a wall of distrust and often even hated if their activities are in the public sphere, former inmates of concentration camps, former personnel of the occupation authorities, including even drivers of military government vehicles, and especially former employees of de-nazification courts. Former Nazis get a job much more easily than people who are in these categories. Boycott is an effective weapon in the time of unemployment. When in the American Zone a law was enacted to protect former denazification tribunal employees, there were seven thousand applications for help. Though railways and postal services were instructed to accept these former employees, they have taken less than 100! The boycott movement became so strong that organizations for the protection of these people had to be formed.

The chairman of a tribunal got this letter: "By your behaviour you have still given supplementary evidence that your detention in a concentration camp was justified. By your surviving it has been proved that the Nazis showed much too much mercy. Many millions of Germans will loathe you." The Ministry of Denazification in North Wurttemberg-Baden stated that mayors, town councillors, district councillors, etc. explained categorically they were unable to employ former staff members of the tribunals. This boycott is the revenge. The town council of Kempton, Allgau, found an excuse in the attitude of the population: "On reasons of general antipathy it is not possible to give jobs to those people."

(*From German Affairs—London*)

Recommended Reading

THE WALL. By John Hersey. 632 pages. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $4.00.)

This story of the Nazi destruction of the Warsaw ghetto and its inmates is a masterpiece of the novelist's art in which a gifted journalist has employed one of the world's epics of heroism to create an unforgettable work of the imagination. Taking the tragic event itself as the keystone of his arching structure, John Hersey has invented a whole gallery of characters, each full bodied and completely realized, and fashioned a superbly woven network of intricate detail. Despite the handicap of a technical device by which the novel itself is made up of simulated diaries and notes, the story has a cumulative power which mounts rapidly to gripping proportions. We breathlessly follow the fate of these unfortunate Jews through all their terror and horror and agony and nobility until a handful of survivors ultimately escapes destruction through the sewers of Warsaw.

Why?

WHY has the 7-year sentence of Nazi war criminal Baron Ernst von Weizsaecker been reduced to five years?

WHY did General Clay, when he was still in Germany, issue instructions to have the German file on Dr. Josef Mueller delivered to Baron von Prittwitz and Herr von Schlaberndorf?

WHY was the dossier which incriminated Dr. Josef Mueller not kept in the American files of dubious German politicians? (Josef Mueller recently joined the ranks of the protagonists of a Russo-German Alliance and of the Soviet-sponsored National Front movement in Western Germany.)

WHY has the Western German government taken preliminary action to reduce sharply the amounts which the Western allies have decreed shall be given in restitution to the victims and sufferers of Nazism?

WHY has High Commissioner John J. McCloy in the past months continuously made optimistic comments on political attitudes of the Germans regarding nationalism and neo-Nazism before he finally refuted himself in his recent outspoken speech?

WHY, although 3,500,000 Germans admitted to having been Nazis on the official military government questionnaire, were only 1800 (one-half of 1 per cent) officially excluded from holding public office?

WHY has the former camp physician of the Nazi concentration camp Fuhlsbuettel, near Hamburg, a certain Schnappauf, who had been sentenced to twelve years, been released after serving only two and one-half years in prison?

WHY did Chancellor Adenauer recently state that the neo-Nazi rabble-rousers do not constitute a real threat in Western Germany, although the acquittal of Wolfgang Hedler by a court presided over by former Nazi party members gives Adenauer's statement the lie?

WHY is Otto Skorzeny, generally considered one of the most dangerous Nazi gangsters, who headed the Nazi plan to infiltrate American lines during the Battle of the Bulge, able to remain at liberty after his escape from a German prison camp last year?

WHY do Allied authorities not take the necessary steps to re-arrest Skorzeny who is obviously traveling freely through Western Europe, and recently resided in Paris?

WHY was Hitler's master spy and conspirator in the middle and near East, Dr. Grobba, able to vanish into obscurity?

WHY have American correspondents failed to report a speech by Soviet Captain Legin, made before SED party leaders and the chief of the people's police in Berlin, in which the Russian officer made this significant statement: "Because you have the great honor to be a part of the freedom-loving Sovietland, and of its Allies, you have always to be thoughtful to appreciate the confidence of Stalin and that of the workers of the Democratic Republic"?

WHY did the papers fail to report that in answer to the Soviet captain's speech, SED leader Paul Stellmacher stated: "We (Germans) will, if need be, even with arms in our hands, contribute to win the victory over American imperialism and its fascist helpers in Western Germany"?

"... Many Germans nowadays are busy explaining the war in terms of their own exculpation; they are blaming everybody but themselves for the war and its aftermath; they are shadow-boxing with collective guilt. ... It is discouraging that, knowing this, the German parties, all the way from the non-Communist Left to the extreme Right, are so stridently nationalist ..."

(From an editorial in the Washington Post)

"It would have been in order weeks ago for the Allied authorities in Germany to sail in with the kind of sharp criticism and admonitions regarding the shortcomings—particularly regarding resurgent Nazism and militarism—of the five months old Western German government, forcefully enunciated by U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy.

"Mr. McCloy has at last said some things that badly needed saying ...

"Emphasis placed by Commissioner McCloy on Allied determination to keep Germany faced toward the West, not the East, and away from Nazism and militarism is in order. But that emphasis must not be desultory. It should be applied from now on. We should not wait until new provocative trends in the wrong direction threaten to get out of hand, as they have lately."

(From an editorial in The Philadelphia Inquirer)

"... the possession of armed forces in the past has never guaranteed the Germans against being 'drawn into the whirlpool.' On the contrary, it was those very forces, plus the fear, real or imagined, of 'encirclement' that twice in a generation precipitated the whirlpool ..."

(From an editorial in the New York Herald Tribune)

WHY has the German magazine Weltbild (British Zone), which charged the British with war atrocities and referred scornfully to Winston Churchill as being guilty of the same offenses as Field Marshal von Manstein, not been reprimanded or suspended?

WHY is Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War in Washington, coming to the defense of convicted German war criminals and mass murderers such as S. S. leader Sepp Dietrich, who was one of those responsible for the mass killings of American prisoners of war at Malmedy?

WHY has the American High Commission in Germany failed to investigate the incredible denazification scandal in Stuttgart, where high German officials helped infamous Nazis bribe their way free of denazification courts?

WHY were former Nazi party members permitted to become judges at the Wolfgang Hedler trial, and why was nothing done to replace these Nazis in time before they could render a judgment of acquittal in the case of this Hitlerite?

FROM BROWN TO RED

They've turned back the clock in Western Germany—turned it back to the days of the Weimar Republic and 1928. And the big question in everyone's mind is: Will history repeat itself?

"Your democracy may be fine for America," I was told again and again. "But Germany needs a different kind. Germany needs leadership with a strong hand."

A prominent trade-union leader, anti-Communist and anti-Nazi Georg Reuter, explained, "Before Hitler came to power, you Americans mistook the Weimar Republic for a real democracy. It was only a potential one. Now after the war you are repeating the same mistake; you have helped re-establish Bonn in the image of Weimar." With a rueful shrug, he added, "Sometimes it seems as though you want to prove that history does repeat itself . . ."

Though the clock does appear to have been turned back in the Western zone, as this educator said, there is a wide difference between the present-day situation there and the state of affairs in the Russian-occupied zone. The comparison with 1928 stops abruptly at the Iron Curtain on the Elbe. As far as Eastern Germany is concerned, the 1928 period is long since past, and the tragedy that began with the rise of dictatorship in 1933 is already in its first act.

There, totalitarians no longer have to campaign; they are holding the reins of power after superficially changing their color from brown to red. The uniform, the heavy boot, the machine gun have become the state. Eastern democrats and anti-totalitarians are again locked in concentration camps.

One hope for Western Germany is that the East zone's flash back to 1933 may serve as a tragic warning to democratic elements in the West. But still, the goose step clatters ominously over the Allied-occupied zones.

In their struggle to overthrow the democratic government and establish some kind of totalitarian regime, extremists of the right in Western Germany are quite prepared to join forces with the Communists on the opposite end of the political spectrum.

The speaker for the Free Democratic Party —listed as a "conservative" group and a moderate right-wing party—recently labeled the Marshall Plan "American economic colonization." Then he went on to relate a fantastic tale about 10,000 tons of rotten rags which the European Cooperation Administration had literally forced Germany to accept and pay out its marks for.

While this "conservative" speaker gave no source for his information, he could easily have found it in any Communist-controlled newspaper in Germany.

A few days later in Marburg, students marched through the town, pushing aside the authorized police officers with truculent comments and sneers. "We've all been storm troopers," they shouted. "We don't need you to keep law and order." That night the Nazi Horst Wessel song echoed from secret meetings.

In the Ruhr area to watch pre-election activities last fall, I saw motorcycle shock troops and heard Nazi-type threats and promises which recalled the old days of violence and intolerance. In Bavaria a man was stabbed to death at a political meeting; in the British zone a campaign worker was murdered when he tried to put up some election posters . . .

The parallel between '28 and '50 seems almost incredible. Twenty years ago, the nationalists had ranted against "foreign chains," against reparations payments, against the alleged exploitation of victory to soften competition in German markets. Today, dollar aid from America has been either overlooked or branded as "capitalist imperialism" by Communists, as "Yankee enslavement" by Nazis.

(From the article, "Germany . . . Flash Back to Disaster?" by Fred M. Hechinger, in This Week magazine)

". . . Instead of concentrating on trying to find solutions to the immense and thus far largely untouched domestic problems of the country, West Germany's politicians are taking advantage of the rump state's strategic position. They are playing off the Western Allies against the Russians in the time-honored manner of Talleyrand, whose similar tactics restored France to its position as a world power after the Napoleonic adventure . . ."

(From an editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

According to a report in German newspapers, Martin Niemoeller in a recent speech before the Protestant Church community in Tuebingen, Germany, reiterated that "the German people will never fight either against the West nor against the East." And he added: "If Bolshevism should be established in Germany the German people will have to take it exactly as it took national socialism in 1933."

We Applaud . . .

. . . JOHN J. McCLOY, High Commissioner for Germany, for the excellent speech in which he called a spade a spade and used the only language the Germans can understand.

. . . JUDGE MICHAEL A. MUSMANNO, one of the principal jurists at the Nuremberg trials of Ohlendorf and other S.S. leaders charged with the murder of 1,000,000 Jews, for upholding the death sentence passed on the 16 war criminals as "eminently just and proper."

. . . REPRESENTATIVE DOLLINGER, who demanded an explanation from the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy, of why the execution of Nazi war criminals sentenced to death many months ago is still being postponed, adding: "Further delay is unconscionable and a violation of the trust imposed in you."

. . . DR. JAMES R. NEWMAN, American Commissioner for the State of Hesse, for his statement warning the Germans that if they refused to cooperate with the U. S. program for political reorientation, they could be excluded from the Marshall Plan.

. . . MR. MAX H. DIAMOND, of Chicago, Ill., who wrote a letter-to-the-editor of Time magazine commenting as follows on the magazine's recent cover story on German Chancellor Adenauer: "Your Adenauers, Erhards and Schumachers, your 'good' people, they are the dangerous ones; the ones who are fronting for Thor and getting another chance for the ever-resurgent militarists of Germany. Between wars the good Germans are pushed forward, and they spout about culture, music, art, science and civilization . . . They will be liquidated when they have served the purpose of the nascent militarists . . ."

. . . REPORTER OLIVER PILAT of the New York Post for his excellent expose series, "Under Cover in Yorkville," spotlighting the Nazi rabblerousers of the lunatic fringe.

. . . JOHN HOHENBERG, the UN correspondent of the New York Post, for his recent series of excellent articles on the Nazi war criminals and mass murderers, Pohl, Ohlendorf and Co., whose executions are still being delayed.

. . . REPRESENTATIVE ADOLPH J. SABATH, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, for introducing a resolution calling for an investigation by the Foreign Affairs Committee of occupation administration in Germany.

. . . THOSE UNITED STATES AUTHORITIES in Germany who barred Hitler's one-time mountain retreat of Berchtesgaden as a German shrine and permit only Western tourists and G. I.s to visit the Fuehrer's famous eagle's nest.

. . . DAVID M. NICHOL, of the Chicago Daily News, for his excellent story exposing top German officials in the Reich's civil service as a threat to real democracy by sabotaging the laws.

. . . FRED M. HECHINGER, for his fine article, "Germany . . . Flashback to Disaster?" in This Week magazine.

. . . GABRIEL HEATTER, of the Mutual Network, who unlike some other radio commentators, speaks out bluntly on the rise of neo-Nazism in Germany.

A Purely "Internal" Affair

The Stuttgart denazification bribery scandal plainly shows what the Germans are up to. It has been established that *Minister President Reinhold Maier* in Stuttgart has issued more than 19,000 pardons during the last year, and police investigations have shown that most of these certificates were sold to the highest bidders. According to Drew Middleton in the *New York Times*, the Chief of Police in Stuttgart has documentary evidence that would involve a number of the highest ranking members of the State Government.

The Stuttgart scandal centers on the ability of certain highly placed former Nazis to buy themselves out of denazification court. Involved in this scandal is the right hand man and adviser of Minister President Maier, a certain *Stroele*. According to the French newspaper, *Parisien Liberé*, Stroele is the brother-in-law of *Fritz Thyssen*. Others involved are one *August Mayer* and one *Heinz May*. Mayer was a Chief of the Hitler Youth during the Nazi regime, but at the end of the war, for non-political reasons, he was jailed by the Nazis. When the Americans occupied Germany, August Mayer presented himself to the American authorities as a victim of Nazi persecution.

His colleague, Heinz May, was a prisoner of war in the United States. On his return to Germany he wrote a book entitled: "The Democratic Constitution." The book was a great success, and consequently May was named one of the Chiefs of the denazification board of Ludwigsburg.

Early in 1949 May and Mayer met. Mayer at that time had some sort of agency for publicity, translations, road shows, etc. But this was nothing but a coverup for his real purpose, namely, denazification briberies. So Mayer and May started to work hand-in-glove and in one year 1,035 highly compromised Nazis were denazified and freed through their help.

These 1,035 operations worked out smoothly but the 1,036th proved to be fatal. No. 1,036 involved a certain Stockinger who not only refused to pay, but denounced the two racketeers to Mr. Stroele, Director of the Ministry for refugees in Baden-Wuerttemberg, whereupon the scandal really started. Mr. Stroele answered to Stockinger that his denunciation didn't interest him at all. Whereupon Mr. Stockinger complained to the American occupation authorities. An inquiry was ordered and as a result, May and Mayer were arrested on January 3.

Now the story broke into the papers, and Mr. Stroele was forced to answer questions at a press conference. In order to excuse his negligence he declared that he knew Mayer since 1945; that the denunciatory letters were illegible (!) and that Mayer had sent Mrs. Stroele a bouquet of flowers.

This is what the German newspaper Stuttgarter Nachrichten had to say about Stroele:

"During the Nazi-Reich Stroele worked closely with the Nazi Minister, Mergenthaler, insuring the liaison between the latter and the Gauleiter of Stuttgart. He was prosecutor against anti-fascist functionaries. How such a man could be put at the head of a denazification court remains a mystery."

It is now revealed that it was thanks to the personal intervention of Stroele, that Dr. Schacht was acquitted by the denazification board of Ludwigsburg.

Reporting from Stuttgart, Don Cook wrote to the

To Check German Intrigues . . .

On the occasion of the recent visit to the United States of John J. McCloy, High Commissioner for Germany, the Society for the Prevention of World War III sent the following wires to President Truman and to Mr. McCloy:

President Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D. C.

The efforts of the Germans to undermine Allied agreements on the status of the Saar is a continuation of their policy of blackmail. Through such tactics, the Germans have extracted concession after concession at the expense of American security and our moral leadership.

When the Germans agitated for the scrapping of the reparations program, we notified the Secretary of State that submission to German demands would only "whet the never satiated German appetite. "The Germans will continue to demand still greater concessions and thus further undermine the security of the United States and her friends in Europe." It is high time that American policy be made by the State Department and not by the Germans.

We respectfully urge that you reject the German attempt to split the Allies on the Saar issue. The American people expect High Commissioner John J. McCloy to carry out American policy and not be the mouthpiece for Chancellor Adenauer's policies.

Respectfully,
Mark Van Doren, Chairman
C. Monteith Gilpin, Secretary

John J. McCloy
U. S. High Commissioner for Germany
c/o State Department
Washington, D. C.

We respectfully draw your attention to special New York Times dispatches January 14 and 15 revealing Chancellor Adenauer requested group of German generals to draw up schedule and plan for German rearmament. These German military officers are organized in a so-called Brotherhood having chapters in key German cities. It is responsibility of Allied Military Security Board to investigate Times reports concerning Adenauer's activities for German rearmament and character and purposes of Brotherhood organization. If Times reports are correct Adenauer should be brought up on charges of wilfully violating basic policies of Occupation Statute and Military Security Board. The Brotherhood if found guilty of planning military resurgence and "the revival of military or para military organizations and of the militaristic spirit" should be disbanded and its responsible leaders brought to trial. Failure to take prompt investigatory action would contradict letter and spirit of American and Allied policy prohibiting revival of militaristic activities. Failure to act would nullify mission of Allied Military Security Board and would prepare resurgence of German General Staff. It would increase fears and suspicions among our most reliable allies and friends in Western Europe. Overwhelming majority American people oppose revival German militarism and expect their representatives in Germany will use their full powers to check German intrigues.

Respectfully,
Mark Van Doren, Chairman
C. Monteith Gilpin, Secretary

Herald Tribune:

"Political pressure of the strongest kind is being brought against the chief of the criminal investigation division of the Land police, Otto Oster, who has been pressing ahead with the probe of the scandal. To remove Mr. Oster would be too much, for the ramifications are by now far too wide. But the police chief is fast reaching the limit of his powers to see the affair through.

"An official of the Land Commission who has sided with the Americans received a threatening telephone call, and his home has been under guard ever since.

"The police investigators, it was learned, have uncovered direct evidence, so far suppressed by the news blackout, which links the Minister-President Reinhold Maier himself to the scandal through a series of extra-legal actions. The Minister-President admits publicly to having pardoned or reduced sentences of 19,000 Nazi offenders, most of them in the last five months. In reviewing these cases, the police have found that he granted many judicial favors beyond the scope of his authority."

It is to be hoped that this denazification bribery scandal will be thoroughly investigated by the American High Commission in Germany. It is high time that the circumstances involving the whitewashing of highly compromised Nazis be brought into the open.

It has been said often that it was a very good idea to turn over Denazification to the Germans themselves.

WHO IS FOOLING WHOM?

"The West German government's answer to the Allied demands for decartelization measures may be a law that foresees the continued existence of cartels but with a government division to license them."

(From a dispatch by Jack Raymond in the New York Times)

"The leading Frankfurt newspaper (Frankfurter Rundschau) is denouncing West German Chancellor Adenauer for giving a high post to a former prominent Nazi. He is Dr. Hans Globke, who published Nazi racial literature for Hitler."

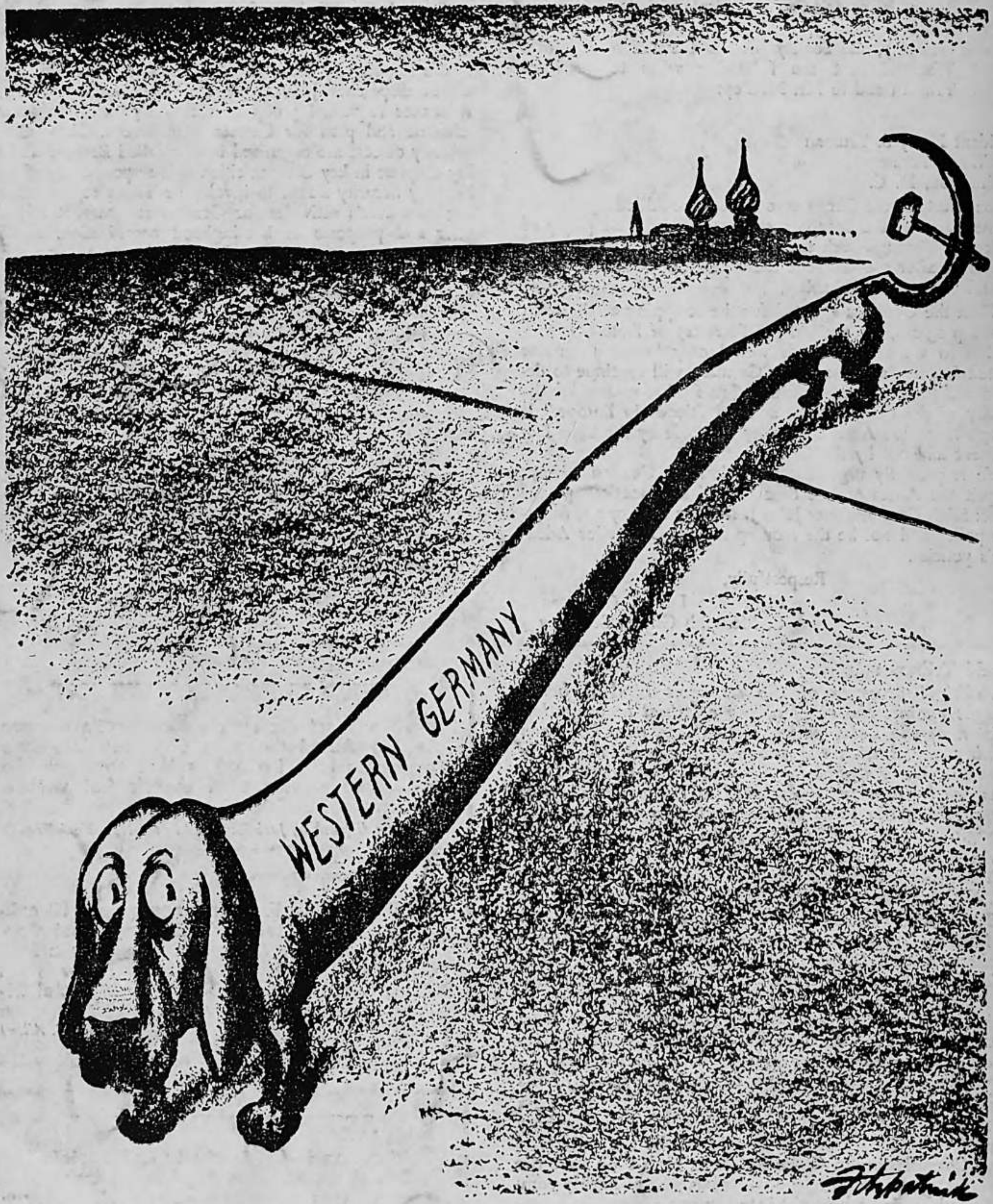
(Robert S. Allen)

ABSENT-MINDED GENERAL

"German Field Marshall von Manstein told a British war court trying him for war crimes that he was not aware of Hitler's policy to exterminate the Jews."

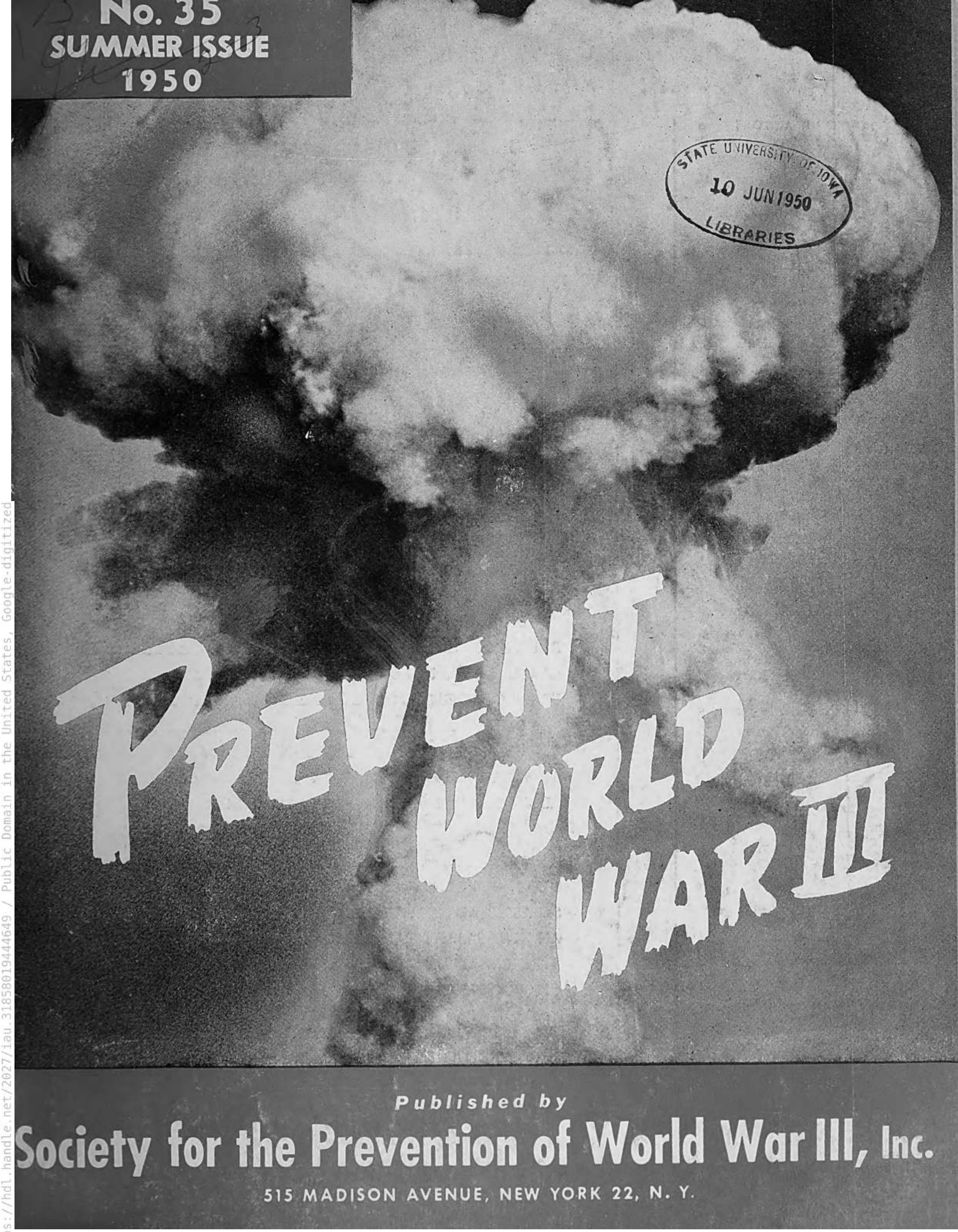
(U. P. dispatch from Hamburg, Germany)

THE TAIL THAT WANTS TO WAG THE DOG


WESTERN GERMANY
Fitzpatrick

(*Cartoon by Fitzpatrick—Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch*)

No. 35
SUMMER ISSUE
1950



PREVENT WORLD WAR III

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Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. **Tel.: PLaza 3-4985**

No. 35 **Summer Issue** **June — August, 1950**

Nothing to Worry About??

"This is a critical period for Germany and one which finds the Germans, in general, receptive. It is a period in which we should redouble our efforts to guide German public attitudes in the direction of the free Western world." (John J. McCloy, U. S. High Commissioner, to Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, in his First Quarterly Report on Germany.)

The American people will now be able to breathe a sigh of relief as they read the resolute words of the U. S. High Commissioner. Henceforth they need not fret about such insignificant occurrences as they read in the press daily:

The Chancellor of the West German Republic leading a German rally to the tune of *Deutschland Ueber Alles;*

The growing defiance of Allied policy and personnel by Germans of all stripes and colors;

The ever-increasing influence of neo-Nazi politicians and their political parties;

The training of ex-Nazi diplomats to take over where they left off under Hitler;

The re-establishment of the German Civil Service as it was under Hitler and staffed with pro-Nazi bigwigs;

The return to power of the industrial war lords of the Ruhr who provided the guns and tanks for the Hitler war machine;

The rising clamor of the Germans for the freedom of the top Nazi war criminals;

The hounding and persecution of genuine anti-Nazis for participating in the Allied denazification program;

The resurgence of the German cartel network which aims at strangling the economies of her neighbors;

The re-emergence of the I. G. Farben octopus, spearhead of past German aggressions;

The spending of American funds on unnecessary luxuries, while making no effort to cope with the unemployent problem—as revealed by the ECA;

The deliberate falsification of statistical data by the Germans in order to mislead the Allies as to the true state of Germany's economic revival;

The conspiracy of German industrialists to grab hold of the markets in Communist China, and the secret deals they are making with the Iron Curtain countries;

The undermining of all agricultural reforms by the Germans, despite the hundreds of thousands of farmers who are landless, though close to 2 million acres are available;

The sabotage of the reparations program which has now resulted in the retaining of most of the Hermann Goering Steel Works—a basic component of the Nazi war potential;

The smuggling into Germany during the year 1949 of $1 billion worth of goods, chiefly coffee, cigarettes, choclate and nylon;

The deliberate attempt by German politicians to aggravate the financial crisis by providing tax windfalls for the industrial war lords,—another device to squeeze more money out of American taxpayers;

The German threats and insults against the West over the Saar Treaty;

The boasts by members of the German General Staff that they are in constant contact with some four thousand generals and high officers who held key positions in Hitler's Reich. . . .

This is but a partial list. There is much more to be told, but should we bother when the American people are now assured by the U. S. High Commissioner that the situation is well in hand, that "we" are "guiding German attitudes" and that the Germans "are receptive?"

Why should the American people pay any attention to eight prominent Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike; Gillette, Hendrickson, Ives, Lehman, Kilgore, Douglas, Chavez, Pepper, who have expressed alarm over developments in Germany? Why should the people become excited when they are assured that the Germans are meek lambs who are being "guided" and are "receptive" to the standards of free communities?

These Senators have asked President Truman to appoint a Commission to investigate all matters pertaining to Germany. Do they really believe that there is something intrinsically wrong with our German policy? Or have they been taken in by the hysteria of fanatical diehards who believe what they read in the newspapers?

In this connection *The N. Y. Times* recently carried a story bearing the headline: *"U. S. Expert Defends Employment of Former Nazis in German Jobs."* This anonymous high official in the Office of the High Commissioner told the press that it was a "misinterpretation" of the facts to assert that the denazification program had failed because many former Nazis had been returned to their jobs or had obtained new positions.

Should we listen to such experts because they possess a certain kind of logic which is above the heads of the common man? The common man just can't understand that putting the Nazis back into power is "really" a subtle way of denazifying Germany. As reported by the *Times* this high official said, when we put them back into office, they are less "vulnerable to neo-Nazi schemers."

(Continued on page 2)

General Guderian Talks Back

Elsewhere in this issue we deal in detail with the rearmament and remilitarization of the Soviet zone in Germany under the guise of the so-called People's Police. We are strongly opposed to this development. We are equally opposed to certain dangerous trends in Western Germany regarding the rebuilding of a new German Wehrmacht.

Karl H. von Wiegand, who calls himself the "Dean of American Foreign Correspondents" and is well known as one of the oldest Germanophiles in this country, a man who had once enthusiastically written about Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and other Nazi big-wigs, is back at his old game. The other day he visited German General Heinz Guderian, who lives in a Benedictine Monastery in Bavaria. The German general granted von Wiegand an exclusive interview which the Hearst papers prominently splashed across their pages. The *New York Journal American* of April 16, 1950, ran Wiegand's interview over a whole eight-column page.

Guderian, given the opportunity by the "Dean of American Foreign Correspondents" to talk freely about his opinions and his feelings, didn't overlook the opportunity to fire the first gun of the coming propaganda battle for a Western German army. He did it in true German fashion, self-conscious and arrogant with not the slightest bit of humility as would have befitted a Commander whose armies, after all, were beaten.

In order to underline the importance of Guderian's statements, von Wiegand emphasized that Guderian "*can be regarded today as the spokesman for the former German Wehrmacht or army, the Luftwaffe and the Navy.*" And Wiegand added that Guderian "*enjoys the confidence of former members of those branches of Germany's wartime machine as perhaps no other former general does.*"

Seen against this background, Guderian's statements appear to us even more significant and more important. For example, the German general spoke in a rather derogatory manner of the military strength of Western Europe and added that "*the best guarantees of peace, perhaps the only one—if we can use the word 'guarantee'—would have been the timely setting up of a highly efficient, modernly-armed German army in West Germany. . . .*"

This is the basic theme of the interview and of General Guderian's thinking. Without such a German army, he sees no chance whatsoever to resist eventual Russian aggression.

Clever strategist that he is, Guderian mentions *en passant* that it might today be too late to form such a German army and that it should have been done long ago. Then he adds that perhaps it might still be possible. But do not think that the Germans are ready to form an army so easily—first certain conditions must be fulfilled by the Western Allies.

What are these conditions? General Guderian is quite frank about them. Wiegand asked him if he would be willing to command a German army against Russian attack. This is what Guderian answered:

"*I would not offer my services, nor would I personally know of any German general, officer or soldier who would serve unless three preconditions were granted by the Western powers. These conditions are:*

"1. *That Germany be integrated in the West with complete equality in every respect with other nations.*

"2. *That a German army be commanded by German generals and officers, and that any such German force would have in the inter-allied High Command and combined general staff a German general of equal rank with the others.*

"3. *That the German generals, admirals, and other officers and statesmen or diplomats in Spandau, Landsberg and other prisons be released.*"

Here you have it, says General Guderian: Take it or leave it. Without these preconditions the Western Allies should not even think of being helped by a German army. If the West does not take the German on a basis of complete equality and doesn't fulfill the conditions which General Guderian outlined, then—and here you must realize the full impact of his statements—Germany will "*turn to the East and even endeavor to find a basis of cooperation with Soviet Russia.*"

Thus spoke Hitler's former Commander-in-Chief who, as the *New York Post* stated the other day, "*is not only alive but kicking.*" It is the old story all over again. Give the German an inch and he'll take a mile. Guderian, incidentally, is not the only German general who speaks this way. The Swiss newspaper, *Der Bund*, of Bern, Switzerland, reported recently that at a meeting of German war veterans in Braunschweig the former General Kurt Ebeling shouted that "*only the German soldier has the psychological strength and courage to stop a Soviet attack.*" General Ebeling doubts that the Western Allied troops have the necessary fighting capacity to hold off a Russian onslaught.

In the opinion of this German general, in order to stop such an attack, the soldier "has to have physical strength and courage which only the German infantryman has."

It seems to us that these German generals do not even try to hide the fact that they are blackmailing the Western Allies. Their ideas are quite clear. If you want us, you must accept our conditions. And don't forget that only we can do the job. Without us you are hopelessly lost. But if you don't accept our conditions, we will turn to the other side.

NOTE: It appears that General Guderian has made an impression at the Pentagon, according to *U. S. News and World Report*, which stated on Feb. 10, 1950, that "the blueprint for a U. S. General Staff has been prepared, at the request of the U. S. Army, by General Guderian, former Chief of Staff in the German High Command."

(*Continued from page* 1)

This is our method of fooling the Nazis. If this doesn't make sense to the common man, let him at least retain his faith in the wisdom of the American High Commissioner. Is it not high time that the American people ignored the ravings of alarmists who cannot perceive the enormous good that is coming out of Germany day after day?

Don't we realize that they will be faithful friends of the democracies whom they despise as a matter of fact, and as long as our taxpayers' billions will flow to them, they surely will not make open alliance with their Eastern neighbors?

Therefore, all we must do is to show some tolerance and understanding to a misled but essentially dynamic and democratic people. . .

Editorials

MEMO TO MR. ACHESON . . .

Although the barrage of Soviet propaganda launched against the United States grows more intense each day, it seems to us that the State Department has been overlooking an excellent opportunity to counter these distortions with facts. These facts deal with the creation of a German army in the Soviet Zone under the very eyes of the Western Allied occupation authorities. Eye witnesses, intelligence reports, newspaper and diplomatic sources in this country and in Western Europe have, by now, provided detailed documentation covering the open reconstitution of German military forces in the Eastern zone. Nevertheless, the State Department, strangely enough, has not yet seen fit to lodge a strongly worded protest with Moscow against this open and flagrant violation of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

We have before us recent photos published in European newspapers showing various formations of the so-called People's Police of the Soviet zone goosestepping through the streets of German towns; we have pictures showing those so-called People's Police forces being trained along strictly military patterns and wearing smart new uniforms. Foreign correspondents who accidentally were able to observe the barracks of the People's Police describe them as open military camps where the cadres of a new German army are being trained. Although last year the activities of the People's Police were shrouded behind a cloak of secrecy, the Russians by this time have dropped all pretense and are no longer hiding these newly formed and splendidly equipped German troops.

The establishment of military cadres in the People's Police is a clear breach of the Potsdam agreement, which the Russians usually profess to follow to the letter. But this creation of a skeletal structure for a new German army is not the only flagrant breach by the Russians of an agreement which only a few years ago was trumpeted as the chief instrument for crushing German militarism. What we are referring to is the almost unbelievable amount of military indoctrination of youth in the Eastern Zone that is taking place under the banner of the "Free German Youth Movement." As in the days of the Nazi Reich, German boys and girls parade in uniform with flags and banners displayed, singing Communist marching songs which strongly remind the observer of similar songs they sang in the Hitler Youth.

At the door of Russian responsibility—or rather irresponsibility—must be laid the fact that the Soviets are deliberately creating a militant marching German Youth, with the obvious goal of laying the foundation for a movement that is thoroughly indoctrinated with the Kremlin party line and subject to instant obedience. This Communist "Free German Youth" is a dangerous weapon which the Soviet policy-makers in Germany intend to forge for their use. Perhaps nothing better indicates what is going on than a statement made by the Chief of the "Free German Youth," Guenther Knauthahn, at a meeting in Saxonia when he said: *"We have to foster in the thinking of our youth a deep hatred of the Western powers and at the same time unlimited love for the Soviet Union."*

It is little wonder, therefore, that the creation of the People's Police in the Eastern Zone has furnished a much desired pretext for the militarists in the Western Zones to step up their demands for the creation of a new Western German army. It may now be expected that soon politicians in the Western Zone will start demanding that Western German youth, too, be organized along militant lines and that they be given uniforms, marching songs, flags and all other military trappings so dear to the hearts of the Germans.

These events were foreseen long ago by a number of clear-sighted observers, and in these pages of *Prevent World War III* we have never ceased to draw attention to these increasingly dangerous developments. We believe, therefore, that it is the duty of the State Department to present to the American people all the facts available on the remilitarization of the Eastern Zone of Germany. We believe, too, that it is high time that Mr. Acheson himself openly denounced the creation of a Soviet-sponsored German army and protested to the Soviet government. We know very well from past examples that little or nothing will result from such a protest. However, the fact remains that we are not using an effective propaganda weapon by failing to denounce Soviet remilitarization of the Eastern Zone.

Regarding Soviet double dealing with the German problem, it would be of interest to learn how the German Communist press, sponsored and controlled by the Soviets, is presenting the German people with the facts of recent history. The issue of the Communist political periodical, *Die Weltbuehne*, for January 15, 1950 (published in Berlin in the Soviet Zone), features a leading article by the well-known Cominform agent, Andre Simone, entitled: "The Way Out of the Labyrinth." Let us quote from this article:

"When, at the Teheran Conference in November, 1943, the Americans proposed that Germany be dismembered in five parts, it was Stalin who successfully defended the democratic unity of Germany.

"A year later Churchill and Eden made the proposal in Moscow that Germany be split into three parts. This proposal, too, was defeated by Stalin. On the day of victory, May 9, 1945, Stalin, in his Order of the Day, expressly emphasized that the Soviet Union does not seek to 'dismember and to destroy Germany.'

"The Soviet Union has continuously fought to create conditions leading to a democratic and peace-loving Germany. The imperialistic Western powers have fought to turn Germany into a colony which would supply not only raw materials and a great war potential, but also 'human material' for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, against the people's democracies, and the democratic movements in all of Europe. . . ."

But when Anthony Eden, then British Foreign Minister visited Stalin and Molotov early in the war, on December 16, 1941 in Moscow, the Soviet leader—according to the original document reproduced in Churchill's *Grand Alliance*—*"set out in some detail what he considered should be the post-war territorial frontiers in Europe, and in particular his ideas regarding the treatment of Germany."* Stalin then *"proposed . . . the detachment of the Rhineland from Prussia, as an independent State or a protectorate, and possibly the constitution on an independent State of Bavaria. . . ."*

That was way back in 1941 when Hitler's armies were advancing in Russia, but today Soviet propaganda distorts and falsifies facts and events to fit their present line. . . .

The Soviet propaganda mill grinds on and on and recent history is rewritten and falsified in order to implant in the German people the idea that the Western Allies are guilty of brutality toward the Germans while the Soviet Union has always fought for their interests.

The other day, when U. S. District Judge John A. Cabo, of Gary, Indiana, passed sentence on members of the East German People's Police who had inadvertently entered the American Zone while armed and in uniform, he stated that *"the innocent sounding but misleading name of People's Police was applied to an organization which has carbines, light and heavy machine guns and grenades—weapons used during the last war by the German Wehrmacht."*

And Judge Sabo added the People's Police is *"a revival of the blatant type of militaristic fanaticism so rampant in the Hitler era, with hatred as its credo."* This militarism, he added, *"is daily through lessons and lectures whipped, lashed and fanned into flame by a calculated and grossly misleading propaganda line."* And he concluded that the Court *"sees in the accused —as members of a large and well-trained military organization—a very live threat and menace to the peace and security of the world."* This statement by an American judge, perhaps more than any other report, focuses attention on this explosive issue.

It would be unwise to overlook the opportunity the situation offers and we strongly urge the State Department to take the steps necessary to make public the truth concerning the new Soviet-sponsored goose-stepping German army, which is being created and trained and expanded to increasing strength at this very moment in Eastern Germany.

NOTE: As we go to press, we are glad to learn that the U. S., France and Britain have just made a vigorous protest to the Kremlin concerning the setting up of a German Army in the Soviet zone of Germany.

AT GERMANY'S EXPENSE

Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the West German Republic, seems to be a very versatile politician. In one moment he will be hurling invective at Russian aggressions; at another time he will be scolding the Allies, or in another instance he will be found negotiating with former members of the German General Staff on ways and means of reconstituting German armed forces.

A man of many roles, his latest appears to be that of the peace-maker. In a policy speech before the Christian Democratic Party in Munich, he said:

"The tension between East and West has been constantly rising since the end of the war, and Germany lies in the middle. We do not want to see another war. We want to see an understanding between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies just as quickly as possible. But this understanding should not come at our expense."

It is not often in history that we find the Germans playing the role of peace-maker. We recall, however, that during World War I the Germans set down some ideas on peace. They were based on the assumption that the Germans would be victorious in the war. For example, in the Treaty of Bucharest which they actually imposed upon the Rumanians in May, 1918, we find the following provisions:

1. Cession of the Dobrudja, depriving Rumania of outlet to sea; regulation and control of Danube.
2. Removal to Germany of gold of National Bank.
3. All foreign firms in Rumania to be liquidated and their acquisition by German firms to be arranged.
4. Cession of all Rumanian districts producing petroleum, coal, gold and manganese.
5. All Rumanian demesnes to be leased for exploitation and development to a German company for a period of 90 years, Rumania to furnish all the labor required therefor.
6. Rumania to grant to Germany for 90 years the exclusive right to exploit and develop all land producing or possessing oil, natural gas, asphalt and bituminous products.
7. Rumania's indemnity placed at 9,000,000,000 lei (according to Baron von Kuehlemann), equivalent to $1,738,280,000, or about $250 for each man, woman and child in Rumania at the time.
8. Rumania agrees to maintain indefinitely six German divisions as an army of occupation, presumably to enforce the terms of the Treaty.

This was an example of how the Germans were going to construct the peace in Eastern Europe, but they didn't forget the West. Flushed with the victories of the German armies in 1915, the six largest German economic organizations, including the farmers and industrialists, drew up a memorandum on how to handle the West after the war was won. It was presented to the Reich's Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, on March 10 of that year. The following are excerpts from the memorandum:

"As far as France is concerned, the possession of the coastal district from approximately the Somme up to the Belgian frontier must be regarded as vital. . . . And of course Verdun and Belfort with the slope of the Vosges in between. . . . Apart from the already-mentioned district of Briey, the possession of the coal districts of the Departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais. . . . Belgium must be placed under the laws of the German Reich. . . . A very considerable extension of Reich and Prussian territory in the east. . . . A colonial empire. . . ."

These demands drew the following comment from a noted historian: *"The annexed districts were to be exploited as semi-colonial 'Reich land' under 'protectorate.'"*

Shortly after this memorandum was presented to the German Government, another group of industrialists plus 352 German professors, 145 high officials, and 18 admirals and generals made certain financial demands that were to be added to the acquired territories from the West. They declared:

"We must ruthlessly impose a heavy war indemnity on France. . . . And should we be in a position to impose an indemnity on England, no sum would be too great."

This was the German brand of peace.

Fortunately for the world, the Germans were spared the role of peace-maker after World War I. But how many influential groups in Germany ever disavowed these war aims?

It is clear from Dr. Adenauer's carefully chosen words before the Christian Democratic Party that Germany is the heart of the cold war. He is fully aware of the fact that both East and West, in their own way, have been breaking their common agreements, thus laying the basis for a resurgent Germany. He knows that Germany is escaping the consequences of her military defeat as a result of the split between East and West. The kind of peace that Dr. Adenauer wants is one which would continue to give Germany every chance to reconstitute her power and at the same time bring about a "settlement" between Russia and the West.

But Dr. Adenauer is not that naive. He knows that only as long as East and West continue to remain at loggerheads with each other, breaking their original agreements on Germany, can the Germans regain their former position in Europe. That is why Adenauer's statement is not a call for peace, but in reality, a continuation of the cold war.

Now just what kind of an agreement between East and West would be at the expense of the Herrenvolk? It would be a settlement that would finally root out Nazism and create a climate where democracy would have some sort of a chance to grow in Germany.

It would be an agreement that would whittle down Germany's industrial war potential to genuine peacetime needs and encourage the industrial reconstruction and independence of her neighbors.

It would be an agreement that would smash the cartels, the trusts, the combines, and the syndicates.

It would be an agreement that would prevent the rearming of Germany by Russia or the West.

It would be an agreement that would make Germany compensate for some of the damages she has inflicted on her victims.

It would be an agreement that would take the Germans off the backs of the American taxpayers and oblige them to work out their own salvation.

These are some of the essentials of an agreement which Adenauer would call "at Germany's expense."

Such a settlement would be the greatest step forward toward the pacification of Europe. It would immeasurably strengthen American security and reduce some of the burdens of defense appropriations. But this is precisely the kind of program which is anathema to Dr. Adenauer. It is the last thing he wants to see done, for, in reality, whatever Germany has managed to extract from either side has been accomplished through the growing tensions of the cold war.

A peace "at Germany's expense" would eliminate that country from the competition between East and West. Indeed, it would enable the Germans at some future date, to take their place in the family of nations as a relative equal, not as the overlord.

When the world awakens to the fact that a lasting peace can only be obtained "at Germany's expense," that is, by shaping her economic power toward peaceful pursuits, and eradicating German militarism and pan-Germanism, will the spectre of a third world war be less menacing.

In a few years, Germany will grow into a problem that neither the East nor the West will be able to handle.

REFUGEES—PAWN OF GERMAN POLITICS

Ever since the end of the war, the Germans have displayed a singular talent as propagandists. To some extent, their present success can be traced back to the falling out among the victorious Allies. In addition, it should be borne in mind that the Goebbels school of propaganda has made a deep imprint on German methods in dealing with their neighbors.

It will be recalled that immediately following the cessation of hostilities, a great hue and cry went up about the "starving Germans." The noise was intended to drown out the pleas of those who were starving in the lands ravaged by the German war machine. The food-for-Germany campaign built on a tissue of distortion and half truths, cracked the common front of the Allied peoples and was the wedge through which the deliberate undermining of Allied power was initiated. Since then, the Germans have continued their tactic of grabbing on to an issue and exploiting it for all that it is worth. In 1945 it was food. In 1947 it was reparations. Today it appears to be the refugee problem.

The refugee problem is being played up by the Germans in every possible way. It is being used to assault every remaining safeguard against the resurgence of Pan-Germanism and Neo-Nazism. It is employed as a weapon to discredit and injure Allied prestige. It is manipulated as a lightning rod to shift the responsibility of the present unemployment situation in Germany on to the backs of the Allied powers; and last but certainly not least, the refugee problem is utilized to bolster Germany's case for the rebuilding of her industrial might far above pre-war levels. It is, therefore, a very potent and dangerous weapon which can easily fool the gullible and pervert whatever needs to be done to resolve the problem of the refugees in Western Germany.

Recently the *London Economist* published a penetrating article on the German refugee problem and its relation to unemployment in Germany. In speaking about the number of refugees in Western Germany, the *Economist* revealed that:

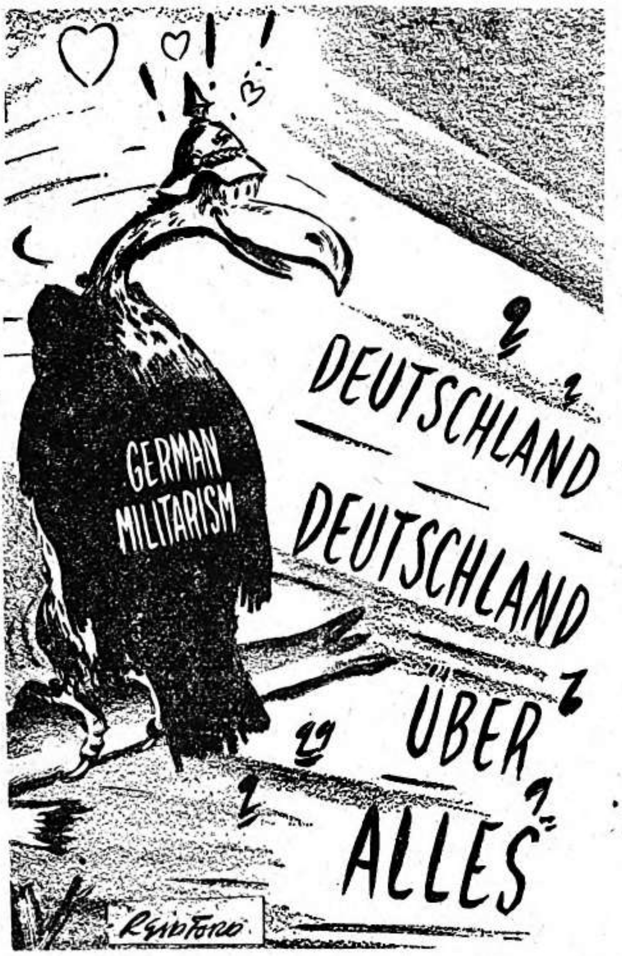
> *"Varied and exaggerated figures regarding the number of expelled Germans are bandied about in public speeches. In the rather more objective columns of the official statistical returns, the total is given as* 7 *million* 750 *thousand. Guesswork places the number who have come from Soviet Germany as one million. The total population is said to have risen from* 39.3 *million* in 1936 *to* 47.7 *million today. There has, however, been no census since* 1946."

Thus, the Germans are not only confusing the picture by exaggerations and guesswork designed for political purposes, but there has been no official counting of the population in Western Germany for the last four years. Therefore, how can we talk intelligently about a problem which has been turned into a political football by the Germans?

From the evidence presented by the *London Economist* it appears that the Germans are not very anxious to get at the elemental facts.

On the contrary, they are building up the problem of the refugees as though it were the cause for every ill afflicting the Germans today. They have declared that the refugees are creating unemployment, and have

THE CRY OF THE WILD GOOSESTEP



(*Cartoon by Reidford—Courtesy Montreal Daily Star*)

"Baron von Stauffenberg, . . . president of the Right-wing German Union Coalition, warned . . . that thousands of young Nazis had gone underground. . . .

"He said there are more than 80,000 former members of the Hitler Youth and officer corps—young reactionaries and still ardent Nazis—who live under assumed names.

" 'They will continue to keep these false names until the hue and cry has died down,' he declared. 'Then they will come out into the open, ready and eager to rebuild the Nazi tradition'. . ."

(From a dispatch to the Paris edition of the Daily Mail from Bonn, Germany)

(*Continued from page* 5)

blamed the Allied powers. But as the *London Economist* declares, the unemployment situation is being used by the Germans *"as a political lever against the Western powers. For these reasons, German statistical assertions are likely to be unreliable."*

Undoubtedly there is a refugee problem in Western Germany. It is also true that unemployment has been increased by the influx of these Germans from the East. But are the German bigwigs really and truly anxious to tackle it? Let the facts speak for themselves.

It is well-known that hundreds of thousands of these refugees are efficient farmers but they are landless because the German officials have sabotaged all land reforms with the tacit approval and in some cases active collaboration of the Allied authorities.

In the United States Zone alone, 1,235,000 acres are owned by seven hundred individuals and organizations. This huge territory was supposed to be broken up under the land reform law passed more than three years ago. But as of April, 1949, only 71,000 acres were redistributed.

But that is not all. In the spring of this year the Allies abandoned all direct intervention in land reform and turned the entire program over to the Germans. The land reform law was originally intended to make room for German refugees, rationalize agricultural production and diminish the economic and political power of the landed nobility in the West. It was estimated that 2,000,000 German refugees could be resettled and taken care of economically on the available lands. Now the program is turned over to the very same people who have in the first place blocked its implementation since 1946.

The importance of land to these German refugees is not exaggerated. Indeed, when it was announced that the Allies had given up this program, many of these refugees announced that they would take matters in their own hands. One group wired John J. McCloy that they were considering the seizure of farm land without authority and added *"don't force us to follow the example of the Italian agricultural workers."*

If the German officials were so anxious to help these refugees, they would see to it that German agriculture was democratized. The *London Economist* however, reveals that the Germans are not very anxious to help their brothers from the East. They weep for them in public but privately they have utter contempt for them.

This is also indirectly implied by Mr. Guy J. Swope, Chief of the Displaced Population Division in the Office of the American High Commissioner. Writing in the March, 1950 issue of *Information Bulletin*, published by the High Commissioner's office, Mr. Swope noted that:

"If the German leadership resolutely took the position that the refugees, who are, it must be remembered, of German blood, and therefore should be easily assimilable on that score, can be converted into a strong asset through establishing conditions under which they can add to the German production, it would be an indication of sound and sensible planning."

The Bonn politicians have other ideas. They regard these refugees as pawns in their long range policies which have nothing in common with security or a peacetime German economy. But why do Allied officials continue to play along?

Speaking about the unemployment situation in Germany which is supposed to be aggravated by the refugees, the *London Economist* declares that the Bonn Government *"does not object to having a pool of unemployment at present. . . ."* Why? Because this pool keeps wages low and therefore enables German exporters to undercut competition on the world market. German industrialists are not enthusiastic about creating new jobs because, according to the *London Economist*, home industries *"reduce the volume of credit available for financing the present boom in imports and trade in consumer goods."*

On the other hand, the Bonn Government argues that to employ these refugees and hundreds of thousands of other unemployed would endanger the currency. Why? Because as the *London Economist* says, *"If the unemployed were given jobs . . . they would spend more."*

A pool of unemployment increased by the refusal to solve the German refugee problem is viewed by the Germans as a very effective economic weapon against their competitors. Furthermore, these refugees are regarded by the Bonn Government as reliable reserves for future eventualities. The character of many of these German refugees is described by the *London Economist* as follows: *"The worst factors are rather that the refugees became penniless and that many of them are officials of the Nazi state or Party and dispossessed farmers for whom no jobs can be found. These are the men who represent a dangerous hotbed of nationalist ideas."*

The refugee problem and unemployment in Germany cannot be attributed to the disinterestedness of the Allies who have poured billions into Germany since the end of the war. It is true that we have failed to take firm action and have allowed the Germans to block every decent program to alleviate the distress.

But the facts also show that the Germans have no intention of solving this problem. Just as they engineered inflation after World War II to avoid reparations payments, so they are now employing the refugee and unemployment situation as an economic and political instrument to extort more and more concessions from the American taxpayer.

Marion Donhoff, political editor of the German newspaper, *Die Zeit*, writing in *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1950, gives a frank estimate of the extortion which may be expected. Miss Donhoff calculated that if these unemployed, including the German refugees, were put to work, *"about 2,000 dollars must be invested in order to employ one worker productively."*

Multiply $2,000 by her own estimate of 9,000,000 refugees and it becomes clear that the Germans are waiting for a couple of more billion dollars to add to the jackpot they have already extracted from the U. S. Treasury. This is how the refugee and unemployment problem is shaping up in Germany today.

The American taxpayers would be more than justified in insisting that no more funds be handed over to the Germans until there is a proper Allied accounting of what the Germans have done to date on their own. The aid we have given Germany is unprecedented in the annals of history. We have handed over billions to a former enemy who ravaged a substantial part of the continent of Europe and who would have destroyed us too if they could.

We have given those billions as though the taxpayers were obliged to do so without auditing Germany's reserves to find what they themselves could achieve without handouts from abroad.

No other country in the world has received such a blank check from the United States. How long will the American taxpayers be willing to put up with this scandal?

CHURCHILL'S ILLUSIONS

When Britain was alone and the terrible blow of Dunkirk had brought that nation to the brink of defeat, it was Winston Churchill who assured the world that his countrymen would never surrender or be conquered.

He told the British that all their sufferings at the hands of the Nazis would be paid back and that the day would come when the Nazi beast would be defeated in his own lair. He predicted that the Allied cause would ultimately triumph and Britain would share in the leadership in establishing a world of peace.

His inspiring leadership in those fateful days of the blitz contributed in no small way to the fight which the British put up against the would-be invaders. Britain was ruined by the German Luftwaffe; her homes, churches and factories scarred; her merchant marine crippled and her food supply at subsistence level. But Winston Churchill's promise of a better day drove the British to heroic feats. For this he deserves the acclaim and tribute of all the Allied nations.

But what shall the British say when their famous wartime leader who urged them on through *"blood, sweat and tears,"* tells them in effect—you have been fooled. Your sacrifices were needless.

Most Americans did not experience the physical ravages of the war. Our homes and towns were spared. Perhaps this is one reason why it is easy at present for certain individuals in this country to publicly defile the Allied cause. But we wonder how the British people feel when they read the reports of the debates in the House of Commons where Mr. Churchill proclaims that his people should clasp the bloodstained hand of the former enemy. How must they feel when they read Mr. Churchill's words *"I see no reason why the Germans should not aid in the defense of their own country and of Western Europe or why British, American, French and German soldiers should not stand in the line together on honorable terms of comradeship as part of a combined system of defense."* Or, *"The Strong German race which during the last 40 years we, and our Allies, twice fought and defeated, have now the opportunity to render an immense service to mankind."* Or, that the Germans *"now have a chance to redeem the German name . . . in lifting the civilization of Europe to a level where its old glories may revive."*

This is not the Churchill of Dunkirk. It is someone else who speaks. Someone who has forgotten his own remark that "The Hun is either at your neck or at your feet." Or his statement: *"There are only 65,000,000 malignant Huns, most of whom are already engaged in holding down Austrians, Czechs, Poles and many other ancient races they now bully and pillage."* (Page 160 "The Grand Alliance.")

Churchill's plea that Western civilization must be protected by the Germans, must be hard to swallow by the survivors of the millions who perished under the German onslaught.

Churchill, himself, must have sensed that his words would create profound indignation among the British, for he tried to quibble over what he originally said and what he allegedly did not say. But Mr. Churchill failed to cover up his basic thought which runs contrary to everything he represented before and during the war.

The true feelings of the British are perhaps reflected in the reply made by Mr. R. H. Crossman, M.P., to Mr. Churchill during the Commons debate. *"Strategic-*

ally and militarily we depend upon the Anglo-French alliance—that is what upset me about the speech of the Rt. Hon. Member for Woodford—if we are militarily integrated to Europe, we are militarily integrated to France, and if we are militarily integrated to France, then we are integrated to a Communist State if we rearm Germany. I say it quite bluntly. The French people, in the event of the rearming of the Germans, would rather be on the Russian side. They do not look at Europe in terms of ideology, they look at it in terms of national survival. They have had the Germans in twice and now, four years after the end of the war, the Leader of the Opposition, a week after the French President has been over here, talks in this House of Germany being allowed to play her share in Western European defense. Was Goebbels right after all? Did we fight the wrong war last time?"

Though Mr. Churchill is usually most eloquent, he could find no words that could answer Mr. Crossman's wise, penetrating remarks. Mr. Crossman was not only speaking for himself, but undoubtedly spoke for the millions throughout Britain who fought and suffered to keep that ancient bulwark of freedom alive.

Mr. Churchill is supposed to have a reputation of being a realist. But, judging from his remarks in the House of Commons, his realism stops at the Rhine. Indeed, one must conclude that in spite of all his past statements on the Germans, Churchill is no longer sure about his own convictions.

Even Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Minister, who has contributed to the disastrous policies which are giving new aid and encouragement to the aggressive forces in Germany, admitted that he was most disturbed over Mr. Churchill's remarks.

When Mr. Bevin pointed out that *"The Hitler revolution did not change the German character very much. It expressed it."* Mr. Churchill immediately countered with a loud *"No."* But Mr. Bevin could speak of five years of experience and contact with the Germans.

This is not to say that Mr. Bevin has not harbored illusions. He believed that there was a substantial element in Germany who could be relied upon and trusted. But in replying to Mr. Churchill it becomes evident that Mr. Bevin's ideas and hopes are facing disappointment. Here is his confession: *"I have to tell my Socialist colleagues in Germany very often that they are a little bit too nationalist for me and that their nationalism breaks through their ideas of social democracy rather too frequently to make me feel comfortable in arriving at decisions in dealing with them. All that means caution."*

It seems to us that there is much more significance in Mr. Bevin's admission than the fact that he, as a British Laborite, is ever becoming wary of the real intentions of the German Social Democrats.

Placed alongside of Mr. Churchill's plea for rearming the Germans in comradeship with the Allied nations of the West, it tells in simple terms that the British would be courting disaster if they followed Mr. Churchill's lead and embraced a nation whose trustworthiness is lacking.

ON EDUCATING THE GERMANS

The Office of the United States High Commissioner in Germany recently announced that 2,100 Germans would visit the United States during 1950 *"to see democracy in action; after their return home they will be expected to bring the greatest possible benefit of their experience to their fellow Germans."* Implicit in this announcement is the belief that democracy can best be brought home to the Germans by example. This view is shared by Mr. Benjamin Buttenwieser, the American Deputy High Commissioner for Germany. In an address before the Annual Spring Conference of German Teachers, Mr. Buttenwieser declared:

"Obviously we Americans cannot reorientate, we cannot recast the attitudes and the thinking of the German people. We can, I reiterate, achieve much by example, by advice and by assistance. Above all, we can help those Germans of liberal mind and public spirit—and there are such Germans—in their efforts to reach our common goal and to guide others of their countrymen along pathways leading to that goal."

These are noble words and they undoubtedly reflect the hope of many that eventually democracy will triumph in Germany. It is also probably true that the 2,100 who have been invited to see democracy work in this country are part of those elements whom Mr. Buttenwieser trusts will infuse Germany with the democratic spirit.

But will these German visitors return to a Germany where the soil has been carefully prepared for the sowing of democratic principles? Recent developments would seem to indicate that these 2,100 Germans are not going to have an easy time spreading the democratic gospel. For example, they will come face to face with the fact that the American High Commissioner has established a so-called Clemency Board to consider recommendations for the parole of German war criminals convicted by U. S. courts in Nuremberg. Among these criminals are *Frederick Flick* and *Alfred Krupp*, the munition kings who provided the murderous weapons for Hitler's wars of aggression. The *Ohlendorf* and *Pohl* criminals, 16 in all, who were originally sentenced to death for the murder of thousands of people, will also receive the opportunity to have their death sentences commuted by this board. By no stretch of the imagination could this be called democracy by example in Germany.

When these Germans return from their visit to the United States they will be confronted by the fact that the American High Commissioner has refused to investigate the denazification scandal in the State of Wuerttemberg-Baden which involved the Minister President Reinhold Maier. It is worthwhile noting that as a member of the Reichstag in 1933, Maier voted in favor of giving Hitler full powers. At the time that he cast his vote for Hitler, he said,

"It is our hope and desire that the German people under Nazi leadership may bring the struggle to win freedom and new strength to a successful conclusion. We feel ourselves at one with the views expressed by Hitler here today."

The 2,100 Germans will also learn that Chancellor Adenauer is busily reconstructing a German Foreign

Service. Fourteen of the 31 senior members of this embryo foreign service belonged to the Nazi party. Dr. Wilhelm Haas, appointed by the Chancellor to set up a German Foreign Service, defended these Nazis declaring that his sole concern was how "efficient" they were and could be. Indeed, he went on to say that at least 90 former officials who had worked in von Ribbentrop's Foreign Office under Hitler were slated for important posts. Parenthetically, it should be stated that there is nothing in the Occupation Statute which permits the Germans to establish their own foreign office. Yet the plans proceed as though the Germans were confident that the Allies would grant another concession.

The German visitors will be returning to their Fatherland at a time when German politicians are hastily scrapping whatever remains of denazification, vying with each other in villifying the whole principle as contrary to German "rights." If they had sat in on a recent debate in the Bonn Parliament, they would have heard *Herr August Martin Euler* denounce the denazification laws as having been "imposed" upon the Germans and that these so-called abominable laws were incompatible with what he termed the "principles" of the German democratic state.

Dr. Richter, a fellow member of the Bonn Parliament, attacked denazification as contrary to the Hague rules of warfare (sic) and urged that everything should be done to give the Nazis another chance because Germany "could ill afford" to dispense with their services.

Another Parliamentarian, *Dr. von Merkatz*, castigated denazification as "a measure initiated purely by the victor powers and an insult to German justice." *Dr. Etzel* of the Bavarian Party, went further and called it a "tumor" on the German body politic.

Outside the halls of Parliament, *Dr. Fritz Dorls*, the leader of the German Socialist Reich Party, boasted "*I was a Nazi Party member from* 1928 *to the very end —to the very end! . . . Roosevelt,*" he ranted, "*is the real criminal of today responsible for the tragic disunity of Germany in Europe because he did not force the Russians into compliance at Teheran and Yalta but delivered East Europe to the Russians. The idea of a united Europe is acceptable even if it must be accomplished through war.*"

The 2,100 Germans will come across a rash of biographies and serialized stories in newspapers and magazines devoted to romantic and nostalgic memories of the "good old days." In the previous issue of *Prevent World War III*, *Dr. Robert M. W. Kempner*, former deputy chief prosecutor at Nuremberg, discussed this phenomenon. He pointed out for example, that one periodical in Bavaria, *Revue*, ran a serialized story entitled "The Great Lover, Adolf Hitler." Other publications, according to Dr. Kempner, glorify the heroic feats of Hitler's armed forces. Even Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's financial adviser on rearmament, has had a huge success with his books glorifying his own record on behalf of the Fatherland.

These German visitors will also learn after returning to Germany that two more leaders of the German SS, *Oswald Schaeffer* and *Dr. Ludwig Lebkuechner*, have been acquitted though they had murdered scores of concentration camp victims. And speaking about concentration camp victims, Inspector Valdenz, at a training school for the police at Hesse, told his pupils that the name V. V. N. (victims of Nazism) was wrong. It ought to be changed to N. V. V., according to the Inspector, "*Nicht Vergaste Verbrecher,*" (criminals who were not gassed).

When they return to Germany, they will find out that the Bonn Government has clamped down a sort of blackout on its activities. The information which will be passed on to the German press will be screened so as to prevent undue embarrassment. The American, steeped in traditions of freedom, would never agree to a blackout, but the German press obediently, complied. And to make doubly sure that only selected information would be available to the public, the United States High Commissioner has ordered his staff to refrain from publicly criticizing the activities and policies of the West German Government without first clearing it with him. As the *New York Times* reports, Mr. McCloy took this action after Herr Adenauer complained about "unfavorable" publicity.

2,100 Germans imbued with democratic principles will return to all this.

In his famous speech of February 6th at Stuttgart, Mr. John J. McCloy declared:

"Here I wish to emphasize that one of the primary purposes of the occupation has been and is to eradicate Nazi influence and leadership from German political, economic, and cultural life."

We hail this objective and we support its implementation. We believe that the fulfillment of this objective would provide invaluable assistance to those Germans who Mr. Buttenwieser declared as the great hope of genuine democracy in Germany.

We sincerely support the efforts of those in the Educational Branch in the Office of the High Commissioner who are trying with all their might to root out the scourge of Nazi ideology and Pan-Germanism. They are up against more than one obstacle and it is clear from the examples mentioned above that all of the obstacles do not stem from the Germans alone. Moreover, they do not have much money to work with—*only* $12,650,000 *for the year* 1950. As Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor and several other experts on Germany mentioned, this amounts to less than $1.00 per capita for the American Zone. Since the end of the war, the worshippers of German "efficiency" have determined how and where the taxpayers' billions should be spent in Germany. Democracy is considered by the members of this cult as a luxury at best.

These are the roadblocks which confront those who are directly responsible for the reeducation of Germany. They were the same impediments which undermined the efforts of their predecessors who tried to make democracy work in Germany.

Whether the American educators who are now trying to clear the climate in Germany of backwardness, hatred and arrogance will succeed, depends in the long run on whether the American people will insist that democratic education take priority in our German policy.

Democracy by example is a perfectly sound method of lifting the Germans from the morass of reactionary and militaristic ideologies. But no matter how enthusiastic the 2,100 Germans become to impart to their fellow countrymen what they have learned from their visit to the United States, their efforts will be in vain if Allied officials fail to create a climate in Germany which is conducive to the democratic way of life.

What is behind the 'Bruderschaft' of German Officers?

"The goal of the 'Bruderschaft' is the union of the peoples of Europe between the Atlantic and the Ural with the Reich of all Germans in its ethnographic and historic borders as an organic part"

There has been much discussion in political circles recently of the so-called *Bruderschaft,* an organization of former German army officers under the leadership of ex-Lt. Kurt von Manteuffel, a former Commander of the Greater Germany Division. Newspaper dispatches reporting the founding and the activities of this strange new outfit were somewhat confused and vague.

We are now in a position to render the following report, based on information from well-informed and reliable European sources, regarding the background, organization, leadership, plans and intentions of the *Bruderschaft.* Our information is based on carefully detailed reports published by the *National Zeitung* of Basel, Switzerland (February 22); *Tagblatt* of St. Gallen, Switzerland (March 1); *Wochenzeitung* of Zurich, Switzerland (March 2); and *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* of Stuttgart, Germany (March 1).

THE INNER CIRCLE AND THE MEN BEHIND IT

Unlike a large number of other nationalistic or neo-Nazi secret organizations, until recently the *Bruderschaft* was able to conceal itself so cleverly that even today many of its members in Munich, Hamburg, Hannover and Duesseldorf are convinced that they belong to a highly patriotic and completely legal organization whose goal is only the restoration of the honor of the former German army against defamation.

Another task of the *Bruderschaft* is the collection of money to pay the fees of attorneys defending former German officers accused of war crimes and to help financially other German officers and generals who are in need. Most of the members of the various districts of the *Bruderschaft* would be very much surprised if they were to learn the truth, namely, that the inner circle of the *Bruderschaft* contains a number of high-ranking former German General Staff officers who together with former Nazi Gauleiters and high police functionaries form some sort of lodge.

These men regard themselves as a sort of general staff of a future German Army whose first cadre—an infantry division—should be ready by June 1951, with the cadre of a Panzer division ready by the end of 1951. The plan is to induce the Western allies to sanction such divisions as an equivalent of all the cadres of the Soviet-sponsored Eastern People's Police.

When von Manteuffel outlined his plans to Chancellor Adenauer he did not mention that these divisions would be staffed by highly qualified officers and technicians and that they are considered the backbone of a future German Army.

It is interesting to note that two of Hitler's Gauleiters, *Karl Kaufmann* of Hamburg and *Lauterbacher* of Hannover, belong to the inner circle. (Lauterbacher himself does not live in Germany but hides somewhere in Italy.)

According to these European sources, it would be a mistake to consider the *Bruderschaft* simply as a national socialist or neo-Nazi organization. Despite the fact that former leading Nazis belonged to the inner circle, the *Bruderschaft* ought rather to be called a national chauvinist German organization. It has no strict social program and at present its cross-connections and cross-relations to labor unions and monarchistic circles are restricted to a few unimportant people.

It is, however, far more important to spotlight their far-reaching connections to high financial and industrial circles. These connections are covered up and hidden. But it is no secret that the banker *Pferdmenges,* generally considered a close friend of Chancellor Adenauer, has von Manteuffel on his payroll. Thus, while Pferdmenges does not directly belong to the inner circle, his relationship is established through von Manteuffel.

Chief protagonist of the so-called inner circle of the *Bruderschaft* is a certain Alfred Franke-Grieksch who lives in the castle Holste near Bielefeld. It is he who officially conducts discussions with other legal and illegal right-wing organizations and groups for the *Bruderschaft.* It is interesting to note that Alfred Franke-Grieksch was a district leader in the Reichs Security Hauptamt in Berlin during the Hitler regime and a close collaborator of Gestapo Chief Heinrich Himmler.

Officially, the *Bruderschaft* rejects Nazis; but it backs the oath of the German flag, be it that of the Weimar Republic or that of the Hitler Regime. The primary purpose of the *Bruderschaft* is to rally all the national forces of Germany.

The conspirators of the July 20th anti-Hitler revolt are considered traitors; according to the *Bruderschaft* they have broken their oath of the flag. In this connection it seems rather grotesque to note that Hans von Stauffenberg, cousin of the chief conspirator of July 20th (who had been assassinated by Hitler) nevertheless belongs to the *Bruderschaft* and works hand in glove with Gottfried Griessmayer, former Reichs training chief of the Hitler Youth.

The latter first tried to form some kind of secret and illegal Hitler youth movement himself, until the *Bruderschaft* convinced him that his chances of success would be much greater inside the ranks of the *Bruderschaft.*

Griessmayer and von Stauffenberg worked closely with *Mende-Partenau* of the "German Union," one of the new youth organizations permitted by the Western occupation powers. The "German Union" was founded on October 30, 1947, by *August Hausleiter* in Rottenburg near Tueningen. There can be no doubt that Hausleiter and Mende-Partenau, the leaders of the "German Union," are well-acquainted with the goals and motives of the *Bruderschaft.*

It is most significant to note—particularly in view of the military character of the *Bruderschaft*—that all the generals and general staff officers of its inner circle were members of the former Gross Deutscher Division.

A PROGRAM OF CONSPIRACY

On February 11, 1950, the first meeting of the *Bruderschaft* took place in Hannover. It was a secret meeting at which the press was not invited. Participants at this meeting were presented an outline of a program. One of the participants made notes and was able later to communicate the contents of the outline to a German newspaperman, when he decided against any further dealings with the *Bruderschaft*.

The *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, a reliable democratic German newspaper, was able to obtain this sensational document and published it in its issue of March 1. It is addressed to "Dear Political Friends" and reads as follows:

"*What basically ties us together is a common experience at some time of our life: the youth movement; our fate at the front, in war prisons or in internment camps; the political fight; or only human nature—in the end.* (*What ties us together*) *is our common conviction and character. We are of the opinion that the time of the masses is over and that we have to start forming a true elite. It is absolutely of no importance on what field of public life we were or are active.* (*It is absolutely of no importance*) *whether we are former troop commanders or general staff officers, masters or experts in trade, in technical or commercial projects, editor, administrative expert, jurist or scientist—all this is of secondary importance. Decisive only is the value of the personality! . . . When in* 1945 *the greater German Reich collapsed our people became tired. Remembered retrospectively we have to condone and to pardon them. At that time each of us probably has asked himself whether it would make any sense at all once again to pledge himself or to put everything at stake unselfishly for our people. We had almost lost faith in Germany and we put ourselves the awful question of whether this is Germany at all. But once again* (*we remembered*) *the saying of Ulrich von Hutten*: *'Germany is where strong hearts are.'*"

So much for the introduction in the letter to the political friends. As far as the program of the *Bruderschaft* is concerned here is what the document says:

"*The idea of forming an organization again became topical when the collapse of the Reich brought before us the decisive question of how the tradition of German leadership could be saved for a future time and how we could again take into our hands the command of the fate of our people in the frame of the political order which was forced upon us and controlled by the victorious powers. It became obvious that the forces that went through the same sufferings and the same fate due to the persecutions of recent times but who came out purified from this melting pot of human and political probation, would rally together. It seems important to us that those on whom we called upon are equal to the demands which the German tradition of leadership makes. . . . We are of the opinion that German leadership has been blessed in two World Wars to such an extent that another splitting up into ideological or other factions cannot be accounted for before history under any circumstances. . . . For more than* 750 *years our history knows the form and the effect of the German Ritterorden* (*Order of the Knights*). *These traditions we want to continue.*

"*Prussia and Germany became great through the spirit of the Order. The Order gave us the law of Service. Therefore we do not say 'to everyone an equal share,' because this interpretation has led and must lead to the dissolution of any organic Order. The slogan of Prussia will therefore be our slogan 'Suum Cuique'* (*to each one what belongs to him*). *Today we are a community tied together with common convictions. Tomorrow we will come out of the political fight for a new order . . .* (*as an organically grown Order*) *which will form clear laws and regulations for itself as a community Order.*

"*We want to be considered as a growing order and as nothing else—not as a lodge in the sense of Free Masonry, from which we are quite different—*(*We want to be considered as an Order*) *which out of its conviction discusses the question of European policy. . . . Particular political conditions require particular forms of our 'living together.' The Bruderschaft therefore is no organization with membership cards, etc., because it does not want to expose itself to the arbitrary actions of the enemy law-making machine.*

THE GOAL — A NEW "FUEHRERSTAAT"

"*The goal of the Bruderschaft is the union of the peoples of Europe between the Atlantic and the Ural with the Reich of all Germans in its ethnographic and historic borders as an organic part. European union and the German Reich are not contradictions . . . our foreign policy should not lead to a unilateral tieup with the West. . . . Proof of it is that we are against the participation of Germany in the Atlantic Pact. But at the same time we declare our readiness for a European pact.*

"*At the present moment, the question of remilitarization is not debatable for us, despite the fact that we have very clear ideas in the military field on the defense of Western Europe, conceptions which have found the greatest interest in far-reaching circles of Germany and foreign countries. German honor demands of us that we hold these questions in reserve because we are not ready to let Germany negotiate as an object of barter. Only a Germany formed in the sovereignty of a free independent Europe makes sense and can be welcomed.*

"*The Bruderschaft is not a social organization but rather includes the obligation to work. It is of subordinate importance and a problem to be decided by each for himself whether he wants to be active in the background as a planner or political general staff worker in his own field or in the foreground in a political organization which can only be considered an instrument. . . . The first step for the formation of local Bruderschaft will be followed by the second step: The distribution of tasks and the method of operation.*

"*But the question arises: What has to be done now after the Bruderschaft has come into being? The preparation of the great people's movement or political front needs very exact preparatory work. This work can be considered as concluded only when the personalities of the foreground are ready in all circles and localities; the forefront instruments have to be coordinated together, they have to move down at a given moment into the great political front.*

"*The task of our Brothers working in the foreground* *will be to prepare this. Neither time nor overzealous measures should bring us into trouble. We will be considered in a state of readiness only when the broad front starts to attack and begins to entrench upon the political fight on a broad line. The various outpost fights can only contribute to this readiness. The most important task in the forthcoming elections for the Landtage in the Bundeslaender is the creation of a broad anti-Marxist front in order to break the power of the Social Democratic Party, particularly in Northern Germany and in Lower Saxony. In order to achieve this it is necessary to use proper local measures and to rally all non-Marxist parties who are ready to participate in the election into a common coalition.*

"It is therefore important to find out which Brothers are able to instigate propaganda inside the parties for this idea of an anti-Marxist front. These key positions have to be coordinated and integrated with the activities of the Reichsbruderrat (Reichs Brothers Council). The election in Hamburg and the failure of the anti-Marxist "Vaterstaedtischen Bund," which through the splitting up of the anti-Marxist forces facilitated the victory of the Social Democrats, should be a lesson."

OLD GERMAN MYSTICISM

According to the St. Galler *Tagblatt*, the *Bruderschaft* has organized itself into an underground organization with a strongly nationalistic and militaristic character and has cells all over Western Germany. It is clear that the whole movement is based on the Fuehrer principle and on the mysticism of all Germandom.

The organization's idea is based on the old German *Ritterorden* which from the 12th to the beginning of the 15th Century christianized and Germanized Eastern Prussia, Western Prussia and the Baltic countries. The staff officers of the *Bruderschaft* are designated as *Ritter*. The officers are Fahnenjunker (ensigns). The present medieval Order, according to the spirit of the crusades, was based on a mixture of religious and Messianic policy and an expensive militarism. The *Bruderschaft* is devoted to the old German mysticism, a heritage of the Nazi Party, and a fanatical nationalism. As can be seen from the document quoted above, the chief goal of the *Bruderschaft* is the destruction of the Social Democrats under the reasoning that the Social Democrats reject remilitarization. And here we come to what is perhaps the most important and significant point of the *Bruderschaft* program, a point which unfortunately has not been given the attention it deserves. As a matter of fact, it has not even been mentioned in any American paper and we therefore consider it extremely important to stress this point, which the Swiss newspaper *St. Galler Tagblatt* reports.

"Proof of the political naiveté of the high military lies in the fact that the Bruderschaft in its foreign policy follows a strong mixture of mysticism and realism. Pointing to the convention of Tauroggen (desertion of the Prussian Yorck from Napoleon during the invasion of Russia); pointing to Rapallo and the foreign policy directives which Bismarck had given to German Eastern policy, the Bruderschaft strives completely in accordance with the Soviet propaganda for a National Front, for a close union of Germans with Russian interests with the goal of creating a German-Russian power alliance against the West. The officers of the Bruderschaft maintain an intensive exchange of letters with their former comrades of the German Wehrmacht who at present have high positions in the Eastern Zone, with the object of preparing the territory for Communism and Bolshevism; they are of the opinion that the German-Russian power alliance can be realized even by groups representing opposing opinions on social and economic questions and that the Bruderschaft could be effective in the reestablishment of the German power position."

According to the Swiss paper, the political development of the *Bruderschaft* makes this movement an extremely dangerous one for Western German democracy. It is stressed that at the proper moment the leadership of the *Bruderschaft* would not refrain from using force, eventually with Soviet help, to start an armed revolt. From the political and tactical viewpoint, the existence of the *Bruderschaft* could easily encourage the Russians into new political aggression in Germany. Furthermore, the existence of the *Bruderschaft* would enable the Russians to solve the German problem by using the Germans themselves against the Western Allies.

Finally, from the psychological viewpoint, the *Bruderschaft* is a source of danger because the people in Western Germany are dissatisfied and ready to rally behind this new nationalism hidden under the cloak of the mystic Order.

THE SECRET PROGRAM OF THE BRUDERSCHAFT

In addition to the foregoing document, another Swiss paper, the *Wochen Zeitung* of Zurich, reprints the minimum program of the *Bruderschaft* as it was published in the illegal mimeographed underground news sheet, *Der Scheinwerfer:*

"The participation of German soldiers in any kind of military formation cannot be even considered until the following preconditions have been fulfilled:

"1. *Defamation of German militarism has to be stopped completely. Those German soldiers still in prison, including the army leaders condemned at Nuremberg, must be released and given their freedom. Regarding the accusation of violation of human rights made against individual members of the former German Wehrmacht, including the Waffen-SS these cases should be brought before a German military court.*

"2. *The German cadres to be established must be subordinated to a German Commander-in-chief whose behavior in the past will guarantee that these German soldiers will not be used to serve foreign interests.*

"3. *The equipment of the German cadres must be adequate to meet modern military demands. Stockpiles of weapons, munitions, trucks, gasoline and all other equipment have to be guaranteed.*

"These requests are limited to the minimum in view of the present subordination of justified demands—(they are the minimum) which can be demanded if German men who have a bit of honor should find themselves ready to serve with the armies in our fatherland that is still occupied and economically plundered by the enemy. We therefore address an urgent appeal to our friends to keep a careful watch on developments and to instruct all comrades accordingly, from simple soldiers to generals: Every German male who engages himself in a German Foreign Legion without these minimum requests being granted is a traitor to the German people.

Whoever, nevertheless, declares himself ready (to serve) should know that we will not refrain, if need be, from opposing him publicly. As it is clearly recognized that in the great power fight between East and West both sides have begun to count on the German power potential—it becomes necessary for us to stay together in strong determination in the decisive moment."

NEW EFFORTS TO COVER UP BRUDERSCHAFT ACTIVITIES

As a result of the exposes in the German and Swiss press, on March 1 the *Bruderschaft* came out with an official statement signed by Beck-Broichsitter, the former IA—officer of the division Grossdeutschland. This statement obviously tries to dissipate the unsavory impression on public opinion left by the exposes. The official statement of the *Bruderschaft* declares that it is neither an underground organization nor a union of generals or militarists, nor a new party. According to the statement, the *Bruderschaft* is neither right nor left but sees a greater danger in National Bolshevism than in Neo-Fascism.

The Bruderschaft's efforts are designed to unite the best forces of all parties and all organizations which have the common desire for order. Forced to establish its position, the Bruderschaft considers its task to be "the unity of the leadership personalities who have remained after the two world wars."

As far as interior policy is concerned, the *Bruderschaft* slogan is *"liberty and responsibility—fraternity and right."* As far as foreign policy is concerned, the *Bruderschaft* aspires to the union of the European peoples into one nation with each nation keeping its individuality. The *Bruderschaft,* according to the statement, knows that the way to this goal lies through the West but it rejects doing anything to harden the front which divides Europe today.

Perhaps the most amusing part of the official statement of the *Bruderschaft* is that in which it declares that *"out of European responsibility"* it rejects any rearmament of Germany categorically(!) Any statement to the contrary should be considered a deliberate lie. The *Bruderschaft* considers military questions as absolutely subordinated(!) However, it ventures the opinion that the youth of Europe should be called to voluntary reconstruction and voluntary help.

Finally, the statement denies that the *Bruderschaft* is working towards German leadership in Europe. Such an accusation could be made only by Nationalists who have not yet overcome the principle of the national state; they are the real reactionaries.

So much for the official statement of the *Bruderschaft,* which in itself is nothing more than a weak effort to whitewash the movement and its aims.

ADVOCATING "NEUTRALITY"

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that Drew Middleton in a dispatch from Frankfurt to *The New York Times* recently stressed the point that the *Bruderschaft "is moving towards the advocacy of German neutrality in the cold war between the East and the West."*

At a recent meeting of the *Bruderschaft* in Duesseldorf one of its leaders, Alfred Franke-Griecksch, made a speech in which he espoused the idea of German neutrality in the cold war. This espousal, stated Drew Middleton, *"would be a political factor of greatest significance."*

And *The New York Times* correspondent added: *"Without having committed themselves to the merits or demerits of the idea of establishing Germany as a member of a chain of buffer states between East and West, several Western sources acknowledged that its advocacy by the Bruderschaft would give it greater importance in Germany. . . .*

"Herr Franke-Grieksch's speech, reported by reliable sources, gave an insight into the changing character of the Bruderschaft, originally a welfare organization seeking only a united Germany within the frontiers of 1937.

"The speech showed that the organization represented the anti-democratic ideas its leaders believed would triumph eventually in Germany.

"The time is ripe for the Bruderschaft to play a role in Germany similar to that played by the Stahlhelm after the 1914-1918 war, Herr Franke-Grieksch said. The Stahlhelm (Steel Helmet) was the nationalist military organization founded by former German soldiers after World War I.

"The Bruderschaft contains 'men of proven efficiency' who will take over every phase of German administration when the time comes, Herr Franke-Grieksch added.

"He set this time as the winter of 1952-53 when 'the present parliamentary system will have broken down utterly.'

" 'We have our liaison officers and our agents everywhere,' he asserted.

"Asked when the Bruderschaft intended to emerge as an overt political force, Herr Franke-Grieksch replied that public meetings would be held 'in due course.' "

". . . A day of reckoning will come over Germany just as it came over China. I suspect that the resulting explosion in the U. S. will make the outcry of China seem like a pleasant afternoon tea.

"For in Germany it will be seen that we have not only lost the second world war—and that the Nazis, rather than we, were the victors—but that we have unconsciously prepared the way for us to lose a third world war if it comes. . . ."

(Senator Guy M. Gillette)

"An American educator, momentarily attached to the United States occupation forces, swears that the other day he overheard the following earnest colloquy among three erstwhile German supermen:

"First German: 'I'm the best democrat among us because I was a democrat even before Hitler took power.'

"Second German: 'Oh no, I'm the best democrat because I remained one even during the Hitler dictatorship.'

"Third German: 'You're both mistaken. I'm the best—because after four years of instructions by the Western Allies on how to act like a democrat, I'm still one.' "

Ruhr Steel Goes East

Writing in a recent issue of the weekly *New Leader*, Irving Brown, American Federation of Labor representative in Europe, made this significant statement: "*The new German 'Drang Noch Osten' is on the way. This time the drive to the East extends to the very shores of the Pacific Ocean. For the Russians are now attempting to win the Battle of the Ruhr via China and thus conquer all of Germany. In addition to the markets of Eastern Europe, Ruhr industrialists cannot but cast longing eyes on the great and vast areas of primitive, underdeveloped China now resting in Communist hands.*"

Mr. Brown hits the nail on the head. As a matter of fact, the Western German industrialists, despite their alleged opposition to Communism, are casting, as Drew Middleton recently stated in *The New York Times*, "*yearning glances toward trade with the East.*" In recent weeks these "yearning glances" have taken a very definite form. "Business is business and has to come first" is obviously the leitmotif. The Soviets, on the other hand, know this very well and they don't leave a stone unturned in their efforts to woo these German Ruhr industrialists.

In one of his columns from Frankfurt, Germany, Joseph Alsop in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* reported the following significant episode:

"*At a recent dinner in Duesseldorf this correspondent found that all of the seven big industrialists at the table were being almost daily besieged with generous business offers and flattering Soviet words by Eastern German emissaries of the Soviet High Command.*"

Other reports supplement this information. For example, *Newsweek* magazine's Washington Bureau stated:

"*Diplomatic reports from Moscow claim that during the recent negotiations the Russians have demanded and obtained Chinese agreements to a scheme under which the Soviets would have a complete monopoly over all trade between Germany and China. These reports stress the presence in Moscow of a strong German economic delegation and indicate that some members of the delegation may have taken part in the negotiations with Mao. The only previous indication that the Soviets might be toying wth this idea occurred during a November steel-industry conference in Duesseldorf, when German technicians from the Soviet zone emphasized the importance of China to Germany's heavy industry.*

"*These reports stress that a Russian monopoly on trade with China could, under the guise of interzonal German trade, secure for Soviet-occupied Manchuria heavy industrial equipment from Western Germany. Also, the bait of Chinese orders could be used to win over the Western Germany industrialists to the Soviet side. Western Germany, the Ruhr especially, would find the prospect of trade with China most alluring.*"

Perusing the German press during recent months, it is interesting to note how much attention the Western German newspapers are giving the problem of German-Chinese economic relations. The *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* on March 28 significantly titled such an article "*Germany and China—Natural Commercial Partners.*" The story reports the arrival of Communist buyers in Frankfurt and expresses the hope that the Chinese-Soviet Treaty of February 14, 1950, will undoubtedly have good results for Germany. The article furthermore states that one of the main objectives of this Chinese-Soviet Treaty was to further Stalin's efforts to gain the Western German industrial capacity for his own goal.

It should be noted that the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* is being published in Munich in the American Zone. Nevertheless, the Americans are being asked openly to promote German-Chinese business relations. The most significant phrase in this article reads as follows:

"*The Americans should, in due consideration of the security factor, promote direct German-Chinese commerce in line with their policy of strengthening the Western German economy.*" On the other hand, Eastern German politicians cleverly play up the economic situation in Western Germany and urge the West German leaders and industrialists to look to the East for their export. According to the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* of March 9, 1950, one of the Eastern German Communist bosses recently stated:

"*We are ready to help the West German population. Our first requirement is for them to fight against the dependency of Western Germany upon American imperialism. We have given the order to our export Minister to sign a commerce treaty with the People's Republic of China. The possibilities of deliveries of Western German firms have been taken into consideration. . . .*"

As we stated in our leading editorial of the previous issue of *Prevent World War III*, the big stakes at present are the Chinese markets. In order to do a profitable business with Communist China, German conservative Ruhr industrialists and their friends have been begging the Western Allies to stop dismantling and to help them to rebuild German industry. The situation is perhaps best clarified by what J. Emlyn Williams of *The Christian Science Monitor* recently wrote from Bonn. Wrote Mr. Williams:

"*West Germany wants the Western Allies' money, but not their instructions.*" This is perfectly true and nothing better indicates these trends than the recent resumption of negotiations between West German government representatives and Eastern Zone representatives for the lifting of the embargo on steel shipments from the Ruhr to the Soviet Zone—contrary to Allied wishes.

In this connection, we quote from a recent Associated Press dispatch from Berlin:

"*East Germany is in the midst of a grandiose Communist two-year plan that vitally depends on steel. A long-term embargo would have spelled ruin for the plan.*"

Ernest Leiser in a report to the *Overseas News Agency* recently stated that U. S. officials in Berlin angrily charged that a curtain of silence has been lowered around the talks by which the West German Federal Republic is now seeking to conclude a new trade accord with the Soviet-controlled government of East Germany. Wrote Mr. Leiser:

"*. . . it would be only common sense as well as common courtesy for the Western Germans to keep the Americans posted on the status of negotiations....In rebuttal, the Germans insist they are under no obligation to present the agreement for United States inspection until it is signed, sealed and delivered. They accuse the Americans of 'unwarranted interference' in the 'limited area of sovereignty given us under the Occupation Satute.' . . .*"

Furthermore, in another dispatch from Berlin Ernest Leiser calls attention to the illegal smuggling of goods and machine tools from Western to Eastern Germany:

"*Substantial quantities of goods sent by the United States to Western Germany under the Marshall Plan are being smuggled illegally across the zonal borders to the Soviet-controlled East German State.*

"*A sweeping investigation is now under way to find ways to plug those leaks, or to force the West German Federal Republic to do so. However, economic analysts here estimate that as much as* $20,000,000 *to* $30,000,000 *worth of goods is now slipping from the Western Zones into East Germany without authorization, annually. Of that, as high as* $5,000,000 *may be Marshall Plan goods. . . .*"

The most dangerous factor by far in the whole situation is emphasized in the following part of Ernest Leiser's dispatch:

"*There is good reason today to believe that a number of industrial magnates in the Ruhr are making a secret, calculated effort to circumvent the Western Allied order limiting production of steel in the West German Federal Republic to* 11,100,000 *tons a year.*

"*Their method is as dubious politically as it is devious economically. The Ruhr industrialists are building up the steel-producing capacity in Soviet-controlled Eastern Germany by exporting the machines and machine-tools needed to construct plants there. Their 'reward' is reportedly a secret accord which gives them a share of the increased capacity. . . .*"

And Leiser adds:

"*The most reliable information available indicates an enormous jump during the past year in the steel output of the Soviet Zone of Germany. A year ago production was at a negligible* 450,000 *tons, far below that needed for the Zone. Today it has risen to a rate of more than* 1,000,000 *tons annually—still a small figure, but phenomenally higher than before. The target for* 1950 *is* 1,350,000 *tons and early in* 1951 *a plant is expected to be completed in Brandenburg which would raise total output to nearly* 1,750,000 *tons.*

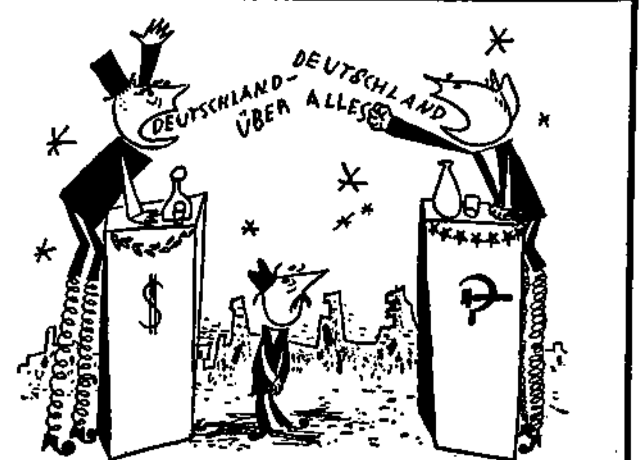
"*A good deal of that increase, American economic analysts declare, can be attributed directly to the shipments which the industrialists of the Ruhr have sent to the Soviet Zone in the framework of a general trade agreement between the Federal Republic and East Germany. It has become obvious that those shipments have included not simply raw steel ingots or finished steel products as envisaged, but actually the machines and tools with which the East Germans can make steel. . . .*"

The usually well-informed *Overseas News Agency* correspondent concludes his dispatch by pointing out that these dark maneuvers by the Western German industrialists are even more significant "*in the light of present German pressures to get the steel ceiling lifted well above the present* 11,000,000 *ton level.*"

How the Germans are using blackmail tactics against the West in order to further their own interests is documented also by a significant editorial of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 1. This editorial contains the following message:

"*Germany was always the bridge between the East and the West. . . . The Allies are not able to come to an accord with the Russians. . . . What is then more natural than for us in view of the present pressures to say: 'If until now, within the framework of world events, the others were not able to make an intelligent agreement, then it is our duty finally to arouse ourselves in order to obtain at least an economic understanding. . . .*

"*In doing so we will not turn to the little bosses of the Eastern Zone but directly to the big boss in Moscow. There is where decisions are being made. It is true that according to the Occupation Statute foreign policy discussions must be conducted through the three High Commissioners. Therefore we will have to take the road of private mediation and thus try to arrange economic agreements between Germany and Russia, which nobody can refuse us in view of the fact that our life is at stake. . . .*"



(*Courtesy Le Rassemblement, Paris*)

"The first impulse of German diplomacy . . . consists of freeing Germany of the controls the Allies placed on it. . . .

"The Germans accept these limitations now because they are braced by 250,000 Allied troops, and sweetened by more than half a billion dollars of aid. What the Germans really want is the aid without the controls. . . ."

(*Th. White to the ONA*)

German Dumping on the March

There is a group of individuals in the United States who believe that German economic power, world security and American prosperity are all one word. A short while ago, a couple of Senators complained to the ECA that the limitations on German industrial war potential was a pro-British conspiracy which fitted in with the world-wide revolutionary plans of the Communists.

One of the Senators, Styles Bridges from New Hampshire, intimated that the drive for decartelization was nothing else but a plot hatched behind the walls of the Kremlin. Mr. Bridges, we fear, has acted rather hastily in defense of the German cartel interests. After all, he was elected by the people of the U. S. and like all other Senators he is expected, by his constituents, to safeguard the American people and the institutions of free enterprise which have made this great nation of ours. His brimming-over enthusiasm for the German cause may, one day, place him in a very embarrassing position in the eyes of our businessmen and the unemployed workers who will have to suffer so that Germany gets a more exclusive place in the sun.

Senator Bridges speaks for those who are supremely confident that the target of German economic power is any other country but the good old U. S. A. They do not fret over the fact that the Germans have already surpassed the French steel industry. They are not alarmed when they read that the Germans are out to undercut other Marshall Plan countries in the markets of the world. And when they read the report of the *London Economist* that German shipbuilding firms "*have been able to offer much faster delivery at lower cost than British firms which have, until recently, been overcrowded with work. The advantage in delivery may prove temporary but on costs the Germans can always underbid British yards. A recent German quotation to a British shipowner was 75% of the lowest British tender. But when this quotation was refused, it was immediately cut to about 60% of the British price,*" they smirk and say—well, that's just too bad.

But does the threat of German economic power halt at the shores of the U. S.? Are we actually immune? If we are, then Senator Bridges and those who are behind him are realists in the business sense of the word.

Believing in the old proverb that "forewarned is forearmed," we submit herewith some facts which show that the American people have no cause for complacency—despite the wishful thinking of the pro-German interests.

Speaking about shipbuilding, *The New York Times* of April 10th reported in its financial pages that the Bethlehem Steel Co. will shortly close down one of its largest shipyards for lack of work. Mr. J. M. Willis, general manager of the Baltimore district of the steel company's shipbuilding division, said that the problem was not peculiar to Bethlehem but faces practically every shipyard in the country. He estimated that the closing of the Bethlehem shipyard in Maryland would result in the direct unemployment of 3,500 employees.

About the same time that Willis revealed the plight of the Bethlehem shipyard, the Associated Press reported that a tanker belonging to the American Olympic Whaling Co. would be converted into a floating fish-oil factory at the Howaldt shipyard in Kiel, Germany. Director Garver of the American company stated that the German dockyards tender was the lowest received.

The crisis in the U. S. shipbuilding industry has reached such proportions that Eugene G. Grace, Chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. recently told stockholders that Bethlehem might have to buy its ships abroad. This would undoubtedly result in additional unemployment for thousands of American workers.

The crisis in American shipbuilding is spreading to our merchant marine. At a meeting of American seamen, it was urged that the National Maritime Union of the C. I. O. protest the manning of a new super tanker by 39 German seamen flown here from Germany. Shipowners contended that Germans had been employed because of lower wages, while in Baltimore alone 1,450 American seamen were "beached" for lack of jobs. Does it appear from these facts that the Germans are forgetting Uncle Sam?

Indeed, the threat of German economic power has begun to produce a distinct uneasiness among many American businessmen. Their statements do not appear on the front pages of your daily newspaper. They are usually found in the financial sections which are read by comparatively few people. But some day they may appear as headline news—only then, we fear, it will be too late. We cite a few examples of this uneasiness as an indication that all the propaganda that Germany is the key to world prosperity and stability does not exactly produce a wave of acclaim by some of our more sensitive businessmen.

Mr. William L. Knox, President of the Westinghouse Electric International Co., recently addressing a Des Moines Chamber of Commerce meeting, warned that an international trade war was in the making. He pointed out that the U. S. is being confronted by attacks from "low wage-paying countries." He did not identify the low wage-paying countries, but we shall subsequently do so. In connection with Mr. Knox's remarks, the German newspaper, *Neue Zeitung*, February 7, 1950, boasted that production of the West German electrical industry has increased from 1,800,000 marks in 1948 to 2,400,000,000 Marks for 1949. At the same time, West German exports from the electrical industry amounted to 100,000,000 Marks, as compared with only 30,000,000 in 1948. The newspaper commented that "*foreign customers have shown an increasing interest in German electrical products which are competitive with foreign production. . . .*"

The Wall Street Journal of April 6, 1950, quoted an official of the American steel industry as saying "*We can't possibly compete with importers.*" Among the importers referred to, was Germany. And speaking about the upsurge of German steel which has reached the permitted level of 11.1 million tons, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe stated that by the end of 1949, Russian and German steel production increased by more than that of all of the rest of Europe over the 1948 output.

Mr. Michael Hoffman, one of *The New York Times'* leading correspondents in Europe, reported that the Germans, in an effort to "*demonstrate to the Allies their need for an increased ceiling on steel production*" had begun to use dumping methods to create instability in the world markets. Hoffman reported "*German steel began to be offered in South America, Italy and the Far East at cut prices.*" This in spite of the fact that the needs of the German domestic economy "*has made the German need for exports, at any price, less urgent.*" The drive on the part of the Germans to undercut competitors, including the U. S., in the world steel market, continues unabated.

German dumping methods are not only confined to shipbuilding and steel, but are reaching out in every direction. The chemical industry of Germany is on the march again. It is approaching its pre-war output. James B. Brennan, a foreign service officer detailed to the Chemical Branch of the Department of Commerce, stated that Bizonal Germany had moved up in one year to sixth place among the countries engaging in the international chemical trade.

Mr. Max S. Scheidt, President of a pharmaceutical import-export concern, after a recent trip to Europe, told the press that the German chemical industry was coming up fast. He called it a distinct threat to the chemical industry of the United States. In this connection, he mentioned that Norway, which had been under the heel of the Nazi invaders and was endeavoring to establish trade relations with the United States in pharmaceutical products, was told by ECA officials that they would have to buy the equivalent of $200,000 of bulk packaged pharmaceuticals from Western Germany.

The Norwegians, Mr. Scheidt declared, "*appeared to resent having to aid in the rebuilding of the German chemical industry which they believe is the backbone of that nation's military might.*" Apparently, the criminal history of the Farben Chemical empire and its record of undercutting the chemical industries of other countries is of no concern to some ECA officials.

Mr. Jackson Martindell, President of the American Institute of Management, after a trip to Europe, also mentioned the great threat of German economic power. "*The superiority of Germany's technique,*" he declared, "*in certain lines of products is already apparent and can be expected to grow as the months go by. Germany, defeated in two major wars, is likely to come out far superior in technology to any country in Europe, or Asia.*"

Mr. Martindell's observations have been seconded by another businessman, F. W. Richman, President of the United States Foreign Corporation. He told the press that on the basis of his studies, U. S. exports were being threatened. He mentioned in particular the quick comeback of Germany in Western Europe and Japan in the Far East.

Lest it appear that we have intentionally exaggerated the picture, we refer to a recent announcement that both Britain and the United States "*were investigating methods for preventing low cost production in Germany from undercutting sales by countries against which she waged war.*"

We hesitate to use the word competition with regard to Germany because competition presupposes a free market and free enterprise—neither of which was or is found in Germany.

Prior to World War I, the Germans had already shown that they were uncompromising enemies of free trade and fair business competition.

Mr. Douglas Miller, who was, for fifteen years, Commercial Attaché in Berlin—six of them under the Nazi regime—has written at length on this very subject. His book *You Can't do Business with Hitler* was a best-seller. Mr. Miller showed that Nazi trading practices were merely the extension of Germany's methods of doing business before 1933. He estimated that the "*average German export transaction obtained a 40% subsidy from the German government at the expense of domestic industry.*" Because of the wholesale employment of subsidies the Treasury Department as early as 1936, was forced to adopt measures to counter Germany's dumping practices in the U. S.

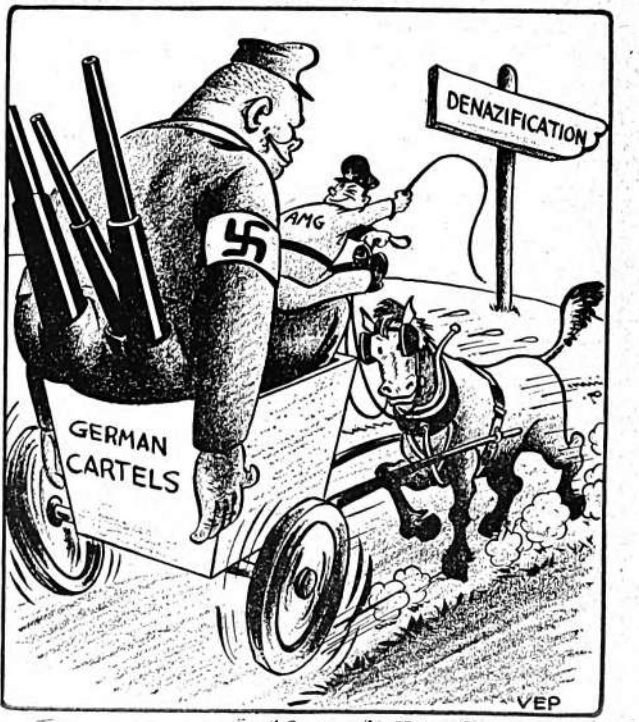
Mr. Miller cited a couple of examples of German trade policy before the war:

A. "*The Germans put a maximum price of 6 cents on U. S. cotton while at the same time they were buying cotton of inferior quality from Latin America, Africa, and Asia at 9 to 10 cents per pound. They did this to divert trade from this country and to put us in a more difficult trading position.*"

B. "Germany, having had a monopoly on crude Naphthalene used for dry cleaning, embargoed the shipment of this product and stated that shipments would be resumed "*provided the American companies interested, would sign an agreement to purchase a fixed quantity each year for five years in advance, at a price which was three times the existent price at the time.*"

Germany's foreign trade policies were designed to insure her own self-sufficiency at the expense of other nations, including the U. S. She was the most flagrant violator of America's "*most favored nation*" policy which has not only been beneficial to American business but

"Putting the Cartel Before the Horse!"



(*Cartoon by Vep—Courtesy Compass*)

to the world at large.

Mr. Leo T. Crowley, former head of the U. S. Foreign Economic Administration, reported in detail on German trading methods and policy and said that they were designed to "*import as large quantities of raw materials and products needed for war as possible and to import as little of anything else as possible.*"

The instruments utilized by the German government and German business to carry out this policy of economic autarchy were cartel arrangements, special tax rebates and other practices which have nothing in common with American free enterprise.

It may be said that this is all water under the bridge and that there is a new Germany. Yet, as early as January, 1949, *The N. Y. Times* commenting on German economic policy declared: "*Basically the issue is one of how far the occupation authorities in Germany are to be allowed by the U. S. government to operate the German economy as an autarchic system without any consideration of the recovery problems of the rest of Europe.*" The policy of encouraging German autarchy in trade, *The N. Y. Times* declared "*is having a disastrous effect on the recovery of Europe.*"

No, indeed, the German tune has not changed. This is clearly indicated by the policy recently announced by Ludwig Erhard who was the former Minister of Economics in Bavaria where he filled virtually all the key posts with known Nazis. He was advisor to Gauleiter Buerckel in the Saar and chief of the Hitlerite Institute for Industrial Research. (*The New York Times*, March 2, 1948.)

Equipped with such experience under Hitler, Erhard recently announced his plan for an all-out drive to increase German exports. This plan included among other things an increase in export guarantees for long-term export orders by 300,000,000 Marks to a total of 400,000,000 Marks. German exporters would be granted a dollar bonus from export yields for free disposal. Tax allowances for all export firms are also provided for. In addition, Erhard declared that industrial undertakings with a larger percentage of exports would be given priority in the allocation of industrial capital from ERP funds.

Together with subsidies from the German state in one form or another, it is clear that Professor Erhard's plan is by no means original. It is the continuation of the peculiar methods by which the Germans have done business in the past.

Throughout Western Europe the effects of German dumping are already felt. Netherlanders are increasingly concerned as they receive reports that German companies have been able to offer prices 30 to 50% below their competitors.

An example of how the Germans have operated is the case of the giant electrical trust, Siemens. This German outfit offers a whole thermal electrical installation to Greece "*at just one-half the price bid by the next lowest of any of more than* 35 *competitors from all countries.*"

Senator Harley Kilgore, who headed the committee which examined the German economy after World War II, in describing the German method of doing business, said the following:

"*It would, moreover, be false to assume that industrial disarmament means starvation for Germany. For* 50 *years, the imbalance of the German economy, with its overemphasis on munitions and munitions-supporting industries, was carefully nurtured. In designing an economy whose function was to prepare the nation for war, agricultural production was deliberately dwarfed until just before the outbreak of World War II. There is every reason why this agricultural production should be further expanded. It is absurd to follow any prewar pattern in reconstituting German industry. In Germany there was no 'normal' prewar pattern. Unless we make basic and fundamental changes in the German economy, we shall be perpetuating the type of organization that is itself an incitement to war.*

"*I have this consideration in mind when I am critical of the State Department's recent report on Germany, which declares that the United States does not 'selfishly' wish to weaken 'German industries of a peaceful character in which Germany has produced effectively for world markets.' In this context 'peaceful industries' is a contradiction in terms. Congressional investigations have shown how Germany insidiously used the 'peaceful industries' in which she supplied world markets as effective weapons of economic warfare, to secure a stranglehold upon and cripple the vital production of nations marked for conquest. It would be suicidal for American policy to aid in rebuilding such industries, jeopardizing our national security and world peace for the sake of short-term cartel profits to a few corporations whose views prevailed in the councils of our military government.*"

Senator Kilgore's warning is still timely and should be heeded by all Americans, especially by our businessmen and trade unionists. The fact that we have always underestimated what the Germans can do has perhaps beclouded the reasoning of many well-intentioned people who think in abstractions when it comes to trade and competition. They rightly insist that the world must expand commercially and that all nations should have the opportunity to participate in this expansion.

The Society for the Prevention of World War III is a firm supporter of this thesis, but we insist that free trade cannot thrive in the same world with the German cartels. The Germans are approaching the point where they will be able to undermine the economic position of their major target, the United States of America. They are gearing their internal economy in such a way that they will be able to upset normal economic trade relations and create havoc among the nations of the world.

Mr. Knox of the Westinghouse Electric International Co. talked about the international trade war which would result from low wage paying countries. *The U. S. News and World Report* spelled it out for Mr. Knox, as follows:

The Germans are in a very favorable business position. The German budget for 1950 amounts to $4½ billion as against $42 billion for the United States. In Britain where the population is only 6 per cent greater than that of Western Germany the budget is $10 billion. The Germans have no defense costs while for the United States 40 per cent is devoted to defense measures which include our army of occupation. Taxes are very low for German business and indeed this authoritative magazine states that the Germans are taxed less than France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden or the United States.

Commenting on these factors, *The U. S. News and*

World Report declared:

"Business advantages are coming to the Germans from sources other than low taxes and government costs. With nearly 2,000,000 *unemployed, German workers are docile compared with those in other countries. Wages have increased less than in any other country of Europe. The weekly earnings of German workers are only* 44 *per cent above the* 1935-1938 *average compared with* 131 *per cent in Britain and* 155 *per cent in the United States. . . . The Germans are also working longer hours than workers in other countries. Although the official work week is* 48 *hours, many industries average far more than that. In the paper industry, for example, skilled labor is averaging almost* 53 *hours a week. Strikers are rare in Germany. . . . Industrial strength is being preserved and expanded too. Dismantling has been halted, leaving vital steel synthetic oil and synthetic rubber plants in Germany. The Germans have been given permission to build a merchant fleet. Occupation controls are being loosened."*

This is the German internal economy which fits in very nicely with the German plan to challenge American industry. A low standard of living may be found in other countries of Western Europe, but that is precisely why those countries are in a better position to meet the German drive than the United States. It is obvious what this will mean in the long run to American businessmen and labor. It should be borne in mind that while the weekly earnings of industrial workers in the U. S. averages about 55 dollars, the average for the British is about 20 dollars, and for the German worker approximately 13 dollars.

It may be that some of our larger companies, especially those with German cartel connections, will be able to weather the German economic onslaught. But the smaller businessmen and those who sincerely practice the doctrines of a free market are going to get hurt and with them thousands upon thousands of American workers will lose their jobs. This is the bleak perspective which faces the Americans who have been handing over billions to the Germans on the assurances that German economic power was the touchstone of world recovery. As we all know, this certainly wasn't true in the past. What reason is there to believe that times have changed, when the same groups who guided German economic destiny before and under Hitler are back in power?

". . . It is becoming obvious to Allied occupation personnel that German resentment of their presence, and of the controls and inconveniences they embody, is on a marked increase. . . .

"The Germans are growing aware that they can get away with criticism — blunt and direct — of their Western conquerors. . . . Those criticisms have been of all kinds, and on all political and economic scores. . . .

"Whatever form they take, they add up to one hostile conclusion: that the Germans can decide best what course of action to take for Germany, that Allied aid is welcomed but that Allied interference is unwarranted and that the conquering Powers are today motivated by dubious if not actually by evil aims in their 'suppression' of German political and economic development. . . ."

(*Ernest Leiser to the ONA*)

It will interest you . . .

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR ran a two column story on our magazine, "Prevent World War III" (see back cover of this issue). Concluded "The Christian Science Monitor": "We must not forget the Neo-Nazis. That is why it is useful to give the publications of the Society for the Prevention of World War III a more than perfunctory reading—and file them for reference just in case."

★

GENERAL De GAULLE'S WEEKLY, "Le Rassemblement" of Paris reprinted our story "Eyes Left—Shoulder Arms" from "Prevent World War III, No. 33," giving facts and details about the Soviet-sponsored People's Police and quotes of speeches by German Communist leader Walter Ulbricht. "Le Rassemblement" also reprinted the cartoon by Fitzpatrick from the St. Louis "Post Dispatch" from the back cover of "Prevent World War III."

★

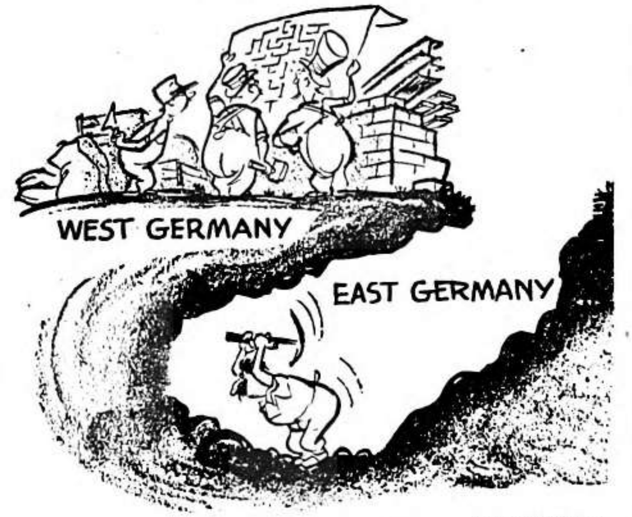
THE DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHE BUERGER-ZEITUNG of Chicago, Ill., published a front page article attacking the Society for the Prevention of World War III.

★

THE "INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE for the Study of European Questions" with Headquarters in London and Paris used our exposé-scoop on the "Open Letter to Stalin" (see page 31 of this issue) in a general release on the danger of a new Russo-German alliance. "The New York Times," "The Christian Science Monitor" and a great number of other papers in this country and in Europe called attention to the "Open Letter to Stalin" showing how Neo-Nazis offer the hand of friendship to Soviet-Russia.

★

"REBUILDING GERMANY"



Stockholm Tidningen

Does Crime Pay?

In his opening address before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg concerning German crimes against peace, Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson noted: *"The refuge of the defendants can be only their hope that International Law will lag so far behind the moral sense of mankind that conduct which is crime in the moral sense must be regarded as innocent in Law."*

Despite Justice Jackson's misgivings, International Law managed to keep up with the moral sense of mankind and a set of juridical principles infused with a profound moral purpose was established. But this grand edifice of Justice is crumbling under the disintegrating and pernicious influence of POLICY. POLICY remains as it was—untouched by the elementary standards which must be the binding force of the fabric we call Civilization.

International Law condemned German crimes against humanity.

International Law condemned the burnings, the lootings and the destruction of a whole continent by a people whose *raison d'etre* was the cult of conquest.

International Law upheld the rights and dignity of man against violence, mass enslavement and degradation.

International Law announced to the world that criminals who violate the norms of civilization will and must be held accountable to Civilization.

But POLICY continues as in the past to condone the crimes which have been condemned by International Law.

POLICY coddles, frees and protects the worst German criminals.

POLICY dumps billions of the taxpayers money into Germany while it refuses to adequately compensate the peoples over-run by the German invader.

POLICY returns Germany's war arsenal, the Ruhr, to its former masters, who made and supported Hitler.

POLICY permits the Germans to impose their schemes on the free world and rehabilitates the former enemy at the expense of the security and economic wellbeing of its victims.

POLICY places the Germans on a special pedestal paving the way for the revival of German economic mastery over Europe and with it the disruption of international trade and commerce.

What must the Germans think of International Law which condemns crime condoned by POLICY?

What good can be expected from POLICY which is intrinsically evil?

It is only natural that most Germans should regard the developments of the past five years as proof that the great crusade for Justice and Freedom was an Allied fraud.

Can the Germans doubt that POLICY ultimately rewards CRIME?

". . . To the French the rearmament of Germany is not only morally repugnant but politically senseless. They have no confidence that the Germans, after getting arms from the West, will not go over to the Russians. And their distrust is understandable. . . . A well-known authority on Germany, a man regularly stationed in Berlin . . . not a Frenchman . . . said cynically: 'Everything will depend on how many troops the Americans have on the Rhine. If they have a million men there I believe they can depend on the Germans, can trust that the new German army will be loyal to the Western Allies. But if the Americans do not have a big force on the Rhine, the new German Army will go over to the Russians and fight with them against the West'. . . ."

(From The Nation)

"Today, the chief threat in the world is undoubtedly that of Soviet expansion and aggression. This should not blind us, however, to the importance of looking closely at the situation in Germany to see what is happening there. . . . .

"Five times—I repeat five times—within the last century Germany has been the starting point of aggressive wars. The last two of these wars threatened the very existence of Western civilization.

"What is going on in this heart of Central Europe? What has happened to our original war and peace aims for the German people?

"We are all pleased that Germany is recovering from the economic wounds of the recent conflict. But if there is being recreated the same Germany that confronted the world ten years ago, we are making another date with a terrible destiny for Europe and the world. . . ."

(Senator Herbert H. Lehman appealing for a bi-partisan review of the whole German program.)

"Der Weg" — Mouthpiece of Pan-Germanism

Argentine periodical in German has become chief organ of German General Staff and main rallying point of exited Nazis, waiting for a new "Der Tag."

It becomes increasingly clear that the most dangerous Nazi outpost outside the borders of Germany has been established in Argentina.

From time to time news dispatches have referred to the German language periodical, *Der Weg*, published in Buenos Aires. In recent years, this magazine has not only become the mouthpiece for reawakening Pan-Germanism and Neo-Nazism, but it is also being used as a rallying point for top flight Nazis, military men and scientists who after the defeat of Germany in 1945 were able to escape and find a haven in Argentina.

In the *United Nations World* of December, 1949, T. H. Tetens published a sensational article titled "New German Blueprints—War on Russia's Side," in which he exposed the activities of the Neo-Nazis in Argentina and the strange goings-on around the magazine, *Der Weg*.

Since then, more detailed information has become available on the real meaning of the Nazi activities in Argentina and particularly in Buenos Aires.

The *New York Daily News* in its issue of April 30th published an extremely interesting special dispatch from Buenos Aires significantly titled "Germans in Argentina Look to Red Alliance." In this dispatch it was stated that "*a German language magazine published in Buenos Aires is keeping alive Nazi doctrines against the day when exiled Nazis, as a party, can ally themselves with Russia in an attempt to crush the Western democracies.*"

The magazine referred to is *Der Weg*, published by the Duerer Publishing house in Buenos Aires, which in its masthead harmlessly calls itself "*Monthly for Cultural Care and for Reconstruction.*"

Behind this innocent-sounding masthead and a few unimportant and dull literary articles, the magazine openly defends Pan-Germanism, the German officers' clique, certain features of Nazism, etc.—all under the cover of a pseudo-European ideal.

The *Daily News* dispatch gives the following clear picture of the situation:

"*Argentina is a haven today for Nazi brass, from military commanders and atomic scientists to aviation engineers and geopoliticians. The evidence of their own magazine indicates some of them form a skeleton 'administration in exile' which could be moved into control in Germany after it is freed from Allied occupation. The eventual objective would be to form an alliance with Russia.*

"*'It is impossible for the West to halt the tide of Communism,' declares Der Weg, a magazine which is the group's principal propaganda organ. This magazine has been banned from Western Germany by the Allied occupation authorities.*

"*Some of the Nazi group are working directly with President Peron's regime. Prof. Kurt (Willie) Tank, former chief Focke-Wulf aeronautical engineer, is now designing planes for the Argentine air force. Atomic specialist Wilhelm Westphal is carrying on research for Argentina. Gen. Adolf Galland, who headed Goering's fighter command; ace Hans Ulrich Rudel, who claims to have flown 2,350 missions, and a Col. Thieben are training Argentine pilots and testing their planes.*

"*The group's propaganda headquarters are at the Duerer Publishing Co. in midtown Buenos Aires. Der Weg is edited by Eberhardt Fritsch and Gustave Friedl. Collaborators include Colin Ross, one-time head of Nazi propaganda in the United States; Ferdinand Fried, one of Goebbel's chief editors; Col. Hans Mahler of the former German High Command, and such 'Lebensraum' experts as Anton Zischka and Walter Pahl, both graduates of Karl Haushofer's 'Realpolitik' school.*

"*The magazine's information on Russian science, from submarines and rockets to bacteriological warfare and a new 'ray' weapon, would be surprising if it were not for the fact that the political line foresees a future Nazi-Communist alliance.*

"*The Duerer firm also produces a stream of books, with Baumbach and Udel as its best-selling authors. Baumbach's 'Zu Spaet' (Too Late) laments that Hitler did not put more faith in guided missiles and contends that the Normandy landings by the Allies broke up a program which was within six months of perfection. Udel's 'Trotzdem' (Nevertheless) says things will be different next time.*"

Looking over the list of contributors whose articles appear in the columns of *Der Weg*, one finds a strange combination of Pan-German poets and novelists, Nazi militarists, non-German Germanophiles and last but not least members of that fringe of pro-German and pro-Nazi rabble rousers from the United States. However, unlike some of the revealing pro-German newspapers in this country, *Der Weg* uses more clever and subtle methods. Everything expressed is deliberately hidden behind a kind of intellectual facade, and one gains the impression that the pro-German propaganda used is being co-ordinated by a person of high calibre.

Taken at random, a few items stand out. Certain contributions are published without a by-line and the credit line at the end reads: "*Sent to us by a Ritterkreuztraeger* [*member of the Wehrmacht who received that high German distinction*] *from Hamburg.*" This particular credit line is given a poem published by *Der Weg* under the title "The Watch on the Rhine?" This poem ridicules Montgomery and his suggestion that German soldiers should fight for the West against the Russians. Roughly translated the closing lines of this poem read as follows:

"Field Marshal Montgomery has badly miscalculated himself as never before.

"The 'war criminal' and the 'pig' do not want to be the mercenary of the Victor!

"We German soldiers say: No!

"Be it East or be it West, they should do their own dirty work!"

One recent issue of *Der Weg* devotes nine full pages to what it calls "The Martyrdom of the Black Caps." This article is an all out defense of the "poor and oppressed" SS troopers who at Malmedy killed American prisoners-of-war. The American prosecution is smeared and the whole article reads as if it had been written by Goebbels.

Another issue of *Der Weg* contains a poem eulogizing Pan-Germanism that is titled "Prussian Military Oath." Each issue of *Der Weg* has articles either by A. O. Tittmann or A. J. App, members of the well-known Nazi apologist front in the United States. Tittmann and App glamorize certain American senators like Langer and Wherry. One issue of *Der Weg* ran an article titled "An American Woman Appeals to the Conscience of America," glorifying Freda Utley and her pro-German book, *The High Cost of Vengeance.*

Perusing *Der Weg* one gets the impression, however, that the magazine has one main objective, namely, the defense of the officers and generals of the German Wehrmacht.

One such piece is entitled "The Hate and Lie Campaign Against the German Officers." It strongly criticizes Allied justice with regard to German generals imprisoned in Landsberg. Coming all out in defense of these German officers and generals, the article ends with an especially significant paragraph subtitled "A Question to the World." The writer, H. v. Knevel-Doebritz, obviously a German general, refers to the monument of the American Army of World War I at St. Nazaire, showing an allegoric figure keeping in one hand the cross, in the other the Bible. And he asks: "Can that which the Second World War brought us across the water and across the air from the West be reconciled with the symbols of the cross and the Bible?"

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that the most recent issue of *Der Weg* available at the time of this writing contains a hysterical answer to Tetens' article referred to earlier. It seems that the group around *Der Weg* is particularly disturbed about this expose of strange activities, because the answer, a vain effort to refute the attack, is printed not only in German: a footnote states that translations in other languages can be obtained from the publisher, while the English translation has been inserted into the copies of *Der Weg* destined for North America.

In this connection, it is interesting to learn from an article in the Swiss newspaper *Der Bund* of Bern that a well-organized outfit was discovered in the small Bavarian town of Kempten whose goal it was to smuggle Germans out of Germany into Argentina. According to the Swiss paper, these smugglers used the most modern transportation techniques for their purpose. The most important person of the gang was a 24-year-old technician, Martin Recher, son of a German teacher. It was thanks to his initiative that a large number of Nazis and German militarists such as General of the Luftwaffe Galland; the constructor of the famous Focke-Wulf-190 planes, Col. Rudel; Prof. Tank; Colonel of the Luftwaffe, Janke; the former gauleiter of Styria, Dr. Siegfried Ueberreither, were able to escape to Argentina.

"Cheering members of the Neo-Nazi German Bloc party in Bavaria . . . heard for the first time a new, 'improved' version of the forbidden 'Deutschland Uber Alles' national anthem.

"Above hysterical cheering, stamping of feet and shouts of 'Heil,' party leader Karl Meissner screamed: 'We are against Nazism, but we intend to adopt many good points which the Nazis had.'

"As the Bavarians, packed tightly in the smoke-filled Bayreuth Concert Hall, struggled to their feet, youthful party leaders distributed leaflets bearing the new text, which was sung to the accompaniment of a brass band.

"And the audience roared out the words:

" 'One aim, one call, unites Germans, regardless of States or new frontiers.

" 'Everywhere that Germans live, even unto the stars, the oath rings out.

" 'Never shall we submit: never shall we bow to forces against us.

" 'Deutschland, Deutschland Uber Alles — the Reich will rise again.'

"The meeting ended uproariously as the cheering hundreds sang their new National Anthem for the second time. . . ."

(From a dispatch to the London Daily Mirror by Kenneth Ames)

The report in the Swiss paper states that Recher, under the very eyes of the American Military Police, established the headquarters of his "human cargo" organization in the winter spa of Oberstdorf. For a whole year the organization worked perfectly.

Those who left Germany secretly were smuggled into Austria and from there to Italy. Usually they embarked in Genoa for Argentina. Where the financial means for these rather expensive activities of the smugglers came, is still a secret. But everything was paid in cash in the monies of the respective countries.

The Nazis and militarists who were able to escape usually took with them not only their families, but also a staff of technicians. Prof. Tank, for instance, traveled with the three technicians with whom he had worked closely for a long time.

It becomes increasingly clear that the headquarters of the future German general staff, comprising not only military experts, but also engineers, technicians, etc. have been quietly established in Argentina. The rallying point of these exiled Nazis and Pan-Germans is *Der Weg,* and they are all waiting for the moment they can once again start action.

At What Price Integration?

Mr. Robert P. Martin, correspondent for the Overseas News Agency in Japan, reports that Japanese steel interests are most unhappy about their inability to sell steel rails to Communist China. They are peeved at the fact that German industrialists have received permission.

"*It's not in Japanese character,*" Mr. Martin was told by the President of one Japanese steel company, "*to demand changes in American policy as the Germans have done.*"

We are not in a position to psychoanalyze the Japanese character, but we do know that this steel magnate is certainly on the right track insofar as the Germans are concerned.

From time to time we have cited instances where German demands have been transformed into Allied policy. In this connection, a development that bears watching is the present campaign for the economic integration of Western Europe. The Society for the Prevention of World War III has gone on record in favor of genuine integration which "*could accomplish much in establishing a healthy economic and political climate under which the people could live without fear.*" (November-December, 1949, No. 32, *Prevent World War III.*)

We have recognized that economic integration under certain conditions would bring a measure of prosperity to Europe and strengthen American security. But we have shown that under present conditions the desire for the unity of Western Europe is being exploited by the Germans for purposes which have nothing in common with its praiseworthy objectives.

In our previous discussion of this problem we said: "*If all economic restrictions and controls were lifted from present-day Germany, she could easily surpass the industrial power of any of her neighbors. This is the Germany which the Germans and their spokesmen elsewhere recommend as becoming part of a federalized Europe. What harm could result? Well, just put one wolf among a flock of sheep and the answer becomes clear.*"

Sensing that many of the nations of Western Europe suspect German motives on this score, Chancellor Adenauer decided to be more blunt. On April 3, 1950 he told the American press that Western Europe must be integrated: "*I do not mind saying,*" he declared, "*that America should use its power far more with the Europeans who are resisting their own unification.*" Three days later the *New York Times* ran an editorial echoing Adenauer's suggested method of bringing about unity. The *Times* said that the United States might have to "*use pressure on the hesitant European governments to speed up the process of unification.*"

Why the need for pressure if the principle of integration is assumed to be supported by most people in Western Europe? If pressure is the only way to achieve such unity, then there must be something wrong.

Some may say that while castor oil is probably not a very palatable potion, it does a great deal of good once it is taken, even if pressure is required. But can we compare the nations of Western Europe to a bunch of children who just don't know what is good for them?

Adenauer admitted in his same statement to the Press that unity was being held up because "*the French really fear the Germans.*" But is it only the French who fear the Germans? Does Dr. Adenauer think that the English, the Belgians, or the Dutch are waiting with open arms? The real truth of course, is that all of the nations of Western Europe fear the Germans. Nor is this fear an irrational mood which will pass away by the wave of a wand. It stems from generations of living next door to the Germans; of being forced into economic dependence on German industrial might; of being the victims of German aggressions and brutalities. There is hardly a household in Western Europe which has not lost a loved one due to the Germans' embrace. As though Dr. Adenauer is not aware of these facts!

Even such a stalwart of integration as Paul Reynaud, former Premier of France, declared that the unification of Western Europe could eventually result in German domination, without proper safeguards. Dr. Adenauer's reasons for desiring unification are the very same reasons which strike fear in the hearts of Germany's victims. They instinctively feel that German enthusiasm for integration is based on the hope that it will eventually result in Western Europe becoming a vassal to the Lords of the Ruhr. Chancellor Adenauer sensed this too when he scolded his neighbors. He tried to disarm their fears by saying that "*Germany is weak and helpless.*" A weak and helpless Germany, according to Dr. Adenauer, should cause no anxiety among Germany's neighbors.

That sounds like good common political and economic sense. But is Germany weak and helpless? One would not think so judging from the boasts of Ludwig Erhard, the economic brain-truster for the Bonn Government. Erhard has come out for the free convertibility of all currencies including the *Deutsche Mark.* Aside from the fact that this is a clumsy effort to play up to the Americans, Erhard's proposal would seem to show that the Germans have reached a point in economic strength where they have no fear of convertibility. It must mean that the German economy is fully equipped to support such a plan. Is it not peculiar that a Germany which is supposed to be weak and helpless can undertake such a course of action?

Below the surface it is even clearer that Germany is far from weak and helpless. Her steel production today is at a rate exceeding the limit of 11.1 million metric tons of steel. This feat was accomplished within a very short period. Indeed, the rate of German production is greater than that of France and would overtake the English once the go ahead signal is given. Does this sound like helplessness?

The swift comeback of the German steel industry is reflected in other sectors of the German economy. Recently the International German Electrical Combine issued its financial statement which showed that it was in a very healthy position. In spite of the loss of assets in the Eastern zone, the company disclosed that present assets are very substantial "*due to the existence of very extensive hidden reserves amassed before World War II . . .*" (*New York Times, April* 3, 1950). These vast holdings were employed between 1945 and 1948 to set up new factories in nine West German cities.

Foreign and domestic orders are plentiful and guarantee production for a long period of time. The Board of Directors announced that all former obligations to creditors would be met. The strong position of this electrical trust is reflected in stock exchange quotations of its shares which are rising steadily.

Commenting on the position of this company as well as most of German heavy industry, the *New York Times* said: "*Despite the gigantic war losses, most German industrial companies rescued far more than was originally thought possible.*"

This is not a picture of a Germany which is weak and helpless. Fundamentally, the Germans are in a very strategic position economically, and they hope to forge ahead at the expense of other nations.. Integration under these conditions would be a bonanza for the Germans. When Chancellor Adenauer advocates integration, he is thinking of what advantage Germany can obtain from it. He said that much when he declared that it was not logical that the Germans should have to buy some steel for its reconstruction from France. No, indeed, this is not German logic which has it the other way around—namely that the French and other Western European countries should remain dependent upon the German steel trust as in the past.

This is the German idea of integration, and is diametrically opposed to the unity of Western Europe as conceived by those who want a better distribution of the productive forces of Europe, which would prevent any one nation from dominating the continent.

The power of Germany today has been hidden from public view. Most Americans are still probably under the illusion that Germany is "*weak and helpless.*" But the real truth is coming to the surface. It was described by Mr. James Reston, one of the most able of the *New York Times* political analysts, on April 26: "*It is now recognized in official quarters that the potential economic and military power of Western Germany is so great that it is likely to dominate any purely Western European economic or military organization.*"

This is the cold fact without the window dressing of the pro-German apologists. It tells what fate awaits those who nibble at the German bait. The Germans have a proverb: "*Die groessten Kaelberwaehlen sich den Metzger selber*" (The biggest calves select their own butcher.)

* * *

NOTE: The above article was written prior to the announcement by French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman of his proposal to pool the coal and steel industries of France and the Ruhr.

Since the information dealing with the Schuman plan is of a general nature, we shall withhold judgment until more details are available. However, there are certain points which have come to the surface which deserve immediate consideration.

For one thing, the attitude of the French people toward this plan is of vital importance. The American press has reported very little as yet on the French reaction. It should be noted that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Assembly split 17 to 17 on a test vote over the plan. It remained for the Chairman of the Committee to cast a deciding vote in favor of Schuman's proposal. If this vote is any reflection of French public opinion, it would show that the Schuman plan will meet resistance on the part of substantial sections of the French population—regardless of political ideology.

The fears of the French on this score were even admitted by Monsieur Schuman himself. As reported in *The New York Times*, Monsieur Schuman stated that because of the "revolutionary" nature of the plan it could come only on French initiative, and that "It would have been fatal if it even had been suspected that the plan originated anywhere but in France."

We know that there are very powerful cartel interests in France which have sought some kind of agreement with their counterparts in Germany. On the other hand, as mentioned in the above editorial and in a previous one, the Germans, too, have been pressing for their brand of integration for many months. Some of the leading Ruhr industrialists who were Hitler's staunchest supporters have been working quietly behind the scenes toward that end. Indeed, during the war, when the Germans occupied France, there was a sort of integration between the German Ruhr and French Lorraine.

Having closely observed the Germans and their activities since the end of the war, we are inclined to believe that the basic principle underlying this plan is of German vintage.

In the article "Whither Western Europe" published in No. 31 (Sept. 1944) of *Prevent World War III*, the German plan to acquire a substantial share in the Western European steel industry while giving France a share in the German steel industry, was outlined in some detail. In this connection, we should like to point to some comments made by an experienced student of world affairs, Mr. Walter Lippmann. While stating that the American Government should give support to the Schuman plan, Mr. Lippmann made the following comments: "*In taking the decision to make the proposal, the French Government must have realized that this meant the revival of the political and economic influence of Germany in Europe. In any such equal industrial regime as the French are offering, the Germans are bound by their technological and administrative gifts and discipline to play a leading part.*"

He further admitted that "*in a Franco-German partnership the Germans will acquire such independent power that they can have a foreign policy of their own.*" Mr. Lippmann's observations can only confirm our fears that the Allies will repeat the same stupidities which characterized our policies toward Germany after World War I. We will probably be compounding these blunders in view of Mr. Lippmann's own admission that the Schuman proposal will give the Germans a greater opportunity to evade security controls in doing business with the East.

As we stated, these are preliminary observations and must await more detailed information.

Russo-German Alliance would "loom gravely for the rest of the world"

In recent years, we have constantly drawn attention in the pages of *Prevent World War III* to the growing danger of a new Russo-German alliance. As far back as February, 1945, the Society for the Prevention of World War III issued a blunt warning against the so-called Free German Committee in Moscow. We strongly protested the strange machinations of these German generals and officers and warned that this Free German Committee, sponsored and coddled by the Soviets, was a dangerous omen of what lay in the future.

In 1947, we launched a series of articles in *Prevent World War III* exposing in detail the use being made by the Russians of former German generals and officers in the Eastern Zone of Germany. In our issue No. 23, January-February, 1948, we ran an article titled "*Russia's Trojan Horse.*" At that time, after a thorough exposé of the facts we came to the conclusion that "there can no longer be any doubt that powerful schools of thought in Russia and Germany favor Russo-German rapprochement."

Since then, in practically every issue of *Prevent World War III*, we have warned of the steadily growing danger of a new Russo-German pact. We were the first, long before newspapers and magazines began to be interested, to recall the Treaty of Rapallo, and we were also the first to use the term "Rapalloism" to denote the new scheme of a Russo-German alliance that was being fostered.

OUR WARNINGS

Today, the imminent danger of a new Russo-German pact is being realized by almost every informed political observer. When we started to deal with this explosive subject, we were practically alone. It is therefore with a certain amount of satisfaction that we see how today's events bear out our warnings.

The May, 1950, issue of the *American Mercury* carries an article by Henry C. Wolfe titled "*Germany—Time Bomb of Europe.*"

Writes Mr. Wolfe:

"*. . . Few Americans realize what is at stake in Germany, but the men in the Kremlin, masters of Realpolitik, do. Since they seized power in* 1917, *the Soviet leaders have understood the important role that Germany plays in their drive for world domination. They have looked hungrily at German industry, especially in the Ruhr. They have realized that if they had use of the Reich's advanced technology, central strategic position and organizing genius, they could quickly dominate Europe and strike out at other continents. Moreover, the Russians fear German military power, unless it is teamed up with their own. These were some of Stalin's reasons for making a deal with Hitler in* 1939.

"*As for the Germans, there has been strong pro-Russian sentiment in certain circles since the days of Bismarck. It is sentiment based on stark self-interest—based, in other words, on the premise that when Germans and Russians work together, the Germans prosper and wax powerful. According to pro-Russian Germans, when the Germans have fought the Russians, catastrophe has been the pay-off, and they have two world wars to prove it. They point to the first Rapallo treaty* (1922), *when the pariah Germans and Russians, meeting on the outskirts of the Allied conference in Genoa, circumvented Allied diplomacy by making a deal between themselves. This move was immensely popular in both Germany and Russia. . . .*"

And Mr. Wolfe adds:

"*. . . Since the end of the war, Stalin has continued his courtship of the German people. He has cast himself in the role of champion of German unity, protector of the Germans against rapacious Western imperialism. Constantly stressing the tradition of Russo-German friendship and common interests, he has told the citizens of the eastern and western zones that Germans and Russians together have 'the largest potentialities in Europe to complete great actions of world significance.' A Russo-German alliance—a third Rapallo—would certainly be an act of world significance. . . .*"

MOSCOW-BERLIN AXIS

Other political writers now express the same opinion. Demaree Bess, in a recent issue of *The Saturday Evening Post*, reported from Berlin that there was "*a growing impression that . . . the same Soviet leaders who have made two previously mutually profitable deals with Germany are laying the groundwork for a third deal.*"

Every shred of evidence shows that the Soviets are relentlessly pursuing their policy in Germany with the definite goal of a third edition of a Moscow-Berlin axis. We have performed a careful job of research on the situation from European sources and herewith present our readers with the following documentation, not yet published by any American paper.

While the men of the Kremlin and their mouthpieces and stooges all over Europe and the rest of the world, as well as in the United States, continuously attack the United States for permitting Nazis in Western Germany, they usually portray the Soviet Zone as thoroughly denazified. The truth is indeed the contrary. Take, as an instance, the huge billboards which the Soviets have erected in the main sections of the Eastern part of Berlin. These billboards contain the following statement in German:

"*The leaders of the East German government, which was created as a result of the friendly support of our Soviet allies, appeal to all politically persecuted members of the former National-Socialist movement to return to the German homeland (Heimat) and help rebuild the country from its political and economic ruins. Every German who is being persecuted politically in West German capitalist zones should come to us and he will be received as a friend and a brother.*"

"PERSECUTED" NAZIS — WELCOME BY SOVIETS

One has to read this proclamation twice to realize fully its outrageous insolence. Mark the invitation: *"Every German who is being persecuted politically"* in Western Germany is asked to come to the Russian Zone, where he will be received *"as a friend and a brother."* In other words, all the Nazi criminals who live in Western Germany and feel themselves "persecuted" there will be forgiven their past if they join the Communists in Eastern Germany!

Another sample of this double-faced policy of the Soviets is revealed by what is taking place over the dismantling of German industry. On the one hand, Soviet leaders have been accusing the United States and Great Britain of preserving the German industrial potential in the Ruhr. At the same time, the German Communists under the benevolent sponsorship of the Soviet authorities have been permitted to blast the Western Allies for dismantling German industry! In recent weeks practically every issue of the German Communist press has hysterically blasted Great Britain and the United States for daring to dismantle certain German factories. In screaming headlines the Communist press denounced the Western Allies for ruining German industry, and those saboteurs who tried to hinder Allied dismantling by sabotage were called "German patriots."

DOUBLE-FACED RUSSIAN POLICY

In this connection, it is interesting to note that completely in line with this significant Soviet policy a number of German engineers were recently given the high honor of the so-called Stalin Prize. It is quite significant that these engineers are not nonentities but men in rather important positions. They are Willi Scheid, chief construction officer for technical equipment of the Krupp-Grauson factories; Ewald Eitge, technical director of the Krupp-Grauson factory; Albert Bellwinkel, director of the Polysius factories, and Erich Pfroetzschner, director of the steel and rolling mills in Riesa.

The Taegliche Rundschau, official organ of the Soviet military authorities in Berlin, reported that *"the bestowing of Stalin Prizes upon a group of German engineers will be considered a gesture of sympathy from the Soviet Union toward the progressive forces of the new democratic Germany. Once again the public has been given clear proof of the fact that German-Soviet friendship presents not something abstract but a reality of our days which benefits both people, the Germans as well as the Soviets."*

In recent weeks the American press has given attention to the Soviet-sponsored mass demonstration by the so-called Free German Youth. According to the Swiss newspaper *Der Bund* of Bern and of the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* of Munich, the Free German Communist Youth already has 2,000,000 members among the children and young people of the Eastern Zone. As many as 36,000 Youth Active groups and 13,000 youth so-called "production actives" are spread over the Eastern Zone. What the future role of this Free German Youth will be is best shown by a statement of its Saxonian chairman, Guenther Knauthahn. According to the *Frankfurter Rundschau,* Knauthahn, speaking at a meeting of the Free German Youth leadership, declared, *"We have to foster in the thinking of our youth a deep hatred of the Western powers and at the same time unlimited love for the Soviet Union."*

CARBON COPY OF HITLER YOUTH

Not only is the whole setup of the Free German Communist Youth a carbon copy of the Hitler Youth, but the whole atmosphere surrounding the marching German boys in their new blue shirts is an exact replica of German youth marching under Hitler. And of even greater significance is the fact that the Communist leaders deal with these marching German boys and girls exactly as Hitler dealt with his Nazi girls and boys.

To show their similarity, we present our readers with two excerpts from which they can draw their own conclusions. The text which follows at the left is from the Communist newspaper, *Leipziger Volkszeitung* of March 5, 1950—and the text at the right is from the Nazi newspaper, *Muenchner Neueste Nachrichten* of May 2, 1933:

"When the President arrived, he was greeted by the Young Pioneers and members of the Free German Youth with cheers, with a chorus and with gay songs. 'Not East, not West, not North, not South—only a United Germany blooms.' And 'We greet the friend of the youth, Wilhelm Pieck,' the Young Pioneers shouted to the President. He answered them, 'Be ready!' A mother lifted her child towards the President. He took it in his arms and chatted gaily with the surrounding people of Leipzig."

(*Communist Leipziger Volkszeitung of March 5, 1950*)

"Hitler Youth and Jungvolk who filled the streets in thick rows waited for hours for the Fuehrer. Again and again chorused Heils and the Horst Wessel were heard. Suddenly the band played the Badenweiler march song and the youth started to exult their Fuehrer. His car was surrounded and could advance only at a slow pace. Hitler shook all hands which were extended to him. Mothers lifted their children to his car; he spoke with them and with all young people who surrounded him enthusiastically."

(*Nazi Muenchner Neueste Nachrichten of May 2, 1933*)

"The 'Free German Youth' is a triumph of Communist creation," writes Tenold Sunde in a dispatch from Berlin to the N. Y. Daily News. *"Picking up captured Nazi tools, the Russians have shaped the Nazi Jugend Plan into an instrument which actually rules their area of occupied Germany."* The correspondent tells how *"banners, drums, torches, fanfare and medals"* are being used to enthuse the youth. And he adds: *"Without a blush the Russians are even reviving the myth of the German superman. The line about the bright blue-eyed blonde Nordic race is being fed by the Reds to children on their porridge spoons."*

THE NATIONAL FRONT

The Free German Youth is only one of the various Communist features copied from the Nazis. Another is the so-called National Front, which appeals to all Germans on the score of unity, notwithstanding their past Nazi affiliations. This National Front is a very clever scheme in which Marxism and Communism are deliberately played down while ultra-nationalism and the slogan of a strong united Germany, so dear to the hearts of all Germans, are played up. Perusing the German newspapers in the Soviet Zone, one finds that the slogans of the national front are being whipped up to the point of almost frantic hysteria.

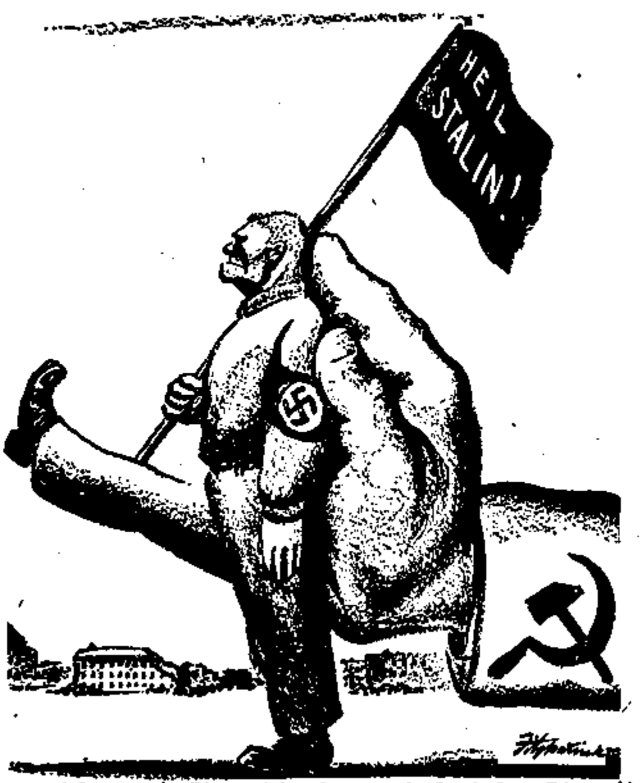
Significantly enough, former German nationalists, generals and officers and Nazis, are being used by the Russians to stir up the propaganda for the national front. The present Foreign Minister of the Soviet Zone German government, Dertinger is being pushed more and more into the foreground for propaganda purposes of the national front. Landrum Bolling, reporting for the Overseas News Agency, recently emphasized that Dertinger is now appealing *"to the Nationalists, the ex-Nazis, the unemployed generals, and discontented Germans across the whole political spectrum to sign up in a pro-Soviet national front."*

And Landrum Bolling added:

"In one of his most vigorous appeals to his countrymen the other day, Dertinger promised that if the Germans would join in close friendship with the Soviet Union and the nations which 'rule one-third of the earth,' they would achieve 'greatness, prosperity and freedom.'"

In his dispatch, the correspondent of the Overseas News Agency recalled a conversation which he had with Dertinger at the beginning of 1947, when the present Foreign Minister outlined to him the Soviet strategy for winning Germany and particularly non-Communist Germans. This is what Dertinger then told Bolling:

"The Russians make this argument. They say that Germany had one great statesman, Bismarck, who understood power politics and how to insure the best interests of Germany. The heart of his foreign policy, they remind us, was close friendship with Russia. But Kaiser Wilhelm II stupidly dropped Bismarck and his policies, got involved in war with Russia and brought ruin to Germany. Then during the 1920's *there was the Rapallo Agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany under which the two countries got together on many issues, and the Soviet Union helped Germany to rearm secretly. Then came Hitler who scrapped these policies, brought about another war with Russia and even worse ruin. Now, say the Russians, surely the Germans will not be so stupid again. They don't try to sell us Communism, but they insist that economically, politically and militarily Russia and Germany are natural partners and that historical necessity must bring us together."*



(*Cartoon by Fitzpatrick—Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch*)

Dertinger, now a puppet of his Soviet masters, once belonged to the ultra-nationalist Stahlhelm movement of Hugenberg and in pre-Hitler days was a member of the Herrenclub and a close friend of Herr von Papen. Everything he says today can be considered an official statement of the Soviets with regard to Germany. In a recent speech in the House of Soviet Culture in Berlin, Dertinger said that the Soviet Union wanted to unify Germany and wanted to see the evacuation of "enemy interventionist troops." He emphasized that friendship with the Soviet Union must be the "cornerstone of German foreign policy."

Thus, a man who not so long ago was a leading member of a nationalistic and reactionary German party and during the Hitler regime played the Nazi card, is being used by the Russians as official spokesman for Soviet policies.

RUSSIAN-BUILT GERMAN ARMY

On the subject of developments leading toward the new Russo-German alliance, it should be recalled that in these pages of *Prevent World War III* we have long ago exposed the so-called People's Police in the Soviet Zone. These para-military forces, supposedly with police functions, were in our opinion nothing but a scheme for the re-militarization of Eastern Germany by a German Communist military force. All our previous revelations on the character of the so-called people's police are now being confirmed in the daily press. Joseph Alsop, writing to the *New York Herald Tribune* from Frankfurt, Germany, recently stated: *"It is time to realize that this Russian-built German army of the future is no joke or newspaper rumor. The first para-military units appeared, within the larger mass of the ordinary East Zone police, over two years ago. In September,* 1949, *the para-military parts of the police were separated out, and placed under the command of the famous General Wilhelm Zaisser Gomez of Spanish Civil War fame. These units were then given a purely military character. By now these units 'of the main administration for training' already constitute a respectable militia."* After discussing this setup, the *New York Herald Tribune* columnist adds that *"the end result will be a German army of at least eight or ten divisions which should be ready not later than the spring of* 1953."

Speaking of Major Bechler, present Minister of the Interior of Brandenburg, who plays an important role in the command of the people's police army, Joseph Alsop emphasizes that he *"was once a member of the so-called national Bolshevism wing of the German general staff."* And he adds that *"in his person the old*

(*Continued next page*)

general staff is coming back to life." Our readers will recall that in our issue No. 23 of January-February, 1948, we were the first to expose the activities of Major Bechler.

HERR DR. OTTO STRASSER

Another scoop of *Prevent World War III* is now being confirmed by one of the nation's leading newspapers, *The Christian Science Monitor.* In our issue No. 31, Sept.-Oct., 1949, we revealed that Otto Strasser has started to flirt with the Russians and while advocating an outspokenly hateful attitude towards the Western Allies has cleverly started to endorse certain Russian policies toward Germany. We stated that according to our information *"the Russians are said to have been in secret communication with Strasser for some time."* And we added that *"it would not be surprising if this dangerous ex-Nazi soon might appear in the Russian Zone."* In its issue of April 12th, *The Christian Science Monitor* in a dispatch from Paris titled *"Hitler Henchman seen as Kremlin Instrument,"* writes:

"Otto Strasser, important henchman in Adolf Hitler's climb to power, is now seen moving again into the European picture, this time as an instrument of the Kremlin.

"Despite his being exiled in Canada and not allowed to return to Germany, Dr. Strasser's proved skill as a revolutionary is causing concern among some Western European authorities. . . .

"In his advances to the Russians, as well as in his propaganda among the West Germans, he is said to stress the need for a Russo-German alliance.

"He is also said to extol the virtues of 'National Bolshevism,' which would not be surprising at all, since it was Hitler's refusal in the early 1930's to make good his previous socialistic promises that made Dr. Strasser go into opposition and found the 'Black Front.'

"The Russians seem ready to make all kinds of concessions to draw Dr. Strasser to their side. . . ."

ANOTHER RIBBENTROP-MOLOTOV DEAL?

For careful observers of the German political scene it is not at all surprising that not only a large number of German conservatives and reactionaries recently have started to court the Russians but that outspoken neo-Nazis also see their chance in a new Russo-German pact. The *Washington Star*, in a recent editorial dealing with resurgent Nazism in Germany, stated that *"a conspiracy among certain anti-democratic political elements (is) waiting for the day when they will be able to rearm a new unified Reich and ally it with the Kremlin in another Ribbentrop-Molotov deal, but a deal that will stick."*

The same fear was expressed in a recent statement by Senator Guy M. Gillette of Iowa. Speaking of the resurgence of anti-democratic elements in Germany, he stated: *"Woven like a black thread through these reports is repeated evidence that some of these elements reemerging in Western Germany have a program of collaboration with the Soviet Union, looking to the day when the Allies withdraw from their occupation of Germany and an independent German state, dominated by enemies of democracy—whether National Bolshevists, Strasser Black Front Nazis, followers of the Haushofer geopolitical school or some other neo-Nazi movement—can proceed to ally itself in a new and fearsome totalitarian Axis with Soviet Russia. . . ."*

All these facts prove that the propaganda for a new Russo-German deal is definitely making headway. No doubt, the slogans of the Soviet-sponsored National Front appeal to a great number of former Nazis and to Neo-Nazis, and, in particular, the aggressive propaganda barrage for unification of the Fatherland, for the end of the occupation, and for an early peace treaty.

"HATE AMERICA" CAMPAIGN

Another feature that must enormously please the Neo-Nazis is the almost unbelievable degree to which the Soviets are whipping up anti-American hate propaganda in Germany. It is significant that Ernest Leiser of the Overseas News Agency in a recent dispatch from Berlin stated that the new *"Hate America"* campaign, *"unmatched even by the Nazis in the fury and frequency of its invective, is being waged today by the organizers of Communist propaganda throughout Eastern Germany and in Berlin."*

Here is what Ernest Leiser stated:

"(The theme of the "Hate America" campaign) is a simple and insulting one: tell the corrupt Americans to leave the Fatherland and go home. Behind the theme is an ugly threat: if the 'Amis' (Americans) do not comply voluntarily with this demand, the 'might of the workers' will force compliance.

"The new campaign has been brought home most immediately to United States personnel in Berlin by a series of recent incidents. On American cars, on streets or walls in front of American billets, the legend 'Go Home' has been scrawled. Through the mails have come pamphlets tersely making the same demand, some illustrated by a cartoon of a tough German worker shoving aside a 'dissolute' American GI."

A straight line leads from the frantic call for unification of the Fatherland to the hate propaganda against the U. S.; from the Free German Committee in Moscow to the wooing of the Nazi elements by the Russians; from Stalin's famous statement that *"the Germans and the Russians have the largest potentialities in Europe to complete great actions of significance,"* to the promises of a bright outlook if the German joins the Soviet Union.

All these factors, gathered together and projected against the background of Soviet power-policies in Germany, can produce only this conclusion: powerful forces are at work for the establishment of a new Moscow-Berlin axis, and the signing of a new Russo-German alliance. Such an alliance, as Erwin D. Canham recently stated in *The Christian Science Monitor, "would certainly loom gravely for the rest of the world."* E. T.

"John J. McCloy is the latest gullible to gulp hook, line and swastika the idea of making Germany a full-fledged ally. And U. S. correspondents report that Nazi officers are so certain Germany will soon have an army—they have dusted off their boots for another goose-stepping spree.

"Apparently McCloy never read a historian's classic warning: 'Beware of the German General Staff mentality. They believe that the human race begins with the lieutenant!' "

(Walter Winchell)

Hitler's Generals Create a Dangerous Myth

by

H. R. Trevor-Roper

The author is a don at Oxford University; a wartime intelligence officer, he wrote "The Last Days Of Hitler," based on his official investigation of the Fuehrer's death.
(Copyright by H. R. Trevor-Roper;
Courtesy The New York Times)

Shall the German army be revived? How often this problem emerges, with its temptations and misgivings, to disconcert Allied policy! Recently it emerged again, when the West German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, turned for advice on precisely this subject to *Gen. Kurt Manteuffel.* General Manteuffel was a tank commander in Hitler's war and is now associated with right-wing nationalist associations of ex-officers. Such associations have often influenced German politics in the past, turning generals into politicians—as they turned Seeckt and Hindenburg, Ludendorff and Schleicher after a previous defeat.

Will it happen again? That such a possibility is thought of was reflected by the United States High Commissioner in Germany, John J. McCloy, in his address at Stuttgart, Germany, when he warned there will be allowed no German army or air force.

It is difficult to read the future, yet there are some interesting hints. In particular, in the last year, Germans have heard a great deal of history concerning the politics of the generals under and against Hitler. The tenor of this history is, of course, that many of the generals weren't really Nazis, that they were, indeed, anti-Nazi.

General Halder, Chief of General Staff from 1938 to 1942, has written a pamphlet on "Hitler as a War Leader" which is said to have sold 100,000 copies on publication; *General Hoszbach,* who achieved an accidental celebrity by signing the minutes of the famous conference of Nov. 5, 1937, when Hitler announced his full program of aggression, has written a book and a pamphlet on the subject; and now *Gen. Hans Speidel,* Rommel's chief of staff, has published an interesting account of Rommel's part in the conspiracy against Hitler. Perhaps it is worth while to examine this anti-Nazi myth and ask: Is it history or propaganda?

Not that it is entirely new. In the last days of the war Hitler often used to maintain that the generals had betrayed him. Their minds "fossilized in obsolete traditions," they had resisted his nationalist and "proletarian" movement; they had resisted his strategical plans and sabotaged their tactical execution; they had conspired against his party and his person; and in the end he ascribed his ruin to them. By such statements he hoped to create, among future nationalists, a myth that his victorious radical party had not failed but had been "stabbed in the back" by cowardly conservative generals—just as in 1918 the victorious conservative generals had been "stabbed in the back" by cowardly radical politicians.

If nationalism revives in Germany, there may be a future in this myth. Meanwhile the generals are quite ready to accept it and convert it to their use. It is quite true, they say; they were anti-Nazi; their only regret is that they were unable to stab the party in the back more effectively, and sooner. If the rejection of Hitler by the Germans proves final, it may be this myth that will have the future.

Nor is it entirely mythological. British and American propaganda often represented Junkers and Nazis as being variants of the same form, and treated Nazism as a mere continuation of "Prussian militarism." In fact, they are very different, though the difference was often obscured in Germany as abroad. In recent German history there have been always two traditions struggling for predominance: the Prussian tradition, the tradition of the old General Staff, limited and practical in its aims, cold and rational in its methods, and politically conservative; and the nationalist tradition, the tradition of Southeast Germany, a tradition of unlimited claims, demanding unlimited conquest, mystical, Wagnerian, and—since Hitler—politically radical.

In the period of Hitler's rise to power the generals, thinking that they could control and use him, concealed the opposition of their aims, and so they can hardly blame foreigners for not having detected it. Later, when Hitler controlled and used them, they remembered it, and opposed him. Now that they are building up their claims as consistent anti-Nazis, they discreetly slide over the former period. Their books dwell exclusively on the latter. Let us glance at these books.

First of all, they have certain remarkable common features. All are clear and practical in their style and method. All are conservative in their political outlook, looking back to the Prussian heroes Clausewitz and Frederick the Great for military and political examples. All regard the army (in spite of their own politics in 1932-34) as a nonpolitical corporation concerned only with efficiency and the welfare of its members. All consider Hitler's crimes to be, in politics, his "politicization" of the army after 1937; in morals, his lack of responsibility for the welfare of his men (Hoszbach's pamphlet is actually entitled *"On Military Responsibility"*); and in strategy, his obstinacy in holding on to indefensible or useless fortresses instead of economizing effort and resources.

Altogether these three books can be regarded as witnesses to the traditional "Prussian" doctrine—in spite of the fact that they set out to justify three generals of whom one, Beck, was a Rhinelander; the second, Halder, is a Bavarian, and the third, Rommel, was a Swabian.

Such is the general character of these books; but if we are to test the theory they advance, we must look at them more closely, and a closer examination reveals certain interesting differences.

First let us look at Hoszbach. Hoszbach's hero is *General Beck,* who was Chief of General Staff until 1938. In the Beck period the leaders of the German armed forces had a policy which they were convinced was a rational and practical policy —a policy which they expected Hitler to support. Briefly, they wanted to expand the armed forces so as to insure that Germany would no longer be at the mercy of foreign intervention on trivial pretexts; but this expansion was to be both gradual and limited, to insure first, that professional standards should not be swamped, and second, that impractical plans of unlimited conquest should not be devised.

Unfortunately these conditions were not observed. By various maneuvers Hitler "politicized" the army; by over-rapid expansion he destroyed its traditions and professional continuity; then he announced an unpractical policy of unlimited conquest. The army leaders had not anticipated such a policy, and Beck, who was an honest and courageous man, promptly resigned and became, for the next six years, a consistent, indefatigable anti-Nazi conspirator. On the failure of his plot to murder Hitler in July, 1944, he committed suicide.

Had all the generals been Beck, they might indeed claim to have been consistently anti-Nazi. Unfortunately there was only one Beck. On his resignation he was succeeded by Halder.

Halder's pamphlet covers the period of his power, 1938-42. He is concerned with Hitler as a commander. He examines in detail the functions and characteristics of a good commander, asks whether Hitler can qualify for the title, and answers emphatically, no. Hitler, he allows, was an effective war leader, animating and driving the whole military machine, but he lacked the character of a great commander and his principles of strategy were positively disastrous—so disastrous, indeed, that after the enumeration of his successive blunders we are left wondering how Halder was able to serve him so long. He served him until 1942; then he was dismissed, and after the plot of July, 1944, joined other more consistent opponents of the regime in the concentration camp.

Finally we have *Rommel*. When Halder fell, Rommel was still at the height of his fame, puffed to the whole world as the great Nazi general; it is therefore rather surprising to find him, too, now featuring as an anti-Nazi hero, a general in the old Prussian tradition of Clausewitz. Still, there is no doubt of the facts, which were known from other sources even before Speidel's book gave them in detail.

By the beginning of 1944 Rommel was already in touch with the opposition. When he was entrusted with the defense of Western Europe against invasion he knew that his task was impossible, and said so. If the Allies landed, he said, and were not thrown back into the sea in the first forty-eight hours, all was over, for there was no operational reserve. Unfortunately he was quite unable to convey this view to Hitler. Hitler received Rommel and Rundstedt at Margival in France a fortnight after D-Day, and again twelve days later in Berchtesgaden; but it was no good. Hitler kept them waiting, would not see them alone, refused to accept responsibility, ordered useless fortresses to be held at all costs, promised miraculous new V-weapons, and talked irrelevantly of such other miracles as the death of the Czarina which had extricated Frederick the Great from his similar predicament. Rommel replied by committing himself more deeply to the opposition.

Finally on July 15 he sent Hitler what Dr. Speidel calls an ultimatum—in fact simply an analysis of a hopeless military position ending with the words, *"I must beg you immediately to draw the political consequences from this situation."* When he had sent it he said to a friend, *"I have given him his last chance. If he does not respond, we must act."* Two days later Rommel's staff-car was wrecked by raiding British aircraft on a road in Normandy and Rommel disappeared into a hospital. Three days after that Stauffenberg made his attempt on Hitler's life.

When Rommel recovered, all was over. The plot had failed, Rommel's name had been mentioned, and the convalescent field marshal was visited by two loyal generals who invited him out for a drive. Before going, Rommel said to his wife: *"In a quarter of an hour I shall be dead. I have had an order from Hitler either to take poison or to face the People's Court."* Then he stepped into the car. After a short drive the two generals arrived at a hospital in Ulm and delivered the dead body of the field marshal. He had succumbed to a sudden heart attack, they said, but there was to be no autopsy—everything had already been fixed in Berlin, including a magnificent state funeral and a pompous monumental tombstone for the great soldier *"whose heart"* (as Rundstedt sycophantically declared) *"belonged to the Fuehrer."*

Such is the content of these three books. As far as facts are concerned, I am satisfied that it is true. But what about the theory—the theory that the generals as a class were sympathetically opposed to Hitler? The very evidence adduced to support it in fact demolishes it entirely. It is quite true that there is a Prussian tradition incompatible with Nazism—indeed, opposite to it. It is quite true that Beck represented this tradition and that others afterward appealed to it. But the theory that "the generals" represented that tradition is quite untenable. If they had done so they would have resigned with Beck. In fact, as the careers of Halder and Rommel show, they betrayed it.

By 1938 the facts were clear—the Prussian tradition was defeated, Hitler had captured control of the army and was preparing to use it for nationalist adventures. At that point, when Beck logically resigned, Halder undertook to serve Hitler's ambitions, and when Halder went (not by resignation but by dismissal) it was because he disagreed not with Hitler's politics, but with his strategy. Beck rejected Nazism when it was clear that he could not control it. Halder nowhere attacks Nazism, only Hitler; and he attacks Hitler not for his policy of conquest (after all, he accepted office after this had been clearly declared), but for his strategic methods.

The implication of Hoszbach's book is that "the generals" would never have launched Hitler's disastrous war of conquest; the implication of Halder's is that "the generals would have won even that war. Hoszbach implies that "the generals" opposed Hitler's program as wrong; Halder that Hitler, by refusing the cooperation of "the generals," bungled a program which, if successful, would have been right. These two implications neatly cancel each other out.

And what of Rommel? Speidel suggests that if Rommel had been at his post the opposition would have succeeded in destroying Hitler and making peace. He gives no evidence for such a view, and there is good evidence against it. By 1944 most of the generals—even Kluge and Fromm, whose vacillation wrecked the chances of the conspiracy, even Rundstedt, who afterward presided over the Court of Honor which condemned the plotters—opposed Hitler's military strategy, and Rommel can claim no special merit for sharing their views.

Where the generals failed was in political sense, and there is nothing to suggest that Rommel was politically any more determined than the rest. Indeed, the evidence suggests that he had less, not more, political sense. Besides, when and why did Rommel go into opposition? Almost unawares Speidel lets it out. *"After El Alamein he first spoke against Hitler's dreams of world conquest."* Comment is unnecessary. It was not a difference of political principle that made Rommel a conspirator—it was military defeat.

In fact it was the same with all the generals. Few indeed had any positive political principles. Logically they should have gone into opposition in 1938, like Beck; in fact they hung on, individually surrendering to their new masters. Sometimes they salved their consciences with patriotic slogans, sometimes they remembered their economic needs, sometimes they reflected that perhaps Hitler was reverting to "Prussian" traditions after all, sometimes they maintained that it would

Neo-Nazis Continue to Appeal to the Kremlin

Who is behind Bruno Fricke and his campaign for a new Russo-German alliance? What role does Otto Strasser play in this blackmail campaign?

". . . we will not hesitate for one moment to conclude an alliance with Stalin for the defense of the Fatherland and our people."

". . . The one-sided emphasis of our (the German) attachment to the Occident and of our common cultural and religious achievements has led to the false conclusions that we (Germans) have surrendered for better or for worse to the West. This is not at all the case and it must be said clearly and distinctly!"

In No. 33 of *Prevent World War III* (January-February, 1950) we presented an article titled *"Neo-Nazis Appeal to the Kremlin"* in which we drew attention to an *"Open Letter to Stalin"* published by the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung* of Chicago on November 17, 1949. This official organ of the *German-American Citizen's League of Illinois* is printed partly in English, partly in German and is generally recognized as one of the foremost pro-German mouthpieces in this country.

This *"Open Letter to Stalin,"* which was published under a screaming headline across six columns of the front page, was nothing but an offer of the hand of friendship to Stalin and Soviet Russia. It was an insolent insult to the United States (*"We national Germans do not want to have anything to do with the Yankees, with their capitalistic exploitation and their political arrogance. . . ."*) and an offer to ally forces with Soviet Russia against the Western world. The Open Letter was signed by one Bruno Fricke with no clue to the town or city of its origin. The tone of the letter indicated that it might have been written in Germany by a former Nazi because the very first paragraph stated that the writer was *"speaking here as a representative of a great part of my volksgenossen."*

In exposing this sensational *"Open Letter to Stalin"* in *Prevent World War III,* we were very well aware of the significance of the document and the dangerous repercussions of what may well be considered a trial balloon. We are very glad indeed that our scoop was picked up by newspapers in the United States and in Europe. For instance, the latest report of the "International Committee for the Study of European Questions," whose headquarters are in London and which counts among its directors such well known political personages as Lord Vansittart, Lord Brabazon, Paul Reynaud, Maurice Schuman, etc., quoted extensively from our exposé of the *"Open Letter to Stalin"* of the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung.*

A large number of leading European newspapers mentioned the *"Open Letter to Stalin"*; *The New York Times* in its issue of April 2 in a front-page dispatch from London referred to the *"Open Letter to Stalin"* and to the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung. The Christian Science Monitor* of April 12th also ran a front-page dispatch from Paris mentioning the *"Open Letter to Stalin"* and the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung.*

WHO IS BRUNO FRICKE?

When we first published this exposé in *Prevent World War III,* we knew little about Bruno Fricke, the author of the Open Letter. We have since investigated his identity and now are able to present the following highly interesting information: For more than twenty years Bruno Fricke has been a close collaborator of Otto Strasser. He wrote the preface to the German edition of Strasser's book, *Hitler and I,* which appeared in 1940 in Buenos Aires. Fricke for a long time was the Argentine representative of Strasser and was chief of Strasser's Free German movement in Argentina. (The organization has since been disbanded.) It is said that Fricke once was a member of the ill-famed Free Corps *Rossbach,* one of the murderous political gangs which mushroomed in Germany after the First World War.

Carefully comparing the text and wording of Bruno Fricke's *"Open Letter to Stalin"* with the writings of Otto Strasser, one draws the conclusion that Fricke's writing has very strange similarities with that of Strasser. As a matter of fact, a large number of phrases and expressions are almost identical. For example, both Fricke and Strasser call Adenauer's government the *"Hacha government."* Both use standard phrases like from *"Beuthen to the Saar. . . ."*

Another significant fact is that the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung* of Chicago, which published the *"Open Letter to Stalin,"* prints articles by Otto Strasser in practically every issue. It seems therefore

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be disgraceful to oppose the Government in the hour of defeat, sometimes that it would be imprudent to oppose it in the hour of victory.

In the end it was not intellectual consistency but the fact of defeat that brought them all temporarily together.

A more positive legend may yet grow out of these vindications of "the generals" in politics. Nevertheless, I do not think that it will be very significant. Not because it is untrue —for legends, in politics, can often be more effective than truth—but because the persons behind it are in reality unpolitical and divided. Whatever they say now, they were never a party and their politics were ineffective. Their writings now are an apologia for the past, not a program for the future.

almost certain that nobody but Otto Strasser is the instigator of Fricke's "Open Letter to Stalin."

All the pieces of the puzzle fall into place when one recalls that various sources report that Otto Strasser has recently been in secret contact with the Soviets. Having been an oldtime Nazi who broke with Hitler only for personal reasons, Strasser has always been considered an exponent of what is generally called National Bolshevism.

CONTACTS WITH OTTO STRASSER

It seems that the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung* maintains close contact with Strasser. It not only prints his articles, but the issue of March 2, 1950, prominently featured on the front page Strasser's appeal to President Truman, written from his present residence in Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, Canada, asking for permission to return to Germany. It would seem that Strasser is using the German-language Chicago newspaper as a platform from which to launch his trial balloons.

In the meantime, Bruno Fricke has written a second article, a kind of follow-up of his "*Open Letter to Stalin.*" This article, too, was published by the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung,* in its issue of April 27. It was titled "*Possibilities of German Foreign Policy.*" In this second article, Fricke refers openly to Otto Strasser's writings. The first part of his article deals in general terms with German-French relations and the European federation. It is an exact replica of the ideas usually expressed by Strasser. What interests us more, however, is the second part of Fricke's article, which is a blatant confirmation of the ideas advanced in the "*Open Letter to Stalin.*"

First, Fricke deplores that the policies of Western Europe for some time now are being made in Washington and that the European nations, including England, have fallen into "*almost hopeless dependency upon the United States.*" Then Fricke adds the following statement:

"*Therefore a direct understanding of Germany with North America would remain a political possibility; but, in view of the aversion of the leading circles in New York against such an understanding it is almost out of the question.*" Then Fricke goes on to tell his readers the nonsense that Bernard Baruch(!), who is pictured as a representative of New York High Finance, looks with great hatred upon the reconstruction of Germany and—"*would rather come to terms with Moscow on the spheres of influence in the world than give Germany and Europe even the smallest chance*"(!!)

"TOGETHER WITH MOSCOW"

Bruno Fricke then goes on to "explain" why he wrote his "*Open Letter to Stalin.*" Taking the line that he is acting only in the interests of Germany, he tried to "explain" that the Germans have the very same right to ally themselves with Moscow to gain their liberty as the Western allies had when they made a similar alliance with Moscow against Hitler!

Here is a part of Fricke's article literally translated:

STRASSER ADVOCATES "ARMED NEUTRALITY"

As we go to press, our attention is directed to an article by Otto Strasser titled "*Europe's Best Chance — Neutrality,*" published by the Swiss weekly, *Die Wochen Zeitung,* of Zurich. In this article Otto Strasser bluntly asks, "*Does it make any sense for Germany to become the buffer-state for the Western Allies?*"

The new line laid down by Strasser coincides with the one advocated by a large number of German politicians and generals—namely, that it would be foolish for the Germans to fight with the Western Allies. Writes Otto Strasser:

"*Whatever the men of Bonn might say, a majority of the German people is against participation in a war; the German people are* 95 *per cent opposed to the role of foreign legionnaires in the interests of the Western Powers! If German officers and men once again take up arms it will be only for the unity and liberty of Germany 'from Aachen to Beuthen, from the Memel to the Saar,' for a Germany that belongs as an equal partner to the West.*"

In view of the situation, states Otto Strasser, the best solution for Germany would be an "*armed neutrality towards Washington as well as toward Moscow!*"

Here you have it stated clearly: Germany is to maintain *armed* neutrality towards the West as well as towards the East, which means that Germany is to be rearmed, but will not participate with either side in a coming war. The conclusion to be drawn is that Germany would arm and be as strong as possible, remain neutral, and in the final and decisive stages of a war could throw herself on the side of the victor. The idea thus sketched is simply that Germany is to wait watchfully and look out only for her own interest. This interest calls for Germany to take a so-called "neutral" position in order to be strong enough to play a decisive role after the two main belligerents have been bled white.

But Otto Strasser goes further: He advocates this policy not only for Germany but for the other Western European powers. He suggests that Germany, France and Spain form some kind of "defensive and offensive alliance" into which Italy, Portugal and the Benelux countries could later enter. This proposal seems to us to be a cloak for the main idea—namely, to suggest a definite line of policy for Germany—which would make Germany eventually a beneficiary of any major conflict.

"*We have the same right as the Western world had when it made common cause with Moscow in fighting for the liberty of its peoples against Hitler's oppression. If the West does not grant us our liberty—we will and we want to fight together with Moscow for the liberty of our people against Western oppression. As soon as Stalin believes it opportune to cooperate with a free and sovereign German people (within the borders of* 1938) *and as soon as the necessary preconditions have been created, we will not hesitate one minute to conclude with him an alliance for the defense of our Fatherland and our people. The one-sided emphasis of our attachment to the Occident and of our common cultural and religious achievements has led to the false conclusions that we Germans have surrendered for bet-*

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An Unpleasant Task

Webster defines a contradiction as the "status or fact of contradicting each other; logical incompatibility." Judging from the testimony presented to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by Mr. Robert M. Hanes, chief of the ECA mission in Germany, American aims in Germany may properly be characterized as logically incompatible. Yet additional millions have been requested to support this conglomeration of inconsistencies which come under the heading of American policy in Germany.

The American people have suffered defeat in China and billions of the taxpayers' money have been squandered due to the fact that our so-called experts tried to combine the possible with the impossible. Must we now be subjected to a Chinese fiasco in Germany? It is one thing to support a policy which, however incorrect it may be in the long run, is at least honest, purposeful, clear, and consistent. The human mind is far from infallible and allowances can be made for error in judgment. But to pursue actions which are mutually self-contradictory is not even a wrong policy, it is sheer bankruptcy.

We have no doubt that if the average taxpayer had the opportunity to study Mr. Hanes' testimony, he would be outraged at the thought that the ECA could appeal to Congress to support a hodge-podge of conflicting aims in Germany, which have already drained billions out of the United States Treasury. Since it is well-nigh impossible for most people to read and digest Mr. Hanes' testimony, we have decided to extract the most glaring of its contradictions.

1. Mr. Hanes from the outset insisted that German industrial production is still inadequate and inefficient "*by American standards.*" He declared that German industrial production can and should be raised to "*at least*" 120% of 1936. On the other hand, Mr. Hanes told the Senators that it was the intention of the Allies to prevent Germany from regaining a war potential in her industries.

But the State Department, in one of its earlier publications on U. S. economic policy toward Germany, had this to say about the year 1936: "*The reduction* (*in German productive capacity*) *from* 1936 *and* 1938 *levels will have less effect upon the German consumer . . . because the German economy in those years was heavily geared to war preparations and therefore achieved production totals far higher than would correspond to the standard of consumption actually enjoyed by German citizens*" . . . *Even in* 1936 *a great part of German imports was devoted to making armaments and accumulating war reserves.*"

Notwithstanding, Mr. Hanes urges a 120% increase over 1936, and yet he assures the Senate Committee that Germany's war potential is a thing which must and will be kept down by the Allies.

2. Mr. Hanes tried to convince the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that the key to German recovery was production. "*Above all,*" he declared, "*production must be increased . . .*" Mr. Hanes went on to say that Germany must be permitted to trade freely in the world markets and that everything should be done to break down trade barriers between other countries and Germany. In this connection, he told the Senators that the Germans are already producing all sorts of machine tools, printing presses, etc., for the world markets. But when Senator Fulbright observed that the amount being produced was not enough to pay for all of Germany's imports, Mr. Hanes said: "*If they could sell it they could still not balance all of the payments; they would not be able to sell what they produce.*" Senator Fulbright then asked Mr. Hanes if he did not see "*any increased tendency to limitation of production on our part, on these sales abroad.*" Mr. Hanes replied, "*I think you also have to take into consideration the safety factor there. I think there would be great repercussions in our country if we let the Germans go full ahead and manufacture steel on any sort of basis and aluminum too.*"

Thus we have it straight from Mr. Hanes that the key to German recovery is all out production, and on the other hand that all out German production would not only fail to obtain markets to balance existing deficits, but would produce severe repercussions in the United States; therefore, German production must be limited. . . . The confusion continues. . . .

3. Mr. Hanes told the Senate Committee that "*we have spent billions of dollars to eradicate Nazism from the world.*" But when asked whether our Allies still considered Germany to be a danger, he said, "*I think they still fear Germany, sir.*" When one of the Senators inquired whether Mr. Hanes personally believed that Germany constituted a threat to the security of Western Europe, Mr. Hanes answered, "*Yes, I think the Ger-*

(*Continued from page* 32)

ter or for worse to the West. This is not at all the case and it has to be said clearly and distinctly!

"*More than ever, and all the more because other supports totter, we will have to rely upon our people and our Fatherland and we all have to think and to act solely as its interest requires!*

"*A good old proverb says 'Who pays the price can take the bride home!'* "

COMMON CAUSE WITH STALIN

These paragraphs need no comment. They speak for themselves. They show what is going on at present in the minds of ex-Nazis, neo-Nazis and ultra-nationalistic and chauvinistic Germans. The ideas expressed in these lines by Bruno Fricke—or rather Otto Strasser—are the typical blackmail of the gangster. The Western Allies are told that they must give the Germans what the Germans want; and if they don't the Germans will not hesitate for a moment to make comon cause with Stalin and Soviet Russia against them!

Some people may say that Strasser, Fricke and their ilk do not speak for all the Germans. This may be true at the present. But we dare not minimize and underestimate the impending danger. Strasser, Fricke and their ilk may not *yet* speak for the Germans in general. But we do know from experience how easily the Germans are impressed by fanatical rabble-rousers and we know that the Germans can be sold on the idea of this kind of National Bolshevism.

We therefore think that the United States authorities, together with the Canadian officials, ought to keep a careful watch on the activities of Strasser, Fricke and their clique.

mans are a threat."

Now if we have spent billions of dollars to eradicate Nazism, it would seem that the threat of Germany would no longer be a problem to the security of the United States or of Western Europe. But if the threat still remains, then what did those billions of dollars do and where did they go? Mr. Hanes, of course, made no attempt to reconcile these irreconcilables.

4. Mr. Hanes, however, continued to stick to the point that Germany *"has a very particular place in the Marshall Plan."* He said, *"Germany is the crux of the European problem. In order to solve the German as well as the European problem, Western Germany must be tied as closely as possible to Western Europe and must not only be permitted but encouraged to buy and sell in the international markets."*

When Senator Lodge asked Mr. Hanes if there was a competitive economy in Germany or whether it was still a *"cartel or monopoly proposition,"* Mr. Hanes retorted: *"the cartels are still operating."*

No one will deny the need for expansion of trade among nations, but everyone knows that the most deadly enemy of an expanding world market and free trade is the German cartel network. Just how the ECA proposes to weld together the German cartel and American concepts of free trade is something which remains a mystery.

5. The solicitude that the ECA shows for German economic interests is overwhelming. Mr. Hanes told the Senate Committee that *"the ECA mission is confident . . . that the near future will see other European nations buying more from Germany which could arrest the existing trend and indeed lead to the reestablishment of a German export surplus with Western Europe."* This was his answer to the problem of balancing Germany's exports and imports, thereby relieving the American taxpayers from dumping additional billions of dollars into Germany to meet the deficit.

It is understandable that Mr. Hanes should want to see German trade flourish. After all, this is supposed to be one of ECA's major responsibilities and it would be a credit to it if this were achieved. But at whose expense?

If the key to the solution of Germany's dollar deficit lies in the reestablishment of a German export surplus with Western Europe, who will make up the deficit of the Western European countries which are also dollar starved? Where are these countries going to get the hard cash to satisfy German economic recovery? Everybody knows where these countries have obtained it in the past. If Mr. Hanes' hopes come true, then the United States will be pouring additional billions into Western Europe so as to relieve Germany's dollar deficit. It does not take a student of economics to see that this is a policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

As early as January 13, 1949, *News From France,* published by the French Embassy in the United States, made the following observation: *"The present policy of the United States—British military authorities in Germany supported by the American administration of the Marshall Plan—tends to give priority to the recovery of German industry, causes France to fear that in the near future Western Germany, relieved of the need to pay reparations and again in possession of her industrial power, will be in a position to become arbiter of the economic recovery of Western Europe and politically to set East against West and the Allies against each other, according to circumstances, thus nullifying the efforts of the peace-loving nations for the stabilization of the Continent."* The fears of our Allies are not at all mollified by ECA's particular concern for German economic interests.

WHERE IS MARSHAL KESSELRING?

According to a copyrighted story on the front page of the Swiss weekly, *Die Wochen Zeitung* of Zurich (April 26), Nazi Air Marshal Kesselring, who was sentenced to death as a war criminal and whose sentence was later commuted to life-imprisonment, has escaped from Germany and is presently in Spain. According to the Swiss paper, a Britisher, living in Switzerland who recently returned from Madrid, states that he has definitely seen Kesselring in Spain.

"It is not the Nazis I am afraid of this time, it is their progenitors, the three-quarters Nazis, the nice respectable people like (Alfred) Hugenberg who made Hitler. They are all over the country, with their little private circles, making staffs for a political army to come. But this time there are no metaphysics, no philosophy, no ideology, no program. This time they will come as 'practical' men, people who know how to manage things and put them in order."

(From a speech by Carlo Schmid, Socialist leader in Western Germany)

6. Speaking about dollar imports into Germany, Senator Lodge asked Mr. Hanes why the Germans could not obtain some of their cotton and wheat from non-dollar areas. To this Mr. Hanes replied: *"Frankly, they have free dollars from the United States. . . ."*

Senator Lodge rightfully observed, *"that is not giving the American taxpayer a break."*

Senator Lodge really hit the nail on the head, and so did Mr. Hanes. The reason American taxpayers have been obliged to hand over billions to the Germans since the end of the war lies in the very fact that the Germans have been assured of these handouts year after year no matter how little they do to earn their own bread and butter. There is no incentive on their part to earn their own way, when Uncle Sam stands ready to provide them with every little thing they need. That is why the American taxpayers are not getting a break.

We could go on discussing ECA's policies on Germany, but we think the above gems are sufficient to show that what is called American policy in Germany today is nothing more than a maze of contradictions and inconsistencies which the American taxpayers have subsidized to an estimated amount of close to $6,000,000,000 since V-Day. In other words, out of the $24,000,000,000 which the American people have given to the world since the end of the war, the Germans have received about 25 percent. This is the result of what is now called America's policy in Germany.

Only when the Germans are taken off the backs of the American taxpayers and told to work out their own destiny, will we have a real policy and will it work.

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

DEMOCRATIZING GERMANY

From an article by Joseph Mire in the "ADA World":

"In 1935, a certain Dr. Hans Globke published in Munich a commentary on the new German racial laws. These laws, Dr. Globke explained approvingly, 'mean a renunciation of the liberalistic idea of the equality of human beings. . . . A nation can flourish only if the leadership is entrusted to the elite. . . . Only those of German blood can be citizens.' For the unfortunate and unhappy victims of Nazi Germany's racial legislation, Dr. Globke had this comforting thought: 'They should have chosen their parents more carefully.'

"Today, this same Dr. Globke is head of the personnel office for German government of Western Germany. . . ."

★

GERMAN DUMPING

Michael L. Hoffman in a dispatch to "The New York Times" from The Hague:

"The Netherlanders have a strong suspicion that German manufacturers are dumping industrial products in the export markets.

"The Government is keeping a close eye on the evidence coming in from Netherland and other business agencies concerning German prices. It gets an increasing number of reports that German companies are offering prices 30, 40 and even 50 per cent below their competitors under circumstances in which the Germans could not possibly have that much cost advantage. . . ."

★

ANTI-SEMITISM REVIVED

The "Frankfurter Rundschau," a vigorous and independent newspaper, carried a Hamburg dispatch at the top of its front page, under a bold headline: "Anti-Semitic Demonstrations in Harlan Trial"; "Onlookers Threaten Woman Witness and Reporter." It told in meticulous detail of an outburst in the trial of Veit Harlan, Nazi producer of the Hitler-time propaganda film, "Jew Suess," for crimes against humanity. More than 100 spectators at the trial broke into an uproar during a verbal attack on Harlan by a half-Jewish witness. After the hearing ended, they threatened and insulted the witness outside the court, shouting, "Jewish pig! What are you doing here in Germany? We don't want you. Go away!"

★

IMPERTINENCE . . .

The ONA reports from Germany that "it is safe to say that impertinence and irresponsibility from top German officials themselves finally 'got under Mr. McCloy's skin.'" That was clearly shown when McCloy became frankly angry when Wuerttemberg-Baden's Minister, President Reinhold Maier, contemptuously defied the Americans in stating that "We (Germans) want nothing more to do with school"—meaning Allied instruction!

"TOO FEW JEWS WERE KILLED"

From a newspaper dispatch datelined Munich:

"Police in the Bavarian town of Groebenzell have seized some 50 posters declaring that Too Few Jews Have Been Killed, it was reported here today.

"The local police investigation, begun after the intervention of Bavarian Commissioner for Persecutees Philip Auerbach, has revealed that the town's mayor, ex-Nazi Richard Sturm, is implicated in the affair. . . ."

★

ADENAUER'S TRUE FACE

From a dispatch by Ernest Leiser to the Overseas News Agency:

". . . Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, according to a number of his own advisers, is absolutely determined to press for a relaxation of United States, British and French controls over German Federal policy, especially foreign policy. To achieve that end . . . he has demonstrated his readiness to denounce the Allies, hint at German defection from the Western community, hint at resignation. He has shown a cold anger at Allied restrictions and a defiance of Allied disapproval of his actions to achieve wider sovereignty. . . ."

★

WILLFUL SLANDER

From an AP dispatch from Frankfurt, Germany, published in the "Chicago Tribune":

"The German weekly, 'Gerichtszeitung,' was suspended . . . for one month by the Allied high commission. The announcement said the weekly printed a 'completely unsubstantiated' report of 'alleged atrocities committed against German prisoners of war in France during 1945-46.' The article 'must be regarded as a willful slander which can only serve to prejudice the prestige and security of the Allied powers,' it added. . . ."

★

SMEARS AND LIES

This is how the editorial writer of the infamous "Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger-Zeitung" of Chicago who signs himself Politicus blasts our French Allies:

". . . There is another country which joined the war against Germany, and which country uses, as an excuse of her steal of German soil, that Germany made war on her three times since 1870. That this is a false lie is known by anybody who knows history. The war of 1870-71 was brought on by Napoleon, the French kaiser, who needed a war to strengthen his wobbly throne. In the first as well as the second world war, France had no reason for warring against Germany. Her joining the others resulted only from a desire to gain something at Germany's expense — something which France has done thru the centuries. She stole Alsace-Lorraine from Germany when the latter country was too weak to resist powerful France, and she has acted that way ever since. Luck, so far, has been with her. In 1871, Germany proved to be a very mild victor and permitted France to rise again swiftly. . . ."

ATTACKS AGAINST AMERICANS

From a dispatch by Ernest Leiser from Frankfurt to the Overseas News Agency:

"A noticeable increase in physical attacks on United States personnel throughout the United States occupation zone by Germans has been recorded by U. S. Military Police officials. . . .

"It was, in fact, only after the numbness of defeat had long worn off and the Germans were growing again in prosperity and self-assertion—both fostered by the United States—that any attacks on American military and civilian personnel become noticeable. . . .

"In recent months, the number of 'incidents' of this kind recorded by Army Criminal Investigation agents has mounted noticeably. Scarcely a day passes without some report of assault somewhere in the United States zone. . . ."

★

SOVIET DUPLICITY

From a Berlin dispatch in the German newspaper, "Rhein Neckar-Zeitung" of Heidelberg:

"The chief of the Politburo of the SED, Socialist Unity Party, in Berlin, Herr Dahlem, stated at a meeting that the Communist-sponsored National Front should also comprise the right-wing radical groups in Western Germany. In his opinion, all former German generals in the Soviet Zone should—and he emphasized that this was the particular wish of Moscow—try to establish a 'fruitful cooperation with the Nationalist groups in Western Germany.' He added that for this purpose Moscow is ready to put Westmark money of any amount at their disposal. Significantly, at this meeting of the Politburo of the SED the former Free German Committee Generals Lattmann, Wulz, Korfes and Ulex participated."

★

NAZI CRIMINALS ACQUITTED

From Munich, Germany, it is reported:

"A German civil court acquitted Col. Oswald Schaeffer, former chief of the Gestapo in Munich of charges of crimes against humanity. Also cleared with Col. Schaeffer was his assistant, Dr. Richard Lebkuechner. Both were released immediately.

"The validity of the Allied occupation statute providing for the punishment of persons guilty of crimes against humanity is currently being challenged by German attorneys for four Nazis convicted on this charge. The defense has carried the case to the highest German court in the British zone, arguing that the occupation status is invalid since the appearance of the West German Constitution. The case has aroused great interest. . . ."

★

THE NEW GERMAN ARMY

Kathleen McLaughlin in a dispatch to "The New York Times" from Berlin:

"Two youthful members of the so-called 'people's police' of the Soviet zone were found guilty in the Lichterfelde Military Government Court of being members of a para-military unit.

"The defendants, Wilhelm Roloff and Heinz Erich Nocht, were arrested in the Neukoeln section of the United States sector of Berlin. With six companions, all in 'people's police' uniforms, they were riding in a truck in which were found an assault rifle and ten pistols plus ammunition. . . .

"During night training the 'people's police' carried such weapons as carbines, light machineguns, heavy machineguns, and grenade throwers, Herr Roloff said.

"Herr Nocht said that in his circle of acquaintances there was generally known to be at least thirty-six 'alert' units. The total strength of each unit is between 800 and 1,000 men, he declared. . . .

"The instructors are German and Russian officers."

★

ANTI-ALLIED HATE BOOK

Dr. Austin J. App's anti-Allied smear book, "History's Most Terrifying Peace," which represents an outward apology for Nazi crimes, has been translated into German by E. J. Reichenberger and is supposed to be released shortly by an Austrian publishing house. As reported in the German-language newspaper, "Nord Amerika" of Philadelphia, advance orders should be addressed to the Veritas Verlag, Munich 9, Postbox. The question arises why the Allied occupation authorities should permit the publication in Germany of such a pro-Nazi biased, anti-Allied hate book.

"A systematic attempt to glorify the military men who served Hitler is under way in Germany with a 'Rommel Myth' as its main emphasis. . . . No less than six prominent publications—including the British-supervised newspaper, *Die Welt* — have been running series of articles on the exploits of the late Nazi Field Marshal Erwin Rommel. . . .

"The leading flier in Hermann Goering's Luftwaffe, former Maj. Gen. Hans Ulrich Rudel, is being similarly and extravagantly described in two leading magazines, *'Die Strasse'* and *'Der Stern.'* The latter, narrating his exploits in shooting down Allied airmen, asks editorially if 'this is not the kind of man we need to help reconstruct Germany.' It then proceeds to tell proudly of the part he is playing today in building up the Argentine Air Force, along with his brother officers.

"Then, in recent weeks, there has been a rash of articles glorifying the 'Iron Chancellor' of imperial days, Bismarck. A public-opinion poll which listed the Prussian militarist as the greatest man Germany has produced has been followed by a series of newspaper and magazine profiles.

"On the other hand, a number of publications of the 'new press' — that which has sprung up since the end of licensing—have ventured as close to the borderline of outright neo-Nazism or militarism as they dared.

"Perhaps the most blatant of such new publications in its appeals to authoritarianism has been the *Deutsche Reichzeitung*, newspaper of the near-Nazi 'Socialist Reichs Party.' Run by Gerhard Krueger, onetime assistant editor of the Nazi organ *Voelkischer Beobachter*, it calls for a 'united Socialist' Reich on the Nazi pattern, but 'without its excesses.' "

(Ernest Leiser in a dispatch to ONA)

LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON

From an AP dispatch from Frankfort:

"Anti-Jewish posters appeared in the Frankfort suburb of Offenbach today. At the same time investigators found signs of Nazism in the recent desecration of a Jewish cemetery in Frankfort.

"Police blamed small boys for this previous incident. Today police reported to United States officials that the boys' fathers were members of the Nazi party for many years."

NAZI PROPAGANDISTS

"The Veterans of Foreign Wars have protested that the Justice Dept. has allowed five German nationals, who worked for the Nazi Radio Berlin throughout the war, to remain in this country and take jobs, contrary to U. S. immigration laws. . . .

"The VFW declared that the Germans have stayed here, long after expiration of their temporary visas, to work for a recording company which is doing 'special work' for the Justice Dept. As a result, one veteran employed by the company was fired.

"The five Germans were brought here in 1949 to testify in the treason trials of Mildred Gillars ('Axis Sally') and Herbert J. Burgman.

"The Germans are Mary Ann Heilbecker, Ilsa Hoffman, Runi Noback, Paul Noback, and Elizabeth Schulz. Their testimony at the treason trials was to identify the defendants as having made broadcasts, records of which were presented as evidence. . . ."

"WE WILL NEVER PAY IT BACK"

Jack Raymond in the N. Y. Times:

"An elite state under Prussian leadership modeled after Mussolini's corporate state and existing in a Europe unified through war if necessary—is the goal of the Socialist Reich party, Dr. Fritz Dorls, its leader, explained in an interview. . . .

"Dr. Dorls is a member of the Bundestag. He holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History. He was a non-commisisoned officer in the Wehrmacht. And, he emphasized, 'I was a Nazi party member from 1929 to the very end—to the very end!' . . .

"Appealing to youth, the party offers the magic words, 'Socialist' and 'Reich,' in its title, and a bona fied Nazi hero—Maj. Gen. Otto Ernst Remer, the man who is said to have foiled the July 20, 1944, plot against Hitler—among its leaders. . . .

"The credo of Dr. Dorls is 'action.'

"His slant on history is that Hitler sought to unify Europe. Even if that meant war, it was a better concept than 'the criminal chaos caused by Roosevelt,' he said. . . .

" 'The development of the cold war must inevitably lead to the hot war,' he continued. 'However, at the critical point, the Americans must get out of Europe, the Russians too.'

" 'However, German neutralization is not enough. A German Reich is required, and to it must belong all those peoples with the natural right to be Germans. One cannot wipe out the history of a thousand years. This may mean at first the boundaries of 1938, but the Sudetenlanders should be given an opportunity to decide in a plebiscite.

" 'As for the present situation, so long as there is chaos there is no political conception. The Russians have that, having established order on their side. The Americans have none. All the money pumped in by the Marshall Plan is wasted. It results in nothing. We will never pay it back!' . . ."

"FUNNEL FOR WAR MATERIALS"

From an AP dispatch from Frankfurt, Germany:

"Western officials said today that West Germany had become a funnel for war materials smuggled into Communist satellite states.

"Soviet Russia is believed masterminding the war shipments through deals with private firms and international gangs. The war goods are bought in some West European countries and in West Germany, the officials asserted.

"Allied regulations strictly forbid shipments of war materials or strategic items to the Eastern countries except under license. But authorities recently have confiscated airplane parts, bomb cases, ammunition carriers and other war materials en route illegally to the East. . . ."

A COMIC OPERA

From a dispatch by Michael James from Stuttgart, Germany to the New York Times:

"A one-year sentence, another of eight months and an acquittal brought the denazification scandal trial in Stuttgart to an inconclusive end. It is quite likely that the Office of the High Commissioner will force a retrial on the ground that the hearings were improperly conducted. . . .

"The trial grew out of charges made last winter that the denazification proceedings in the state of Wuerttemberg-Baden were corrupt. . . .

"Eventually, formal indictments were prepared against Heinz May, former chief prosecutor of the state's denazification court, August Meyer, a lawyer and alleged general 'fixer,' and Richard Kessler, one of the court's past presidents. The charge was criminal bribery.

"The court sentenced Herr May to one year, Herr Meyer to eight months and acquitted Herr Kessler. . . . United States officials do feel that the trial was virtually a comic opera. . . .

"In an open letter published in a local paper, Ernst Mayer, a member of the Bundestag, charged Major General Charles P. Gross, U. S. Commissioner for Wuerttemberg-Baden, with considering Germans as sheep that easily could be led hither and yon.

"General Gross' reply was curt:

" 'I erred,' he said. 'The Germans are not sheep. They will not be led to democracy.' . . ."

* * *

FROM A NEWSPAPER dispatch from Vienna, Austria:

The Vienna Jewish community received a letter stating that Nazi groups in Austria "will not rest until the last Jew is hanged."

The letter was signed, "S.S. Organization," the former Nazi Elite group. It was accompanied with original photos showing the execution of Polish Jews by Nazi units.

On Wooing the Germans

by
Max Lerner

The beginning of wisdom, in thinking about the current phase of the German problem, is to understand that things are not what they seem and the dreariest skim milk often masquerades as cream.

In foreign policy, said Machiavelli, there is the method of force and the method of fraud—the way of the lion and the way of the fox. "Those that have been best able to imitate the fox," he wrote, "have succeeded best. But it is necessary to be able to disguise this character well, and to be a great feigner and dissembler; and men are so simple and so ready to obey present necessities, that one who deceives will always find those who allow themselves to be deceived."

The truth of this dissection of the anatomy of fraud by the great Florentine is being pounded home to us by every dispatch from Europe about the German problem.

Take for example, the Bidault proposal for a European coal-and-steel pool. On its face this looks like a progressive development, a recognition that nations cannot live by themselves and that Europe must become a going concern economically before its efforts at political union can have any real meaning.

The pretense that the coal-steel pool is open to all European nations is a veil so transparent that even a bump-and-grind artist of the burlesque circuit wouldn't dare drape herself in it. Ostensibly it means that even the Iron Curtain countries will be allowed to take part. But no East-European country will risk changing from a satellite of Russia to a satellite of the Ruhr. If there is to be genuine economic peace between West and East Europe, let it start through the trade-resumption which Gunnar Myrdal is now urging in his visit to Moscow.

The second lump is the fact of German industrial power. The coal-steel pool proposal is being formally made by the French. Actually there is a "happy coincidence" (the phrase is Dr. Adenauer's) between it and Adenauer's own earlier talk of a French-German union.

Why should not the Germans delight in it? The industrial power of the Ruhr is the biggest fact in European economic life. In any kind of pool it will stand out as the strongest unit. Hitler's dream of establishing a thousand-year hegemony over Europe was a military dream, but it had an economic base. The Nazi military dream is suspended, but the economic dream goes marching on.

This is the cancer of the coal-steel pool idea. Its result is bound to be the re-assertion of German industrial power (in alliance with American financial power) over Western Europe. It is also the cancer of most of the schemes for "integrating" Germany into some West-European plan. The question always is: What will be integrated into what? Will German power be integrated into Western Europe, or will Western Europe be integrated into German power?

Finally there is the question of class controls inside the proposed pool. Outwardly the idea seems to be to have "international" controls. But for several years there has been a paper scheme for international control of the heavy industry of the Ruhr, and the fact is that the paper scheme has never moved off the paper. Inevitably the representatives of each country will represent the actual economic power-groups.

In Germany the control of steel and coal is still in the hands of the cartel-barons. All the milk-and-water American decartelization-plans have not changed that. German dominance in the new international pool would therefore mean the dominance of the German cartelists.

There are also French industry-and-finance groups who have for several years been striving behind the diplomatic scenes to achieve a French-German union. By joint action with their German brothers they would now with international blessing not only increase their take but also their own power inside France, and thus the power of reaction.

Thus the wooing of the Germans moves into another phase. The way of the fox is very clever, but sometimes it ends in foxholes.

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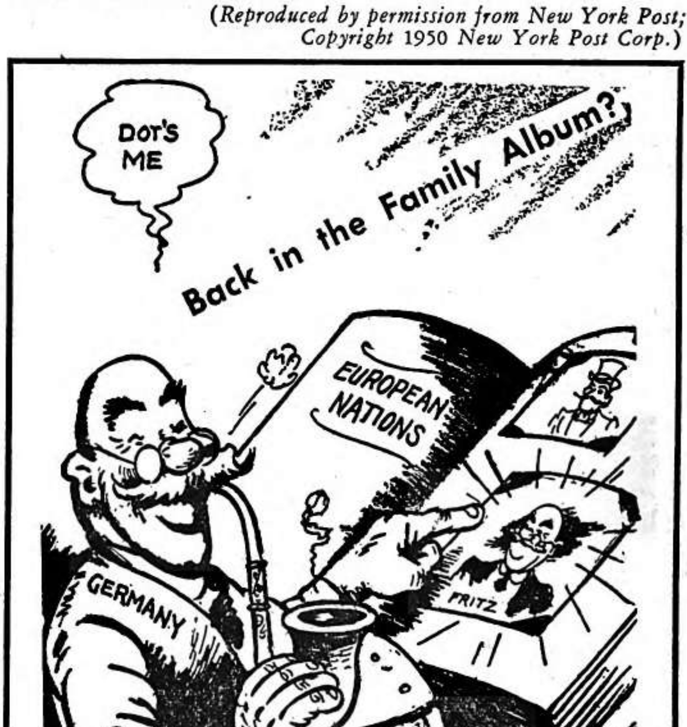

(Cartoon by Martin—Courtesy The Houston Chronicle)

Flashes . . .

THE GOVERNMENT of the Soviet Zone of Germany decided to cancel the decree by which it was forbidden to pay pensions to former members of the Nazi Party and to former German Wehrmacht officers.

★

PRESENT BEST SELLERS in Germany today are: "My Brother Adolf" by Paula Hitler; "Hitler's Youth"; "The True Grace of Goebbels"; "The Enigma of Ilse Koch"; "The Black Magician Heinrich Himmler"; "The Great Love of Adolf Hitler." . . .

★

FROM AN AP DISPATCH from Frankfurt: "West Germany's industrial output is climbing back to its pre-war level. . . ."

★

PAUL REYNAUD, the former French Premier, during a recent visit to the United States, said that "We don't need a German Army to aid in the defense of Western Europe against Russia; all we need is plenty of German troops—that is something quite different." —(So he thinks, Ed.)

★

FORMER NAZI ADMIRAL Saalwaechter has blueprinted the plans for installation of submarine bases in the ports of Wismar and Warnemunde for Soviet Russia.

★

FROM A DISPATCH from Germany: "A systematic attempt in Western Germany to glorify the military men who served Hitler had been noted; a Rommel myth especially is being deliberately fostered. No less than six prominent publications have been running series of articles on the exploits of the late Nazi Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, swashbuckling tank commander of North African fame."

★

PAUL SETHE, prominent German editor of the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" has just stated that "The honeymoon between the Western Allies and Western Germany is over."

★

"STOCKHOLM'S "TIDNINGEN," Sweden's leading newspaper, exclusively reports that the Soviet-sponsored People's Police already comprises five divisions. The paper lists the names of the Commanders and the headquarters of these divisions as follows: First Division—Potsdam, Major General Lattman; Second Division—Schwerin, Lt. Gen. Weisenberg; Third Division—Dresden, Major Gen. von Weech; Fourth Division—Weimar, Lt. Gen. Schubert; Fifth Division—Halle, Lt. Gen. Breitkopf. All five commanders were former members of the Free German Committee in Moscow.

★

THE NEW CHIEF of the Russian Zone Ministry for Security, built after the blueprints of the Soviet secret police and called the "Red Gestapo" is Wilhelm Zaisser. He was Commander of the International Brigades in Spain under the name of General Gomez.

★

FROM A UP DISPATCH from Bonn, Germany: "Five years after the surrender of the Nazi armed forces, at least 53 former Nazis are members of the Parliament of Western Germany; three were in the Nazi elite guard."

★

FROM A MOSCOW DISPATCH by Harrison E. Salisbury to "The New York Times": "Georgi M. Malenkov (member of the Politburo and considered the successor to Stalin) blames the United States and the Western Powers for the schism which he said was 'throwing Germany back 100 years.' . . ."11

★

FROM A UP DISPATCH from London: "Britain has received convincing evidence that the Soviet-controlled People's Police in Eastern Germany was being trained in the use of tanks; the tanks in use either were Russian-made or U. S. lend-lease machines supplied to the Russians during the war."

★

THE SOVIET-CONTROLLED German news agency ADN describes the "incredible handicap of life in the United States" as follows: "There are 17,000,000 unemployed or compulsory part-time workers in the U. S. A. . . . two-thirds of America's farmers earn incomes below the minimum of subsistence in 1949."

★

ATTORNEY for Neo-Nazi rabblerouser, Karl Feitenhansl is Dr. Alfred Seidel, the same man who defended Rudolf Hess and Ilse Koch.

★

ACCORDING TO A REPORT of the press division of the Social Democratic Party in Western Germany, most of the former high-ranking SS generals, etc., who belong to the "Katakombe," Neo-Nazi underground movement, have changed their names.

★

EX-NAZI MAJOR General Remer, in an interview given to the Stockholm newspaper, "Expressen," declared that at the latest in two years he will be in power and that he intends to form a "new aristocracy," with those Germans who are against Bonn. Remer gave the Swedish newspaperman a picture showing him working as a bricklayer; the paper published the picture with the caption "This bricklayer might become Germany's most dangerous man."

★

FROM A RECENT speech by Pastor Niemoeller: "If Bolshevism should be established in Germany, the German people will have to take it exactly as it took National Socialism in 1933." Is the ambiguity of this remark intentional?

★

ACCORDING TO BRITISH newspapers, the former SS General Paul Will in Nuremberg receives a monthly pension of 1,090 Deutsche Marks, an amount which is approximately five times as much as the monthly salary of a worker in present day Germany.

★

THE BONN GOVERNMENT plans to have a semi-official mouthpiece soon in the form of a daily newspaper; the banker Pferdmenges and the publisher Dumont-Shauberg are the main backers of this forthcoming paper.

★

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

"During the last few months I have come across your worthy journal, Prevent World War III, and I am writing this communication to acknowledge the significance and the importance of your publication, especially in resisting the rebirth of a strong imperialistic Germany that would threaten global catastrophe. . . .

"I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation for your magazine, and I should like to become a sponsor of your society. . . ."

DAVID NAIMARK
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Sir:

"I have to thank you for your publication No. 31 for September-October, 1949, which has been forwarded on to me from my previous address in Germany.

"As I am most interested in your work, I will be much obliged if you will kindly take note of my present address. . . ."

H. C. HIGGINSON
London, England

Dear Sir:

"I recently came across a copy of your publication and was very much interested in the very many facts it contained. Up to now I was of the opinion that people in the USA did not know what was going on in Germany, for if they did know I am sure they would never lend their support to drag democracy through the mud, like it is being done. It is a very grave mistake that too many fellow men and women do not see an ever growing threat in the Germany of today. In trying to build up Germany these persons are assisting a return of those Germans who through their acts brought Germany to ruin and starvation. Germans like von Schroeder, Hugenberg, Willmy and Pferdmenges (who has just been appointed a delegate of the CDU to the Bundestag) are not only the brains behind Parliament, they are an ever-growing threat to the democratic development in Western Germany. Most Germans have never heard of the last named men; they have therefore no idea what power these men wield and possess. . . .

"I have been here for almost four years. The longer I remain in Germany, the more convinced I become that Germany with its different political parties who pretend to be democratic will never become a truly democratic nation. In any case, if Germany does not show further effort to become democratic it does not deserve a place amongst the other nations. In Germany there will never be a truly democratic spirit because it is not in the interest of certain leaders here. Perhaps in a few decades the German people will turn to democracy, but not as long as any uniformed civilian can arouse the masses against any minority, or the plain policemen exert their small powers and act as Gods and not as servants of the people. . . ."

O. W.
Heidelberg, Germany

Dear Sir:

"As a veteran of the recent war I have a more than academic interest in the problems and issues dealt with by groups such as yours.

"The present drift of events in both occupied Germany and Japan are properly a subject of concern to thinking people, if not that of a curiously indifferent press and allegedly responsible organs of our government.

"It is to be hoped that your society will keep these areas and their shadowy desperado elements whom so large a part of this world can thank for its lamentable condition, subjected to the full glare of publicity, a task seemingly beyond the competence of the accepted media of public enlightenment. . . ."

AUSTIN MURRAY
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

"The policy of your publication should have the wholehearted support of the American people. Your ideals and principles are those of a true liberal.

"In my opinion and the opinion of others the State Department, the industrialists, and the military leaders of our policy in Germany are creating in that country, a Frankenstein which will some day descend upon its creators and destroy civilization as we know it today. In its place will be substituted the militaristic and nationalistic spirit of Germany.

"The American people must be aroused to the policy which is being fostered for the benefit of a few rapacious industrialists in America and Germany. We must *stop the architects of a Third World War.*

"Only through educating the American people as to the true policy and ultimate goal of the American officials in Germany can the prevention of a Third World War succeed."

HERBERT FRIEDMAN
Appleton, Wisconsin

Dear Sir:

"I have been receiving your literature for over a year now and think you are definitely on the right track with your fear of rising German nationalism. I work in a Melbourne newspaper office and others here read your magazine when I've finished with it and agree that it is very timely."

L. A. HUTCHINSON
Victoria, Australia

Dear Sir:

"You have been writing a great deal about what happens in Nazi Deutschland. From the little I see, some elements would like the USA to soon become an Anglo-Saxon-Germanic Deutschland. I believe this country should have a proper defense setup, but it goes too far when they kiss the posteriors of Nazis just to spite the Russians. . . ."

MARY D.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

". . . I have now left Germany after having spent a most unusually interesting three years. During that time I was in executive charge of all disarmament operations in Schleswig Holstein both in industrial and latterly service aspects. My work also took me to the Russian, French and American Zones of occupation and afforded an unusual opportunity to study the upsurge of military action in Germany and their methods of expressing themselves in this sense.

"The overwhelming impression I have brought back with me is one of complete lack of comprehension of their responsibility toward the last war with its malpractices which they carried out. I am convinced that the history of the years after the 1914 to 1918 war are repeating themselves with remarkable faithfulness and the outlook as far as Germany's relations with the rest of Europe are concerned, is one full of foreboding.

"I am grateful to you for your publication and would appreciate more of the excellent reprints and leaflets which I would like to hand out to friends. . . ."

A. H. CADLIN
London, England

Dear Sir:

"During the last few months I have come across your worthy journal, Prevent World War III, *and I am writing this communication to acknowledge the significance and the importance of your publication, especially in resisting the rebirth of a strong imperialistic Germany that would threaten global catastrophe. . . .*

"I wish to express my gratitude and apreciation for your magazine, and I should like to become a sponsor of your society. . . ."

DAVID NAIMARK
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Sir:

"My sincere appreciation for receipt of your publication, Prevent World War III. *I have studied them, found their message and point of view sensible and mature.*

"At present, I am an instructor for the University of Maryland, which is offering courses on a college level here in Germany. Formerly managing editor of the Beverly Hills, California, Bulletin, a semiweekly publication, I came to Europe some 17 months ago, working as a journalist and teacher in Sweden for one year. Since arriving in Berlin in August, I have developed an intense interest in what I see here in Germany . . . regrowth of neo-Nazi, anti-democratic ideas . . . Russian catering to the weak mass-mobness of the German people . . . in all, a great danger to peace that is being overlooked in . . . the great bulk of the US press. . . ."

JOHN M. BARR
Frankfurt Am Main, Germany

Dear Sir:

"As one of those who actively participated in the Nurnberg Trial against Alfred Krupp and others, I wish to submit the following observations on the occasion of the recent death of Dr. Gustav Krupp. Prominent among the atrocity stories spread with a view to smearing the American post armistice record is the scurrilous allegation that Alfred Krupp was not indicted or convicted in Nurnberg for his individual guilt, but as scapegoat, as it were, of his father, Gustav. The source of such gross misrepresentations of fact is usually to be found in circles antagonistic to this country. It is so much more regrettable that some of them are gullibly taken over by writers whose honest intentions and good faith it is not desired to challenge in spite of a sometimes shocking degree of negligence in critical evaluation of second-hand stories. Freda Utley, a British born American citizen, in her 'The High Cost of Vengeance' (p. 179) among other things states: 'The fact that Alfred Krupp was indicted and

Why?

WHY were Col. Oswald Schaefer, former Gestapo chief, and his assistant, Richard Lebkuechner, acquitted by a German court despite the fact that they had personally murdered twenty European slave laborers?

WHY is Lydia Joan McBride, the Berlin-born Los Angeles girl who served a four-year sentence for helping a German war prisoner escape, being paroled?

WHY have the American papers failed to report the speech of Adolph von Thadden, member of the Bundestag and Deputy of the Deutsche Reichspartei, who at a recent meeting in Leer, Lower Saxony, stated, "Whatever will be said against the Third Reich, it is certain that something had been achieved; it would be sheer stupidity to deny what was good, only because these things were created by people who are nowadays out of favor?"

WHY is the U. S. High Commissioner in Germany not checking the activities of former SA leader and old-time Nazi Capt. Walter Stennes, who after his recent return from China resides now in Bonn where, according to reports, he plans the formation of a new "Frei Corps"?

WHY has the BONN government seen fit to permit 14 former Nazis among the 31 senior members of the new embryo foreign service?

WHY has the U. S. High Commission in Germany permitted the press in Western Germany to launch a campaign against the "inhuman" and "brutal" conduct of U. S. soldiers garrisoned in the American Zone?

WHY don't we learn who is behind the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" and its recent editorial campaign for a direct agreement between Germany and Russia?

WHY aren't we given the names of those Western German industrialists who, according to members of the staff of John J. McCloy, have in recent weeks shown a great deal of interest in developing or restoring trade contacts with the East?

WHY do 94 of the 106 newspapers permitted by the U. S. authorities in Western Germany have the same name they had under the Third Reich, although in France and other Western European countries the names of those papers which cooperated with the Nazis had to be changed?

WHY did the "New York Staats-Zeitung," in commenting on Professor George N. Shuster's nomination as U. S. Commissioner for Bavaria, call his book, "Strong Man Rules," an anti-Hitler book despite the fact that it contained parts which were full of admiration for the late Fuehrer?

WHY is the U. S. government not making some decisive move to counter-balance the fantastic "Hate-America" campaign waged by the Russians against the United States, which according to Ernest Leiser is "unmatched even by the Nazis in the fury and frequency of its invective"?

WHY have the American papers failed to report that a number of high-ranking German engineers and directors of the Krupp Works and other steel plants in Eastern Germany were given the Stalin Prize for their achievements?

WHY did the "Deutsch-Amerikanische Buerger Zeitung" of Chicago call the Soviet atom spy Klaus Fuchs a German Jew, despite the fact that the spy is the son of a Protestant minister?

". . . Recently I passed a half hour with John J. McCloy, our High Commissioner for Germany. He frankly admitted he was not an expert on Germany but he said he thought the greatest dangers to the fledgling Bonn republic came from the extreme right and the extreme left.

"I suggested to him that they might soon be lumped together.

"Short-sightedly, the big industrialists, the unemployed Wehrmacht generals and the disgruntled nationalists feel that they would be the dominant partners in any Soviet-German entente. . . ."

(From a dispatch by William Attwood from Bad Godesberg to the New York Post)

(Continued from page 40)

sentenced for his father's crimes *makes these trials seem designed to punish a class, not individual guilt.'*

"It is true that in the first Nurnberg Trial (against Hermann Goering and others) Gustav Krupp (the father) was originally one of the defendants but could not be tried on account of his physical unfitness for trial. It is also true that members of the prosecution, including the American one, but not including the British one, attempted to substitute Alfred Krupp (the son) as a defendant which attempt, however, proved abortive since the International Military Tribunal did not allow this substitution. It is finally true that after the termination of that first trial, Alfred Krupp became the main defendant in one of the twelve so-called subsequent Nurnberg trials. From these facts, there is a far cry to the conclusion that the son was indicted for the guilt of his father.

"As a matter of fact, neither the attempt in the first trial to substitute Alfred as a defendant nor his indictment in the subsequent trial was in the least based upon that scapegoat idea. Rather, the purpose was to make him responsible for his individual guilt in connection with facts part of which had warranted the previous indictment of his father. It must be pointed out that Gustav Krupp, in view of his ill health, had long before the armistice withdrawn from any active influence upon the management of the Krupp firm whose sole owner and boss Alfred had become as early as December, 1943. Even before, Alfred had climbed up to a top position in the management of the theretofore existing Krupp corporation. It is for his individual responsibility concerning crimes committed during the periods of his either ownership or participation in the top management of the firm that Alfred was indicted and convicted in the subsequent trial and would have been taken to account in the first trial, had the tribunal allowed the proposed substitution.

"It has rightly been said: 'A man convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still.' Neo-nationalistic German circles will continue to feed on the atrocity story of the son serving as scapegoat for his father rather than to admit its being exploded by the true facts. There is, however, no need for anybody in the U. S. to fall victim to such hostile propaganda. The record of the Krupp trial speaks for itself and should be examined before publication of statements which are belied by it."

MAXIMILIAN KOESSLER
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

"Everyone who is interested in maintaining the peace must commend you for your vigorous protest in the German dismantling issue.

"It seems to us, former German people, who not only went through the Nazi barbarism but are familiar with the policies of deceit and mendacity of former German governments toward the victors of World War I, that the American politicians didn't learn anything about this matter regarding the security of Europe and the world. It is a bad sign that Nazi-friends in this country, in Congress and press (O'Donnell, etc.), seem to have strong influence with certain Government circles and on their policies regarding the German problem. Nobody can be in doubt about the outcome of the attitude of the present American policy toward Germany. And therefore it is to be hoped that also your voice will be loud enough to be heard in Washington. . . ."

HANS ERBER
Brooklyn, N. Y.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Friday, March 31, 1950

arrived on and

rules as an agent
imperial throne.

This World...

Neo-Naziism: Unfinished Business

By ERNEST S. PISKO, Special Writer of The Christian Science Monitor

To remind him of unfinished business of the previous war, Xerxes, King of Persia, had a "remembrance slave." The Roman Senate, for the same purpose, had Marcus Porcius Cato. And we have the Society for the Prevention of World War III.

Xerxes' slave had to tell his master after every meal, "Sire, remember the Athenians."

Cato, whenever he spoke in the Senate, concluded his remarks by saying: "And, besides, I hold that Carthage must be destroyed."

The Society for the Prevention of World War III sounds the warning every second month: "Watch what the Nazis are doing." In its bimonthly magazine the society is keeping track of the doings of former Nazis in Germany and of the rise of new potentially Nazi-like movements there.

The March-April issue of the magazine carried a tabulation of the neo-Nazi parties that presently "are mushrooming all over West Germany."

* * *

10 Parties Listed

The table, reprinted from the Stuttgarter Nachrichten, gives the names of 10 "Neo-Nazi Parties of Today," together with the date of foundation, name of founders, and the regions where they are active. It further contains data on the number of parliamentary seats of the various parties, the names of their periodical publications, cross-connections with like-minded personalities or organizations, and splinter groups.

Perhaps the most important part of the table is its last five rows giving information about the respective policy programs—both foreign and domestic—and the aims of the parties concerning form of government and rearmament.

Only three of the parties have been in existence for more than a year. They are the German Party (1947), German Rights Party (1946), and Katakombe Scheinwerfer (Catacomb Searchlight), an illegal organization apparently dating back to 1948. The other seven were founded between March, 1949, and last January.

* * *

Cooperation Shunned

Four of the parties are represented in the Bonn Parliament—the German Party with 17 delegates out of a total of 402, the German Reichspartei with 4, and the German Rights Party and Socialist Reichspartei with 1 each.

With two exceptions, there are no indications of any efforts for close cooperation between these 10 groups. On the contrary, it seems that each of the party heads has a strongly developed "Führer" complex and therefore looks askance at merger proposals.

The two exceptions are Karl Steinfeld's Sammlung zur Tat (Rally for Action) and the Bund für Deutschlands Erneuerung (League for Germany's Comeback).

The south German Rally for Action seems the mildest of all the neo-Nazi groups. It has a middle-of-the-road economic program, is against reestablishment of the German Army, and attempts to sell its authoritarian rather than totalitarian blueprints to all discontented parties.

It is different with the League for Germany's Comeback. This organization was founded half a year ago as "Circle of the Friends of Otto Strasser," the Nazi rebel of the early 1930's, who is now an exile in Canada.

For quite some time he has been making every effort to be allowed to return to Germany. So far he has failed, and has had to limit himself to publication of a paper in Canada and exercise of remote control over his deputy, Kurt Spengler, and his numerous followers in Germany.

Dr. Strasser's program is a dynamic piece of popular music, with catchy passages for nationalistic brass, radical socialist woodwinds, and sentimental strings. Obviously, on his orders the league has not only established contacts with all the other neo-Nazi groups in Germany, but also has a finger in the Austrian Nazi pie. If Dr. Strasser returns to Germany, a merger of the "Friends of Strasser" with the friends of Hitler is in the books, and it would not be surprising to see them join eventually with the friends of Stalin.

* * *

Danger Seen in Führer Idea

This—a Soviet-Nazi alliance—and not the neo-Nazi groups by themselves is the real danger. It is a danger which the western occupation powers can hold off and even suppress for some time, but cannot eliminate.

None but the Germans themselves can tear out the roots of naziism. The fact that some 4,000,000 of them still adhere to the Führer principle, favor the black-red-white of the Nazi flag, and believe in racial superiority and government by concentration camps proves nothing one way or another.

There are probably 10 times as many Germans who sincerely would like to see the break with the past made permanent. They are for the most part less articulate and less bold than the unreformed Nazis. But at present they are the majority—the ruling majority.

Still, we must not forget the neo-Nazis. That is why it is useful to give the publications of the Society for the Prevention of World War III a more than perfunctory reading—and file them for reference just in case.

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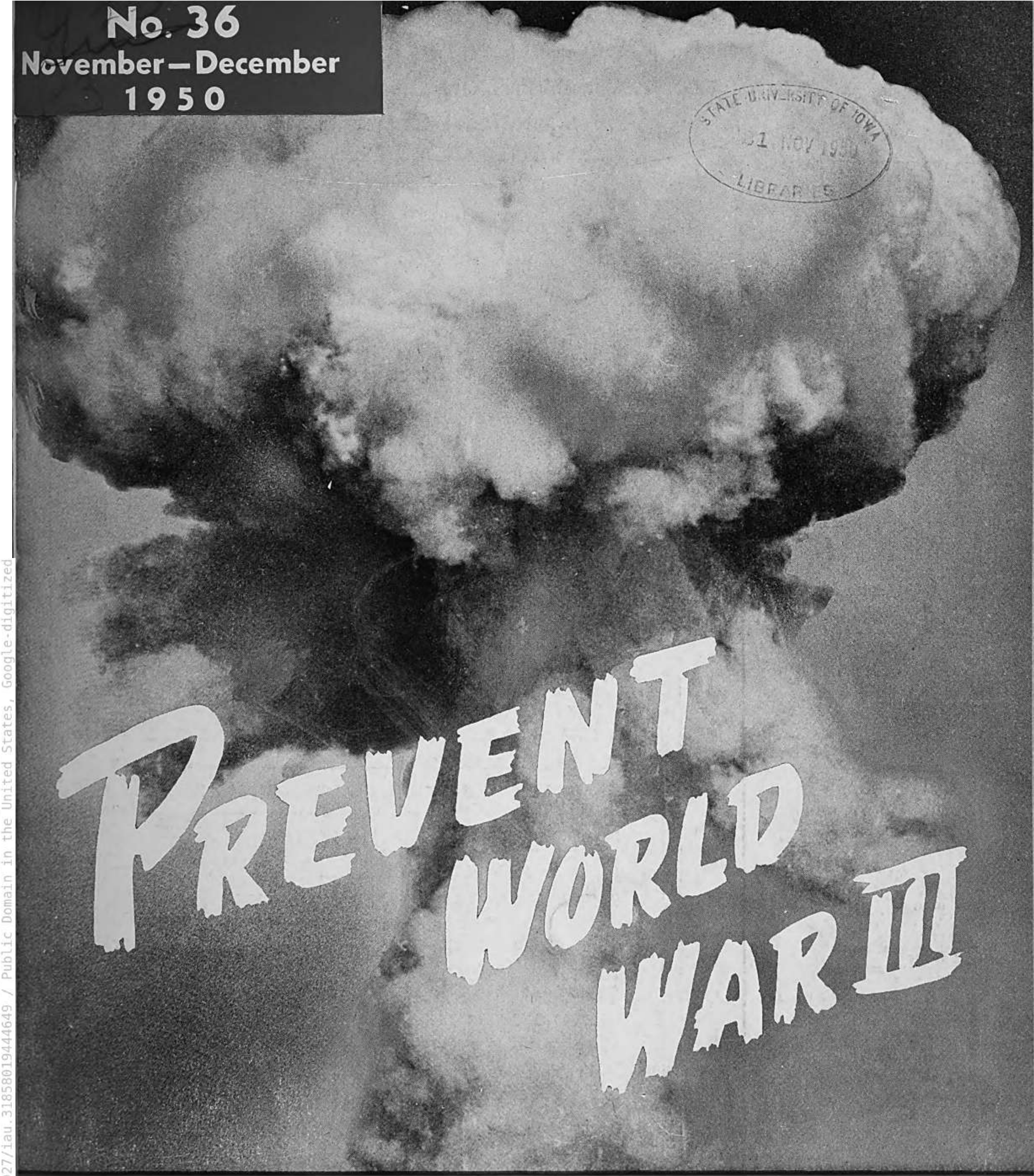

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985

No. 36 November - December, 1950

Towards Collective Security

by
C. Monteith Gilpin

The historic address of Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, before the United Nations General Assembly on September 20, 1950, will undoubtedly receive the most careful consideration of the member nations. Mr. Acheson presented a clear picture of the present crisis in world affairs and minced no words in describing the policies of the Soviet Union, as constituting a major barrier to world peace.

The Korean conflict increases the import of Secretary Acheson's speech and especially his recommendations to prevent the outbreak of "new Koreas" in other parts of the world. Toward increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations action against aggression, the Secretary of State made the following proposals:

1. "*A provision for the calling of an emergency session of the General Assembly upon 24 hours notice, if the Security Council is prevented from acting upon a breach of peace or an act of aggression.*
2. "*The establishment by the General Assembly of a security patrol, a peace patrol, to provide immediate and independent observation and report from any area in which international conflict threatens, upon the invitation or with the consent of the state visited.*
3. "*A plan under which each member nation would designate within its national armed forces a United Nations unit or units, to be especially trained and equipped and continuously maintained in readiness for prompt service on behalf of the United Nations.*
4. "*The establishment by the General Assembly of a committee to study and report on means which the United Nations might use their collective actions—including the use of armed forces to carry on the purposes and principles of the charter.*"

This program gives clear expression to the determination of the United States to truly make the United Nations the all-embracing force for peace and security which it was originally intended to be. It reflects the faith of the American people in the capabilities of the United Nations to enforce international law and maintain order. Finally, it shows that the United States has discarded the illusion of isolationism and is willing to commit its resources on behalf of world-wide collective security.

For hundreds of years men have dreamed of a system of security which would prevent the recurrence of wars. Collective action to maintain peace is therefore an old concept. The fact, however, that the world's most powerful nation has now announced that it stands foursquare behind this great ideal as an effective guarantee for peace and security is of historical significance.

Only those who are afraid of peace will challenge a system of world-wide collective security based on the Charter of the United Nations. As emphasized by the Secretary of State, this system would be buttressed by military units from all nations subscribing to the Charter. Such an array of spiritual and material forces is the best deterrent to future aggression. The Society for the Prevention of World War III regards the Secretary's proposals as a decisive step in the direction of peace and security.

It is our considered judgment that Mr. Acheson's recommendations to the United Nations have profound political and military significance. They have a direct bearing on the future defenses of Western Europe. At the recent meeting of the three Foreign Ministers in New York, the United States proposed a remilitarized Germany which ostensibly would be integrated into an all Western European army. This recommendation was later examined by the North Atlantic Council and in its communique of September 26, the Council indicated that it would consider the "utilization of German manpower and resources . . ." Therefore the question of remilitarizing Germany is no longer a matter of unofficial speculation. It has reached the highest level of inter-governmental negotiations.

Those who have advocated the remilitarization of Western Germany have based their arguments to a large extent on the fact that in Europe the Russians possess overwhelming land power which cannot be effectively checked with the available military forces in the West. Underlying this thesis is the assumption that the day of a genuine world-wide system of collective security is gone and that the West must look to its own reserves for protection. But if this premise is true then how seriously will the nations of the world take the recommendations of Mr. Acheson for the adoption of a world-wide system of collective security?

Ironically, there has not been a moment in history as at present, when there is such solid unanimity among a majority of the member states of the United Nations to pool their resources for the purpose of upholding the Charter and maintaining world peace. Collective security as advocated by the Secretary of State is therefore not only a great ideal but can be realized in our lifetime. To continue to press for the rearming of the Germans under these circumstances would play into the hands of our opponents who could accuse us of sheer hypocrisy.

Military forces alone cannot always maintain peace. Backed however by the united voice of the world organized under the Charter of the United Nations, the very existence of such military units would isolate any would-be aggressor and, if war broke out, pre-determine the ultimate defeat of those who provoked it.

Consequently, it is our conviction that the Secretary of State's recommendations for collective security cannot be realized when at the same time plans go forth to rearm the Germans outside of the United Nations. The world is faced with a choice—either there is a world wide system of collective security or a system of special blocs of opposing nations. The establishment of opposing blocs goes counter to the very spirit of the Charter, and, in the long run, is not conducive to the preservation of peace. The rearming of the Germans would help split the world into opposing camps; thereby shattering man's hope for effective collective action as proposed by the United States.

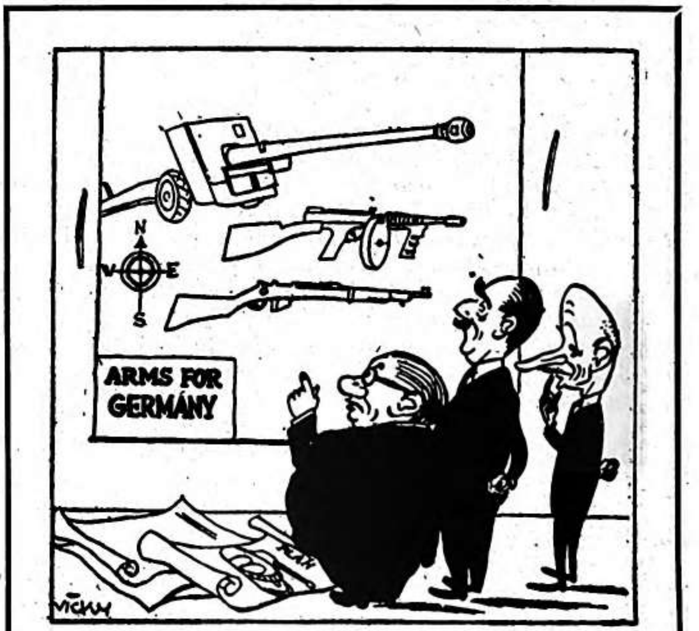
In this connection mention should be made of the fact that in the communique of the three Foreign Ministers, it is officially declared that "they will treat any attack upon the federal republic or Berlin from any quarters as an attack upon themselves." In Korea the United States received world-wide support because we acted in accordance with the Charter. This fact is of decisive importance and to disregard it in the case of Germany is to deliberately squander the advantages of working through the United Nations.

Of course, the Allies have always regarded an attack on Western Germany as tantamount to an attack on themselves. What makes it dangerous at this time is not only that it is in contradiction to the Secretary of State's concept of collective security but that it will fan the fires of German nationalism. Only the other day a prominent member of the German government publicly declared that the Germans would seek by every possible means to regain those territories which they lost under Allied agreements. We do not want to make any prejudgments as to the final boundaries of Germany's Eastern or Western borders. Yet by handing the Germans a blank check, so to speak, the United States and its allies may find themselves pulling Germany's chestnuts out of the fire. The peoples of the West want military security, but they do not want to fight Germany's battles.

We fully appreciate the difficulties facing the West in organizing the defenses of Western Europe. But at the same time who can fail to understand the reluctance of the French and British to accede to American wishes for the recreation of German armed forces? Having suffered under the heel of the German boot for decades it can hardly be expected that the peoples of the West would be willing to jump from the frying pan into the fire.

The problem of the defense of Western Europe should be part and parcel of Secretary Acheson's concept of collective security. This would obviate the need for German armed forces and place emphasis on the necessity to establish a strong international army under the direction of the United Nations itself. Such a program for the defense of Western Europe and other parts of the world would immensely strengthen American leadership. It would allay the fears and suspicions of our Western allies regarding the ultimate aims of the Germans and regarding our intentions in Germany. Finally, this program would reduce international tensions which would undoubtedly deepen if Germany should be rearmed.

We have said in the past that a rearmed Germany would never be a reliable bulwark of Western civilization. This conviction has not been weakened. On the contrary, the maneuvers and intrigue of the German military, the growth of neo-Nazism, the double-dealing of West German industrialists with the Soviets, all these facts show that the Germans cannot be trusted with so great a task. As we see it then, the road to the defense of Western Europe is through the program for collective security as outlined by the Secretary of State. We fervently hope that his recommendation will find the warm support of the member nations who are now aware that peace and security are indivisible and that a threat to one is a threat to all.



Cartoon by Vicky—Courtesy The London News Chronicle

BRITISH: "But will they shoot only eastward?"

Editorials

A PROBLEM OF SEMANTICS

Recently a Washington newspaper published a striking cartoon showing a Soviet-made tank rolling over the body of a South Korean soldier. A grinning officer leaned from the tank holding a scroll before his agonized victim saying: "By the way, have you signed our petition to outlaw the atomic bomb?"

The officer in the cartoon was referring to the so-called Stockholm "peace" offensive which the Kremlin had launched a few months ago. This ingeniously worded petition to outlaw atomic weapons, which avoids any reference to aggression generally, appealed to the most human sentiments for peace while it cleverly camouflaged its true objective. Thus, millions of people in Europe and tens of thousands of people in the United States were duped into signing this Moscow-inspired "peace" petition, which debunked itself on the very instant the Soviet-supported aggression was launched in Korea. In Europe particularly many of those who signed the petition did so in the belief that it might be a sincere effort by Soviet Russia to achieve peace. But as soon as the Communists advanced below the 38th Parallel in Korea, they realized it for what it was—another empty propaganda gesture of the Kremlin.

In short, the Korean aggression exploded into thin air the hypocritical "peace" campaign. It showed even the most naive wishful thinkers what the Soviets are really up to when they talk of "peace." Indeed, the word "peace" belongs in the growing lexicon of words which have been taken over by the Soviets and turned upside down in their meaning. To be sure, it is not the only word which the Soviets and their stooges have camouflaged for their own purposes.

Take, too, the word "democracy." The Communists, well aware of what this word means to millions all over the globe, have appropriated the word and perverted its meaning to denote a blasphemy of democracy. They call their satellites "people's democracies" and offensively proclaim to the world that their's is the "real," the "true" and the "only democracy."

Besides adopting and abusing words like "democracy," "peace" and so on, for their own malevolent use, the Soviets have hammered through their propaganda machine obvious lies about "American imperialism," "Wall Street aggression," etc. According to this line, it was not the North Korean, Soviet-trained, and Soviet-advised army which crossed the 38th Parallel, but the "American imperialists." Perhaps the best answer to this was given by Sir Gladwyn Jebb, head of the British delegation to the United Nations, at the Security Council when he said: "*Are we really to believe that the boys from Iowa or Colorado who are now fighting in foxholes near Chingju, doing their best to defend democracy as they know it, and longing for the day when they will get back to Denver or Sioux City, are we really to believe that these people are out like Genghis Kahn, to enslave the world? Show me anyone of these United States soldiers who would rather reign in outer Mongolia than go back to Seattle, and I will gladly concede your point about 'imperialist' America. Until then, no! I prefer to rely not on Marx but on the judgment of my own eyes and ears.*"

While the rulers in the Kremlin annex non-Soviet territories, they shout about American imperialism; while they have a standing army of 170 divisions, they accuse the United States of being militaristic; while they ask people to sign their "peace" petition, they launch the Korean aggression. . . . And while right-thinking people all over the world fervently want to prevent another war, the Communists take over the title of this magazine, *Prevent World War III*, for their own ends.

This magazine, *Prevent World War III*, founded and published since May, 1944, by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, has always called a spade a spade and taken a stand against every variety of totalitarianism. In the pages of *Prevent World War III* our readers can find documentation on the danger which Fascist, Communist and Nazi groups represent to the welfare of the people of the United States and to the welfare and freedom of peace-loving peoples everywhere.

Now, the American Communists are using the name of our magazine! Recently the *Daily Worker* published a special edition entitled "Prevent World War III." This "Daily Worker-Prevent World War III" edition is compounded of the usual Communist rabble-rousing and hate-mongering drivel. In this particular case, the "Daily Worker-Prevent World War III" edition carried a message signed by three top Communist leaders stating: "Not a cent, not a gun, not a plane for Wall Street's puppet regime in Korea, Formosa, Vietnam. . . ."

Lest there be any confusion, we would point out that from the very first day of the Soviet aggression in Korea, the Society for the Prevention of World War III, in a press release, made its position clear in endorsing President Truman's and the United Nations' action. Today more than ever we feel that the President's courageous decision, and the momentous step taken by the United Nations, were the only possible answer to the challenge of Communist aggression. Today, we know that our firm action in Korea has given new hope to millions of oppressed all over the world, and we also know that our decision and our military success has shocked the masters of the Kremlin.

The decisive role played by the United States and its heroic soldiers in upholding the charter of the United Nations has been recognized by the overwhelming majority of the member nations. The speed with which our government has mobilized men and resources to enforce the charter will give encouragement and hope that the victories in Korea will not be in vain and that from out of the ruins of that war-torn peninsula, democracy will have a new birth of freedom. In this connection we think it appropriate to quote a passage from President Truman's speech of September 1, 1950, which clearly states further the aspirations of the United States in Korea:

"*We want peace and we shall achieve it. Our men are fighting for peace today in Korea. We are working for peace constantly in the United Nations and in all the capitals of the world. Our workers, our farmers, our businessmen, all our vast resources, are helping now to create the strength which will make peace secure.*

"*We want peace not only for its own sake but because we want all the peoples of the world, including our-*

THE OLD GAME

"History may soon repeat itself on the return of tens of millions of dollars worth of confiscated enemy property to Germans.

"That happened after World War I, and the stage is being quietly set in Congress for a repeat performance . . .

"Many of the Germans were Hitlerites.

"Amount of the prize the foreign-financed lobby is after is more than $60,000,000. The lobby is a lot nearer to grabbing this off than is publicly realized.

"The Senate has already passed a bill authorizing the recapture of these juicy plums. The measure was put through early in July—when the nation's shocked attention was focused on the tragic reverses in Korea. At the time, when greatly outnumbered and outgunned American soldiers were dying in desperate battles to stem the Communist invaders, the Nazi-financed lobby did its work . . .

"It was a strictly bi-partisan job.

"Author of the legislation was Senator James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.), a militant racist. Working hand-in-glove with him was Sen. Hugh Butler (R.-Neb.) consistent isolationist and leading foe of statehood for Hawaii.

"Note: The lobby includes some of the biggest law firms in the country. They stand to make millions in fees if they put this deal through . . ."

(*Robert S. Allen in the New York Post*)

(*Continued from Page 3*)

selves, to be free to devote their full energies to making their lives richer and happier. We shall give what help we can to make this universal human wish come true.

"We invite all the nations of the world, without exception to join with us in this great work."

The Society for the Prevention of World War III wholeheartedly endorses this statement by the President of the United States.

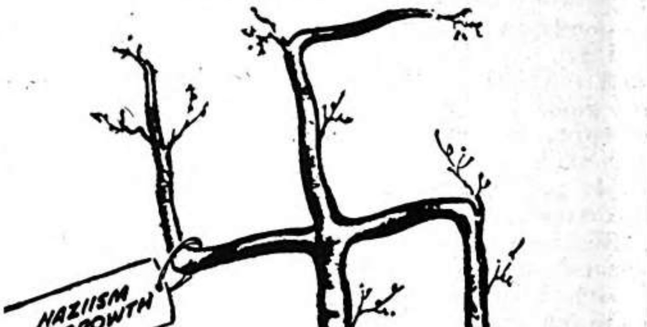
Yes, we want peace, a real and a true peace. And we still hope that World War III can be prevented, the masters of the Kremlin willing. But at the same time we feel that in order to enforce a genuine peace, the United States as the champion of the free world, despite the screams of the Communists and their stooges about "American imperialism," "Wall Street aggression" and "capitalist warmongers" has to be mighty and not weak, for the armed might of the United States of America constitutes the best hope of freedom-loving men throughout the world.

TOWARDS A NEW REICHSWEHR

". . . In the minds of the conservative nationalists of Bonn, no doubt, the emergence of an armed gendarmerie, now granted by the Foreign Ministers, is only the first step on the road to military sovereignty. It is a short step, however, and the Western Powers can probably take it without undue danger to themselves or to the peace of Europe. The proposal to raise large German units as part of a 'European army,' however, is quite another matter: given the quality of German military leadership, this would be not a step but a stride, and a long stride, towards the new *Reichswehr* that the Foreign Ministers say they do not want. Those in the West who support this proposal seem to forget that a European army presupposes a European government and parliament—a supra-national authority of which none exists today in more than embryonic form. Who is to direct this army? What representative assembly of the peoples of Europe will control it? If both sides of the House of Commons were of the opinion that Britain could not safely delegate her sovereignty over steel production, how can any realistic politician dare consider delegating sovereignty in the infinitely more decisive matter of the British armed forces? . . ."

(*From The New Statesman and Nation*)

"FERTILE EARTH"



(*Cartoon by Costello—Courtesy The Bristol Virginia-Tennessean*)

EXPEDIENCY vs. COMMON SENSE

The New York Times of September 6, 1950, carried three stories dealing with Germany which require no comment. The first dispatch deals with a press interview with the American High Commissioner, John J. McCloy, who recently returned to the United States for consultation. In discussing the general economic, political, and social conditions in Western Germany, Mr. McCloy told the press that he favored some form of German military force in Western Germany. In addition, he advocated that the Germans "should be given a greater voice in foreign affairs."

Mr. McCloy is our most authoritative voice in Germany. We assume, of course, that when he advocates policies or changes in policies, he speaks on the basis of compelling facts. From his remark made to the press, it would appear that the Germans have come of age, so to speak, that they have purged themselves of the ideology of Nazism and are ready to take their stand with the democratic cause. This would be the hope of freedom-loving peoples who are seeking additional reliable Allies to ward off future threats of aggression.

However, alongside of Mr. McCloy's interview, an article from Frankfurt, Germany, tells the reader that "the ratio of Germans in the United States Zone who thought Nazism was a good idea badly carried out increased from 52% in 1947 to 59% in 1949." These findings are the result of a survey conducted by the Office of the United States High Commissioner. The *Times* reports that this survey shows that "the majority of Western Germans do not look upon 'National Socialism' (Nazism) as a political ideology in disrepute. . . ."

We realize that poll-taking can be a misleading method in judging the sentiment of a people. However, in the same issue of the *Times*, another dispatch is published reporting that the Schleswig-Holstein Parliament elected Dr. Walter Bartram, a Christian Democrat, as Minister President. The *Times* declares that "German political observers said Dr. Bartram was the first ex-member of the Nazi Party to become Minister President of a West German State since the war."

It would seem difficult to reconcile Mr. McCloy's proposal for German rearmament and the reestablishment of a German diplomatic staff which is based on the proposition that the Germans are prepared to take their place in the camp of democracy, with the survey taken in his zone of occupation and the election of a Nazi to a top political post.

In this connection, Dr. Walter Bartram, the new Minister President, was not the only Nazi to be placed in a high position in Schleswig-Holstein. Mr. Ernest Leiser, writing for the Overseas News Agency, September 18, reports that the Deputy Minister President is Waldemar Kraft, a former major in the SS and a member of the Nazi party since 1943. The Minister of Labor, Social Welfare and Refugees, Hans-Adolf Asbach, joined the Nazi party in 1933 and was a member of Hitler's storm troopers as early as 1934. Hermann Andersen, Minister of Reconstruction and Economics became a Nazi in 1937 and was also a member of the SS. Otto Wittenburg, Minister of Food, Agriculture and Justice, had also joined the Nazi party, in 1937. It is noteworthy that all these former Nazis were named to their present posts by a coalition of non-Nazi parties including the party of Chancellor Adenauer.

Democracy was never defended by its enemies, nor will it ever be. The United States has poured billions of dollars into Germany for the express purpose of rehabilitating the German economy and reorienting the Germans along democratic lines. How far have these programs succeeded since 1945? Judging from the U. S. survey, it would appear that the Nazi virus has not only succeeded in staying alive, but is spreading. The election of a Nazi to a key post in German political life (and he is not the only Nazi in a high political position) is a very precise barometor of how much needs to be done even at this late date to inculcate the democratic spirit among the German people.

Mr. McCloy's advocacy of rearming the Germans and recreating their diplomatic organizations seems therefore to be putting the cart before the horse. Democracy must first be in the hearts of a people before they can be entrusted with the great responsibility of defending it. To place guns in the hands of a people whose totalitarian beliefs remain deep rooted and very much alive is tantamount to injecting a fifth column in the very center of the Freedom Camp. A drowning man may grab at anything afloat but if he reaches out for a shark, then he has hastened his own demise.

We do not deny that the times call for action, but policies born out of desperation may boomerang. Will our leaders fall prey to this trap or will they strive to keep pure our democratic alliances which, in the last analysis, constitute our only reliable bulwark against all brands of totalitarianism.

THE VOICE OF A VICTIMIZED PEOPLE

"Israel Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett today bitterly attacked 'appeasement' of Germany as 'sowing the seeds of new aggression and horror' in his opening address to the U. N. General Assembly . . .

"With Germany's 'revolting record intact, her guilt unexpiated and her heart unchanged,' Mr. Sharett said the new appeasement 'outrages the sacred memory of countless martyrs, betrays the sacrifices sustained in the overthrow of Nazism and sows the seed of new aggression and horror. The danger is now imminent,' he added, 'that the only real beneficiary of the present world crisis will be the very country which by brutal violence provoked the last war.

" 'Having exterminated the bulk of European Jewry and reduced its surviving remnants in Germany itself to an insignificant number,' Mr. Sharett said in his address, which referred to both East and West Germany, 'the Nazis now vent their rage on the dead by desecration of cemeteries and destruction of tombstones.' Such things, he said, pointed up the 'unreformed and unrepenting wickedness of the new apostles of the resurgent Nazi doctrine.' "

(From a report in the J. T. A. Daily News Bulletin)

STRICTLY BUSINESS . . .

Writing in a recent issue of the *New Leader*, Gunther Stuhlmann, in an article significantly titled, "Germany's Red Rabbits," calls attention to the "*selfseeking West German businessmen, eager for economic 'cooperation' with Soviet Germany*" who are "*doing Stalin's work where Communist agents fail.*"

The latest Kremlin operative in its continuing campaign to soften up the Bonn Republic, is, according to the writer in the *New Leader*, a rabbit.

"*He is a harmless-looking creature, meek and unaggressive, and he swings a brief-case by his side. He is, in short, the conservative businessman who listens to tempting Communist propositions for trade with the East Zone. Neither a Communist nor a fellow traveler, he allows his desire for profit and his nationalistic yearning for German unity to make him as effective a Moscow agent as if he were.*"

It all started a few months ago, when Dr. Andreas Hermes, a former official of the Weimar Republic declared that Western Germany should cooperate not only with the Soviet Zone, but with Eastern Germany in general, since only through economic unification could Germany become a major political factor again. This Dr. Hermes belongs to the group of German conservatives who have, for some time, been agitating in the so-called Nauheim Circle for "neutralization" of Germany. These groups of conservative Germans are basically russophile and hope for a new Russo-German pact. Significantly, immediately after Hermes' pronouncements, Ernst Nieckisch, one of the top Soviet propagandists, helped found a "Society for Trade with the East" in Hamburg, a group which was immediately joined by 90 leading Hamburg manufacturers.

Ever since, many German industrialists, while professing to be "anti-Communist," accelerated their courtship of the Reds. *The New Yorker* recently published an article by its correspondent "Genet" describing as follows the present situation in Western Germany: "*Some of these (German) industrialists believe that if Russia were to win, they and Germany as a whole, as valuable individuals and a valuable nation, would be given favorable terms, under which they could do colossal big business with the Soviets; they visualize a vast super-production mating of the greatest demand and the greatest answering efficiency.*"

Along these lines, the German businessmen have now started to advertise in Communist newspapers! It is almost unbelievable, but a fact, that in the past weeks a great number of Ruhr industrialists have seen fit to advertise their products in the Red press of Western Germany. Don Cook of the *New York Herald Tribune* writing from Duesseldorf had this to say: "*It is difficult to believe that a Communist newspaper is a really effective advertising medium for industrial equipment for engineering firms and the conclusion that the owners of these companies are trying to buy insurance in case of trouble in Europe is an obvious one.*"

Here is a list of those enterprises which have placed advertisements in *Freies Volk*, the leading Communist paper in Western Germany. This list has been published by the *Tagesspiegel* of Berlin, one of the best democratic newspapers in Germany:

Scheffels und Wolf in Hagen-Bergschmiede;
Remscheider Saegen und Werkzeugfabrik;
Walzwerk und Fassonschmiede Wuppermann in Leverkusen;
Kremer, Sondermann Co. in Wuppertal-Kronenberg;
Robert Frohn in Remscheid;
Dema, H. Meyer und Co, Werkzeugfabrik Duesseldorf;
Loewe und Jaegers, Roehrengrosshandlung in Duisburg;
Rhein-Ruhr-Stahl GmbH in Duesseldorf;
Bosch Gotthardtshuette O. Bryer GmbH in Eeidenau;
Viktoriagabeln C. G. Funkel Sohn in Hagen;
Metallwaren und Stahlwerke R. und H. Plate, Augustenthal;
Peters Luxemburg in Duesseldorf.

Hand in glove with this advertising campaign the German industries are said to be secretly sending large money contributions to the Communist Party in Western Germany. A member of the Bonn Parliament, Representative Ött, recently called attention to this scandal; he declared that he has proof that in various offices of the Communist Party in Western Germany a great number of industrialists and leading personalities of public life have sent considerable contributions.

Thus, the alleged anti-Communist German big businessmen are helping directly and indirectly to finance the Communist Party in Western Germany. When the scandal of the big business advertisements in the Communist papers in Western Germany broke, the Director of Germany's second big steel works, according to an AP dispatch from Bochum, Germany, gave the following "explanation": "*We wanted to get rid of some pig iron which we could not process because of a shortage of mechanical facilities.*"

Whereupon British officials pooh-poohed this "explanation" and said:

"*Those lads weren't trying to get rid of pig iron. They were just trying to play both ends against the middle. They wanted to avoid an embarrassing situation if Russia should come bursting in.*"

"On August 2, the American High Commissioner decided to reinforce the 'German labor service units' by increasing their numbers to 26,000 men, 16,000 of whom are to be Germans, and by arming them with rifles and by placing this auxiliary police force directly under the commander of the American forces in Europe. In its comment on this development, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* makes the following statement:

" 'The story begins with rifles, it continues with machine guns and nobody knows where it will end. The road travelled by the American government does not seem to have any definite direction. One can only hope that the American government has given serious thought to all the consequences that may result from it.' "

(*From Combat Paris*)

Who Will Hold the Reins?

More than six months have passed since the day when the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, outlined his Plan to merge the coal and steel industries of Western Europe.

When the Plan was first announced the Society stated that it would withhold final judgment as to its merits until additional facts were available. Unfortunately the significance of the Schuman proposal is still shrouded by generalities and platitudes. In addition, negotiations proceed behind closed doors and it would therefore be premature to predict their final outcome.

Nevertheless, there have been many important comments with regard to the Schuman Plan which, while unofficial, deserve consideration, since they stem from trustworthy and reliable sources. We have assembled a collection of these commentaries but because of space we shall confine ourselves to what we believe are the most significant observations.

1. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, a reliable journal dealing with financial problems both domestic and international, carried an article on the Schuman Plan by Dr. Melchior Palyi, an outstanding economist, in its June 8 issue. Dr. Palyi, who is a keen student of European economic affairs suggested that the Schuman Plan is "in reality a new version of the defunct international steel cartel—which the shrewd M. Loucheur promoted in the 1920's under pacifistic slogans . . ." Dr. Palyi, in this connection, declares that the plan portended "a more complete protection for the superprotectionists."

So far as the German attitude is concerned, he observes that the Germans are "anxious to submit" to this plan since "the cartel is a great advantage over her present station." Dr. Palyi expresses fear lest the Schuman Plan endanger the free enterprise system. Indeed, he goes so far as to raise the question whether "in due course all industries of France and Germany are to be cartelized." In his judgment, this would be a logical sequel to the Schuman Plan itself.

2. In his recent book, *Faith, Purpose and Power*, Mr. James P. Warburg notes that the Schuman Plan, as conceived, could be very dangerous, as it "might be perverted into the sort of Big Steel Combine attempted just before Hitler's rise to power by some of the Ruhr magnates and their French counterparts in the Acieries du Nord. It is perhaps to be noted with some reserve that M. Francois-Poncet, who was then French Ambassador to Germany and who is said to be closely affiliated with the French steel industry, is now the French High Commissioner in Germany; and that the German steel industry has been allowed to fall back into the hands of much the same group which controlled it before the war."

3. Mr. Warburg's misgivings are not an isolated instance. The British Government's refusal to accept the Schuman invitation to set up an organization to control the coal and steel industries of Western Europe was partially based on the fear that the Schuman Plan would develop along the lines described by Mr. Warburg. This is also expressed by the National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party, which presently controls the British Government. While the Laborites laud the general principles of the Schuman Plan, they express the following reservation: "There is no doubt at this moment that Europe's private industries fear overproduction and will try to organize restrictive cartels as in the past. They will seek to pervert the Schuman proposals for their own selfish and monopolistic ends. A coordinated perversion of this type would be far worse than our present uncoordinated competition. The European peoples must be on their guard."

4. The weekly magazine, *Business Week*, has published several articles on the Schuman proposals which also tell of the pitfalls which may develop in the execution of the plan. As early as May 20, *Business Week* wrote about the "danger that Schuman's pool would become nothing more than a thinly disguised cartel." Insofar as its effects on the French are concerned, *Business Week* prophesizes that the "scheme will mean some sacrifices for French industry." Among the sacrifices listed are: (a) "The shutdown of high cost French steel plants representing 20% to 30% of total capacity is certain. Marginal French coal mines which make up an even higher percentage of total capacity, will fold too." (b) "French metropolitan and colonial markets will be open to German competition." (c) "Politically dangerous unemployment will show up as the result of the closing of mines and plants." Indeed, *Business Week* claims that the Schuman Plan "gives the Saar back to Germany."

5. Reaction in Western Germany, according to *Business Week*, is far more favorable to the plan. "The industrialists of the Ruhr liked the Schuman proposal," reports this authoritative weekly, because it promises to scrap all limitations on their steel production and to do away with "drastic decartelization." In its July 22 issue, *Business Week* returned to this same theme and wrote that there were voices in Europe which believed that the Schuman Plan would develop into a coal and steel cartel. Once again the magazine reiterated its belief that the plan would develop unemployment in France and enable the Germans to recreate their industrial war potential "as a prelude to rearming."

It touches on another angle which has been hardly discussed and yet most certainly has great significance. "Military men," states *Business Week*, "are afraid that the pool will encourage neutrality thinking. . . . They feel that the Schuman Plan, by wasting energy on another futile European integration effort, would divert attention from the real need—effective Atlantic planning."

Thus it would seem that the Schuman Plan could not only become a danger to the development of healthy competition among the nations of Europe and afford the Germans with the opportunity to dominate their neighbors, but may also upset the security of the West.

6. The well-known journalist, David Lawrence, has intimated that the Schuman Plan is nothing but a glorified cartel. Writing in the *New York Herald Tribune* June 8, 1950, Mr. Lawrence said: "With great enthusiasm the United States Government has embraced the Franco-German proposal for a steel cartel."

He observes that this approval has been given by the United States "even though it does set up a super authority to supervise a private industry, doing, in effect, what the Nazis and the Italian Fascists did with their industrial cartels." Concluding his analysis, Mr. Lawrence writes: "Politically the move is all important in signifying Franco-German unity. But the old time Nazis in Germany and the Fascist businessmen in Italy must be smiling to themselves at the resurrection of their mode of controlling industrial production."

7. Another astute journalist, Mr. Theodore H. White, writing for the Overseas News Agency, said: "The Schuman Plan, drawn up by Frenchmen, seems to Frenchmen a magnanimous gesture to a treacherous enemy. But any recent traveler through Germany's Ruhr can report what the Germans will seek of the plan before they support it with native enthusiasm: they will insist that the Allies lift the 11 million 100 thousand ton limit on their steel production. And they will, above all, seek to make it a vehicle for raising investment funds for capital starved German industry." These German demands, Mr. White points out, "mean that the Schuman Plan cannot go through without the complete rewriting of all present accords and understanding on Germany."

8. In the June 2 issue of the *Wall Street Journal,* Mr. Warren H. Phillips, writing on the Schuman Plan, remarks: "On the political side there is the danger that Western Germany might come to dominate the steel pool. It almost certainly would if France and Germany were the major parties to the merger, and it might conceivably dominate it even if Britain joins the six-nation pool. The ties that bind Western Germany to the West are still very thin and undependable and she would still have to be wooed.

"In the last analysis Western Germany will go where her national interest dictates; this is perhaps a truism but it is one too often overlooked. There is always the ominous possibility that Germany might be able to dominate the proposed international coal-steel authority, then turn to making a 'deal' with the Russians when she has taken all the West has to offer."

9. Obviously, Mr. Phillips' conclusions bear directly on the future security of the West as much as they do on the healthy economic development of Western Europe. In a later dispatch, Mr. Phillips tells the reader that the old cartelists, French and German, are trying very hard to influence the course of the negotiations. He reveals that "hush hush talks have been held with French industrialists in Paris, by a top executive of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the big outfit which controlled 65% of Germany's pre-war steel capacity." Parenthetically, it should be pointed out that the Vereinigte Stahlwerke was the leading spirit in the development of the pre-war international steel cartel which Germany dominated. German politicians, reports Mr. Phillips, are sensitive to charges that the Ruhr cartelists are operating behind the scenes, and they have denied this. But these denials seem to be refuted by a later report in the *New York Times* on July 2 which revealed that Allied authorities seem to be concerned lest Germany's industrial war lords exert too great an influence on the negotiations.

"For example, they said that French officials here once specifically asked Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to refrain from appointing his close friend, Robert Pferdmenges, Cologne banker, to the Paris delegation. Now he is chairman of the economics group. Also named to the committee were Herman J. Abs, head of the Reconstruction Loan Corporation, who was a ranking official of the Deutsche Bank during the Nazi regime; Richard Merton, chairman of Metalgesellschaft; Henrich Kost, director of the Coal Management Board; Heinrich Dinkelbach, head of the Steel Trustees Association; Guenther Henle, director of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke; and Herman Reusch, director of the Gutehoffnungshuette Steel combine.

"Herr Kost was a member of the Nazi party. Herr Dinkelbach was a contributor to the Nazis, and two years ago the trade unions threatened to strike unless Herr Reusch were removed from appointment as head of a steel control group. He was removed by an Allied order."

10. An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* of September 26, 1950, discusses the danger of cartel influences on the Schuman Plan, as previously reported by its correspondent, Mr. Warren Phillips. Commenting on the way the plan has developed up to date, the editorial declares: "All the arguments brought forward to support the broad powers for this international High Authority—planned production, ordered marketing and stable prices—are the arguments used by the makers and supporters of the German steel cartel."

It is clear from the above that while the Schuman Plan expresses a very profound desire on the part of the European peoples to unite for peace and prosperity, it can be perverted for ulterior motives.

Obviously the Germans have much to gain from the Plan since it would make them a full-fledged partner at the minimum. Indeed, Mr. Walter Lippmann wrote some time ago that Germany would most likely succeed in dominating the setup contemplated in the pooling of the resources of the Ruhr with those of other Western European countries.

11. The spectre of the renewed German mastery over her neighbors cannot be lightly dismissed. It is a factor which is examined by Mr. William Diebold, Jr. in his article, "Imponderables of the Schuman Plan" just published in the October issue of the authoritative quarterly review, *Foreign Affairs.* Mr. Diebold does not arrive at any hard and fast conclusions as to the amount of good or bad that will ultimately derive from the Plan itself, although he does admit that the plan "may provide the machinery by which Germany finally dominates France."

In another part of the article he returns to this point and recounts a statement made to the House of Commons by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman on this crucial matter. According to Mr. Diebold, Mr. Crossman stated: "A distinguished German diplomat over here said to me the other day: 'After all, we ran France for five years. We are not going to worry about the terms that are signed. We sign first and change after.' "

12. There is another aspect of the problem which is

generally overlooked and yet is directly connected with the Schuman Plan itself. We refer to the steady growth of the French steel industry since the end of the war. "The Germans," reports *Business Week* of May 20, "are highly sensitive about France's post-war steel expansion." However, in addition to the growing strength of the French steel industry, there is the little-advertised fact that the French have developed a new process of coke-making which could release her from the bondage of Ruhr coal. In the past, the supreme bargaining point of the Germans lay in their possession of the rich Ruhr coal mines which turn out some of the finest coke in the world. Since coke is essential to steel, the French have always been dependent upon the Germans in this crucial matter. This economic subordination has been generally reflected in the political settlements between Germany and France since before World War II. Recently, however, the French developed a new process which, according to *Business Week*, "in some cases makes better coke than the imported German variety."

As was to be expected when the news of this new process was made public to the Germans, there was a great deal of alarm. The Germans instinctively felt that if the French were able to make themselves independent of Ruhr coal, they would also be able to check Germany's plans to become the dominating factor in Western European politics again. According to *Business Week* "some French officials are afraid that the process could raise such obstacles to Franco-German economic cooperation that the United States might oppose its industrial application on political grounds." We do not know how true this statement is, but if the new French process for coke-making is as efficient as *Business Week* reports, then it would be far more advantageous for the Germans to carry out this so-called amalgamation of Ruhr coal and Lorraine steel so as to preclude its industrial application on a larger scale. It is a known fact that many times in the past inventions have been suppressed for other than economic considerations. Is this part of the intention of the Schuman Plan?

Of course it may be said that in view of the fact that the French have made the first official proposal for the pooling of the steel and coal resources of Western Europe, there can be no question as to the bona fide character of the plan. Yet it is a known fact that German cartelists for the past several years have worked assiduously to bring about a Ruhr-Lorraine tieup.

It is also noteworthy that Mr. McCloy has been an early advocate of such a scheme. The *Times* of March 22, 1950, said that there was a movement afoot for the "establishment of an entirely new sort of economic and political statute for the industrial areas along the Rhine valley including those in the Ruhr and the Saar. It is known that such a project long has been entertained by Mr. McCloy but till the present he has had little success in selling it either to his own superiors or to the other occupying powers."

Thus even the origin of Schuman's proposals may be legitimately questioned.

Needless to say, the Schuman Plan, if and when put into operation, will render useless the work of the International Ruhr Authority which has been more or less a paper organization. As one Allied delegate declared in connection with the dissolution of the International Ruhr Authority, once the Schuman Plan is put into effect, "There is no point in administering the head of the horse when someone else is driving the whole animal." The horse in this metaphor pertains to the iron and steel industries of the West, which reminds us of a Spanish proverb: "When two are riding the same horse, one must hold the reins."

FRENCH FEARS

"The main French position runs something like this: it is nonsense to speak of German 'divisions' without talking of a German army. If the Germans are broken into smaller units they will not fight. If they are employed in divisions, their supply and dispositions must be coordinated. They must have liaison with each other and their Government. Hence they must have a staff. Hence they are an army as German as any in the past century; and the French insist that Germany's interest is not identical with that of the Allies.

"The great nightmare that caps all bad French dreams is that of a Russo-German alliance. This nightmare goes back to that century-old piece of treachery when the Prussian general York von Wartenbourg turned against Napoleon at the battle of Tauroggen to join Napoleon's Russian enemies.

"Posed on any front, the new German army will be exposed as much to Soviet offers as to Soviet attacks. And only the Soviets can offer the Germans what they most seek: unity and the lost territory in the East. The military men closest to German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer disquiet the French. Globke, Adenauer's chief of personnel, is an old East Prussian. Count von Schwinn, Adenauer's military adviser, and Gen. Manteuffel, the semi-official spokesman of the German officer corps, are likewise Prussians from East Germany. All three men, as human beings, must seek to repossess their ancestral homes. A Russian offer to liquidate Communist East Germany, to change the Polish frontier, or give back East Prussia, can give them what they want without fighting a war, simply at the cost of joining a new coalition automatically preponderant against the West.

"The French have other arguments which the public courtesies of diplomacy prevent them from making. The French generals are convinced that if war against Russia breaks out, it can be won only by mobilizing millions of partisans behind Russia's lines. The most valuable partisans will be Poles and Czechoslovaks. But Poles and Czechoslovaks will not rise and fight for the West if it includes a German army, because the Germans are more hated in these countries than the Russians.

"The French are also convinced that arming the Germans would be a legal breach of four-power agreements with the Russians and would give them a legitimate casus belli."

(Theo. White to the ONA)

Arming Germany Is Grave Risk

by

Edgar Ansel Mowrer

Our American "success" in getting the foreign ministers of France and Great Britain to accept the principle of a large German contingent within the coming North Atlantic Army cannot wash out the nasty taste that this decision is going to leave in the mouths of many people everywhere.

There is a great distinction to be made between letting the Germans participate in the defense of their own territory and giving them, only five years after they ceased destroying mankind, quasi-independence.

The former is a logical result of the Soviet Communist bid for world dominion, hastened by Soviet secondary provocation all over the world and the reaction of the American Congress to the Korean outrage.

It was rendered inevitable by the reluctance of free peoples, including the American, to put cannon before butter and decide to defend themselves without German participation—whatever the cost.

It corresponds, moreover, to an instinctive American tendency to overestimate the Germans to take Germany "off the necks of the American taxpayer."

For all these reasons, the acceptance of West Germany into the comity of free nations is certain—as was proved by the recent concession to West German independence made by the three democratic high commissioners under the chairmanship of the Frenchman, Andre Francois-Poncet.

But between the decision to recreate a German armed contingent, and the readiness to put German forces on an equal footing with those of democratically more dependable nations there is, as I said before, a deep gap. It is one that should not be bridged.

Yet bridging it is precisely what American leaders here have been insisting upon in the secret negotiations of the last few days. Instead of saying, "yes, we need a German contingent but we shall begin to equip German forces only when all the other contingents have been organized and equipped (which would have been acceptable to all the nations of the North Atlantic Alliance)," technical-minded Americans, obtuse to political realities, have tried to bull through the idea of starting to organize German forces almost at once.

They have hidden their insistence under cheerful remarks that, "it may be a year before German military units are actually formed."

This is very sour fare for the other European peoples who are aware that it may be three years before their own contingents are fully equipped, particularly if the foreign ministers continue to postpone vital decisions.

Because the Germans are anti-Russian and anti-Communist, they are totally dependent upon the West so long as they remain weak—that is, without armed forces of their own. So long as Germany remains disarmed, though the Germans may scheme and wheedle and bluster, they will do as they are told by the West. But the more they regain independence and military strength, the less they will be disposed to follow American advice.

Instead, they will try to auction off their support between democracy and Communism. Since the latter can always promise more in the way of loot and power, the historical lesson has been:

A weak Germany is pro-Western, a strong Germany pro-Russian. This was as true of Prussia under Frederick the Great as of Germany under Bismarck and under Adolf Hitler in 1939. Where the Germans have departed from it, as under the Kaiser in 1914 and Hitler in 1941, they have paid the price in defeat. It is silly to imagine that the present German leaders have forgotten this lesson.

It would not only be silly, it would be criminal for the democratic leaders either to overlook or forget it. Keeping it in mind means, under present circumstances, allowing Germany to recover its lost strength and independence only to the extent that the Atlantic countries develop greater strength. This means remembering that for some years to come, the only safe rule is—Germany last. . . .

(Copyright General Features Corporation)

Ein Volk

What strange delusions influence the Powers
Who feverishly mobilize for peace;
Who speak of Germany as "theirs" and "ours,"
And rush to arm the Wehrmacht—as police!
What crowing folly born of frantic fear,
What triumph of experience over morals,
To post a German guard at our frontier,
And think he'll kill his kin to serve our quarrels!
What asses Russians are, what fools are we,
While nervous qualms our shallow scruples smother,
To plan a pattern of security
That counts on Germans to destroy each other.
Now East and West "their" Germany defend—
They find the ex-Storm Trooper nothing loath—
The German they rearm has gained his end,
He'll use their weapons for revenge on both.

Sagittarius.

(Courtesy The New Statesman and Nation)

Back Door Trading Between Ruhr Industrialists And the Iron Curtain Countries

by

Jean Pajus

How effective is our economic warfare against Soviet Russia in its efforts to cut off the flow of vital war materials? Mr. J. C. H. Bonbright, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, believes that it is "very effective." On September 15, 1950, the AP carried a dispatch quoting Mr. Bonbright as saying, "the U. S. had very effective agreements with Western European countries for halting exports of strategic materials to Russia."

Mr. Bonbright did not elaborate on this statement nor did he name the Western European countries involved in these agreements. It might be assumed, therefore, that he included Germany in these Western countries.

We have made a study of the German East West trade in war materials, and our findings prove that the Ruhr industrialists, often aided by German officials, have shipped millions of dollars worth of war goods to the Iron Curtain countries. Consequently, the Ruhr has become an arsenal for the benefit of Russia and her satellites.

The efforts made to date by the Allied authorities to plug the East West loopholes have failed. The German export control authorities in charge of plugging these holes have not carried out their mission. The records submitted by the German authorities are unreliable and confused, thus posing an almost impossible puzzle to solve. The democratic world is faced with a problem of serious import, as can be seen from the fact that according to the *U. S. News and World Report* (September 22, 1950) "the total West German shipments to the Soviet bloc areas now are running upward of 200 million dollars a year."

The U. S. News and World Report states that the German firms are motivated by commercial considerations, i.e., profit. Evidence adduced during the past year, however, which is set forth below, would indicate that most German firms are doing business with the communists for political reasons as well. The German industrialists have apparently decided to make a deal with Communist Russia because they are thinking in terms of another Treaty of Rapallo or of another Hitler-Stalin Pact.

This thinking seems to be prevalent also among intellectuals and other prominent people who believe that it is wise to conclude their third pact before a Third World War.

The German press has become alarmed about this trend of events. The Berlin *Tagesspiegel* (American Zone) on August 24, 1950, wrote a lengthy analysis of the nature of this East West trade captioned "the Temptation of Trade with the East." The very first paragraph begins as follows:

"Were it not for the fact that the cumulative value of East West trading represents in the final reckoning a danger to the security of entire nations, such trading might well be considered the private concern of the trading partners involved therein."

The Berlin paper reports that the total inter-zonal trade now being negotiated is expected to provide for an exchange of goods amounting to one billion Deutsche Marks. From the analysis made of this trade, the German expert arrives at the conclusion that the whole deal is unsavory and that there is much more to it than meets the eye. The writer expresses his ideas in the following language:

"In the main, interest in West/East trading is confined to firms well versed in the intricacies of trade with the East and with little respect for customs controllers and tax auditors. As one would expect, the ledgers kept by these firms are as neat and correct as their files, but they are 'open secrets' in Western German industry, freely discussed everywhere from Dortmund to Cologne, rumors which cannot be clearly proved, but which certainly contain a certain amount of truth, as they are circulated by people well informed on trade matters, market fluctuations, and the volume of industrial production. The Laender Ministries of Economics should follow up and investigate these rumors. They should categorically request certain firms to answer certain precise questions. These firms should be only too glad to have the opportunity of clearing themselves of the suspicion of aiding the expansion of the Communist armament potential—if they are able to do so."

Of particular interest is the fact that the leaders involved in this illicit trade are the old-line representatives of the German Iron and Steel Cartel who formerly worked with the Nazi Armament Ministry. As reported by the *Tagesspiegel:*

"The first of these firms is the Iron and Steel trading firm of Otto R. Krause recently given much publicity owing to its attempts to conclude direct trade negotiations with the U. S. S. R. The firm is owned by Willie H. Schlieker, formerly head of the Iron and Steel Department of Speers' Armament Ministry in the German National Socialistic Government. The co-proprietor of this firm is a certain F. P. Kirchfeld, formerly managing director of the firm of Ferrostall A. G. and member of the board of Gutehoffnungshuette, who invested capital in the new firm and in addition gave the firm the benefit of his good connections with the works of the Gutehoffnungshuette."

The paper then describes various transactions entered into by the firm of Otto Krause. It discusses one particular deal in which Otto Krause, at a time when the steel embargo was in full force in Western Germany, arranged a 10 million Deutsche Mark credit from funds banked in Switzerland which was used for large steel purchases from Western Germany to be delivered to the U. S. S. R. via West Berlin. Nor was Mr. Krause alone in this deal, since the *Tagesspiegel* named the following German cartels which supplied the firm of Krause with the embargoed steel products. These firms were:

Gutehoffnungshuette
Deutsche Edelstahlwerke
Phoenix A. G.
Rheinische Stahlwerke

The Edelstahlwerke deserves special mention since its representative, Dr. G. V. L. Loesch, came to the United States a year ago and did yeoman work, in collaboration with Senator Malone, to scuttle our reparations program.

Another deal discussed by the German writer is that of the Haselgruber firm. This firm, it appears, has supplied large consignments of boiler tubes, gas pipes, boring tubes, pipe scuffolding, copper cables, large quantities of copper, and insulated wires from a Western German cable works to Romania, Bulgaria, and other satellite countries, all with Soviet expert permits. The writer then makes the following comments:

"It would be interesting to learn what has become of this firm's large export dollar earnings and where the amounts in Westmark came from, which are paid to Western German and Western Berlin suppliers. It would also be interesting to know what the Bonn authorities have to say of this kind of export as the people of Western Germany have a right to demand detailed information. Public opinion in Western Germany is seriously alarmed by the extent of this type of trading, the implications of which are too grave for the competent authorities to gloss over."

American trade circles have already expressed consternation over this state of affairs.

On August 29, 1950, the *Herald Tribune* reported that plants in Western Germany financed by the aid of the Economic Cooperation Administration, were selling to Russian satellite nations machine tools which might be used in producing arms for North Korean forces. The charge was made by Mr. Tell Berna, general manager of the National Machine Tool Builders in Cleveland. The charges by Mr. Berna read as follows: "In Western Germany, where the revival of the machine tool industry is part and parcel of the recovery program financed by the American taxpayers' money, machine tools are being built for shipment to the satellite nations in the Russian orbit, under permit from the American military authorities. For example, in Offenbach, horizontal boring mills are being built for shipment to Poland and in Frankfurt way grinders are being built for shipment to Hungary. Machines of this type are of vital use in the production of war materials."

Mr. Berna stated that he had discussed this vital issue on numerous occasions with the Department of State, Department of Commerce, the National Security Resources Board, and various heads of the armed forces—without result. (Herald Tribune, August 30, 1950)

It is worthy of note that in recent times the State Department has held up the export of certain American built machine tools in Italy, France, and Sweden, on the theory that the products made on these machines might go to Russia. Yet so far nothing has been done to stop the export of machine tools from Germany to Russia or the Iron Curtain countries.

In connection with the export of strategic materials to the Iron Curtain countries, Commissioner John J. McCloy announced on August 19, 1950, that he "would crack down on German industrialists who were circumventing Allied security regulations and building up, for profit, communist industrial power." As quoted in the New York Times of August 20, 1950, Mr. McCloy said that the German industrialists "will be forced to cooperate with the West." Mr. McCloy added that "*subterfuges by which industrialists had evaded Western Allied controls to ship strategic materials to Western Europe would be unmasked.*"

Ten days after this announcement, the High Commissioner's Public Relations Division issued a press release which began as follows:

"*More than* 350 *former U. S. Army trucks consigned to Hungary, part of an order of* 1,000, *were stopped during the past week at the East Zone border rail check point of Schirnding by alert members of the* 7751 *ST Custom Unit, according to the Trade Control Branch of the HICOG Trade and Payments Division.*"

It appears that these trucks were sold by the Staatliche Erfassungs-Gesellschaft, the German agency authorized to sell army surplus goods to the Truck and Spare Motor Vehicles Ltd. of Frankfurt. The Frankfurt firm submitted licenses which it obtained from the German Economics Ministry. The consignee was the Hungarian firm of Mogurt, Budapest, and the licenses were approved by the German licensing agency *without regard to existing Allied High Commission regulations restricting export of certain items to Eastern European countries.* The German firm also stated that it had acquired some 9,000 of the surplus vehicles.

On August 18, 1950, the *Wall Street Journal* reported:

"In the last few days the American, British, French Control Group in Frankfurt has issued a confidential order bluntly cancelling the practically unlimited authority the German Federal Government was granted over export of ball bearings and synthetic rubber compounds three months ago. . . . Allied officials are angry at the Bonn Government. In the past 90 *days it has permitted a flood of ball bearings, machinery, rubber compounds and metals to pour eastward to Russian controlled Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria . . .*

"This is considered a bold violation of instructions issued when Allied controls were relaxed May 10th."

The *Wall Street Journal* goes on to quote a high Government official who stated the following:

"We had hoped the German Government would take this job off our hands and keep a tight control on eastern exports. This hope has not borne fruit."

When told of the Allied disappointment, the German officials asked:

"Why should we lose this business to the victorious Allies?"

The *Wall Street Journal* flatly stated that:

"The increase of Germany's east-bound exports of potential war materials—as they are classified by the Allies—has been astounding.

"In the first 21 *days after the export control authority was handed over to the Germans, says a High Commission official, more ball bearings and rubber compounds were shipped to East Europe than in the entire previous months when the control was in Allied hands.*

"According to the German Government's own figures, the shipment of ball bearings and roller bearings to five satellites during June increased ten-fold over the May exports from West Germany. The bulk of the June shipments went to Hungary. Hungary had gotten none at all in the previous 12 *months, officials say."*

The *Wall Street Journal* article also gives details about shipments of carbon black, barium compound, lead compound, sodium compound, and nickel compound, which went to Bulgaria, Romania and Czechoslovakia. A High Commission official is quoted:

"The German Government has indulged in skullduggery to conceal the size of some individual orders from the High Commission's prying eyes."

The reporter concludes his article by saying:

"The High Commission recently discovered one application for a very large shipment to the East had been broken down into several small applications and approved by the German Government."

These reports of German duplicity came at the heels of similar charges made in Britain in August by Winston Churchill, that one of the country's largest machine tool producers was filling Russian orders for tools that could be converted to armament manufacture. Although the British shipments of goods to the Eastern countries are being delivered under trade agreements made two and three years ago, efforts are being made by Britain to remedy the situation, and shipments of critical items, such as military equipment and jet planes, have been halted. Moreover, British businessmen themselves have complained to their government about agreements that forced them to do business with Russia.

The attitude of the British businessman and the Attlee Government would appear in strange contradistinction to that of the German firms and German Government. The latter attitude is evidenced in a series of reports going back to the spring of this year. At the outset, one of the most respected spokesmen for German big business, the conservative *Frankfurter Zeitung*, on April 1, 1950, had an editorial which declared the guiding principles of Germany's dealings with the East and West as follows:

"Germany was always the bridge between the East and the West. . . . The Allies are not able to come to an accord with the Russians. . . . What is then more natural than for us in view of the present pressures to say: If until now, within the framework of world events, the others were not able to make an intelligent agreement, then it is our duty finally to arouse ourselves in order to obtain at least an economic understanding. . . .

"In doing so we will not turn to the little bosses of the Eastern Zone but directly to the big boss in Moscow. There is where decisions are being made. It is true that according to the Occupation Statute foreign policy discussions must be conducted through the three High Commissioners. Therefore, we will have to take the road of private mediation and thus try to arrange economic agreements between Germany and Russia, which nobody can refuse us in view of the fact that our life is at stake. . . ."

The following dispatches speak for themselves:

1. On April 9, 1950, *The New York Times* quoted an AP dispatch as follows:

"Western Allies are about to crack down on a huge back-door trade between West German manufacturers and the Soviet Zone, American officials said. The trade involves the shipment of coal and iron from the Ruhr, food from Bavaria, and machinery from Wuerttemberg-Baden, these sources said."

2. On April 6, 1950, *The New York Times* carried an AP dispatch captioned, "War Goods Smuggled to East Via Germany." The dispatch began as follows:

"Western officials said today that West Germany had become a funnel for war materials smuggled into Communist satellite states. . . . War goods are bought in some Western European countries and in West Germany, the officials asserted. . . . Authorities recently have confiscated airplane parts, bomb cases, ammunition carriers, and other war materials en route illegally to the East.

"Allied officials say that only 2% of rail shipments and 10% of truck shipments from West Germany are inspected at the border. Custom officials on the German border were turned over to the German Government last year."

3. On April 13, Ernest Leiser of the Overseas News Agency wrote two dispatches entitled: "Berlin Smuggle," in which he reported:

"Substantial quantities of goods sent by the U. S. to Western Germany under the Marshall Plan are being smuggled illegally across the Zonal borders to the Soviet controlled East German states. A sweeping investigation is now under way to find ways to plug these leaks or to force the West German Republic to do so. Economic analysts have here estimated that as much as 20 *to* 30 *million dollars worth of goods is now slipping from the Western Zones into East Germany without authorization annually or that as high as* $5,000,000 *may be Marshall Plan goods."*

In the second dispatch also dated April 13th, Leiser discusses the private deals of the West German industrialists. Leiser says:

"There is good reason today to believe that a number of industrial magnates in the Ruhr are making a secret calculated effort to circumvent the Western Allied order limiting production of steel in the West German Federal Republic to 11,100,000 *tons a year. Their method is as dubious politically as it is devious economically. The Ruhr industrialists are building up the steel producing capacity in Soviet controlled Eastern Germany by exporting the machines and machine tools needed to construct plants there. 'Their reward' is reportedly a secret accord which gives them a share of the increased capacity. . . . Economic intelligence has produced numerous and convincing reports of financial contracts between the Ruhr steel makers and the economic agencies of the communist run East German Government."*

Leiser then goes on to describe the development of East Germany's steel industry and concludes that the growth of the East German steel industry was caused by the shipment of machines and tools from West Germany.

4. Under the heading "U. S. Seems Baffled on German Trade," Michael Hoffman wrote a lengthy article in the *New York Times* on April 17th in which he discusses Germany's demand for increased trade with the Iron-Curtain countries:

"In the face of insistent and almost arrogant German demands for a free hand in trading with the East based on rosy pictures of the prospects thereof, the American

official line is to play down the importance of the whole issue."

Then Michael Hoffman gives the German thinking:

"One that you find here (Dusseldorf) in the Ruhr is simply to take off the controls and let German industry make the best deals it can with the East. This is based on the wholly unsupported assumption that such trade would be more than a one way street for the East to drain the West of steel, machinery, and tools. It also runs flatly counter to the Allied policy of controlling East West trade for security reasons.

"The German steel output last month was 1,182,000 tons, well over the theoretical monthly share of the annual steel quota laid down by the Allies. But the Allied steel control has started an independent check of the steel inventories because officials believe the Germans are falsifying the figures on deliveries. U. S. sources here believe the Germans are reporting as 'sold' steel that will not be sold for months and probably cannot be paid for."

Michael Hoffman concludes his article with the following statement:

"It might not be sound for West Germany and it might not be sound for West Europe to keep going here the kind of industrial pattern that makes heavy German steel exports to the East seem inevitable."

5. In the article entitled "A German-Russian Partnership?" by Walter Lippmann in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, March 8, 1950, Mr. Lippmann said:

"I have reason to know from my own inquiries in Bonn last October that some arrangement of this sort has already been explored. Stalin can also offer German industry tempting opportunities all the way from Poland to China—not merely opportunities, but well-nigh exclusive and protected privileges to play a leading part in the industrialization of this immense but economically backward area."

6. Under the heading "New German Drang Nach Osten," Irving Brown, the A. F. of L. representative, wrote an article in *The New Leader*, April 22, 1950, which begins as follows:

"The new German Drang Nach Osten is under way. This time the drive to the East extends to the very shores of the Pacific Ocean. For the Russians are now attempting to win the battle of the Ruhr via China and thus conquer all of Germany. In addition to the markets of Eastern Europe, Ruhr industrialists cannot but cast longing eyes on the great and vast areas of primitive under-developed China now resting in Communist hands."

7. On April 12, 1950, Ernest Leiser of the Overseas News Agency wrote:

"U. S. officials charge angrily today that a 'curtain of silence' has been lowered around the talks by which the West German Federal Republic is now seeking to conclude a new trade accord with the Soviet controlled Government of East Germany.

"The Germans, it appears, have been very secretive about their negotiations and when the Allied officials expressed their dissatisfaction with the German secrecy, the Germans in rebuttal insisted that they 'were under no obligations to present the agreement for U. S. inspection until it is signed, sealed, and delivered.' They accused the Americans of unwarranted interference 'in the limited area of sovereignty given us under the occupation statute.'"

8. In an article dated January 30, 1950, in *Newsweek*, its Washington bureau reported:

"Diplomatic reports from Moscow claim that during the current negotiations (between Mao Tze Tung and the Russians) the Russians have demanded and obtained Chinese agreements to a scheme under which the Soviets would have a complete monopoly over all trade between Germany and China. These reports stress the presence in Moscow of a strong German economic delegation and indicate that some members of the delegation may have taken part in the negotiations with Mao. The only previous indication that the Soviets might be toying with the idea occurred during the November steel industry conference in Dusseldorf when German technicians in the Soviet Zone emphasized the importance of China to Germany's steel industry.

"These reports stress that a Russian monopoly on trade with China could, under the guise of inter-zonal German trade, secure for Soviet occupied Manchuria, heavy industrial equipment from West Germany. Also the bait of Chinese orders could be used to win over the Western German industrialists to the Soviet side. Western Germany, the Ruhr especially, would find the prospect of trade with China alluring."

9. On March 28, 1950, the *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, wrote:

"Direct trade relations between the Federal Republic and Red China are absolutely possible. The Americans should think about strengthening the West German economy by encouraging direct German-Chinese trade."

10. On April 23, 1950, Drew Middleton discussed Germany's role in Europe. He said:

"It became apparent this week that when the Foreign Ministers of U. S. Great Britain, and France meet in London they will have to deal with German wishes and desires as well as those of their own countries."

As regards the attitude of the Ruhr industrialists, Middleton says:

"The first is that Western Germany is not going Communist under present conditions despite the yearning glances of Ruhr industrialists toward trade with the East or the intemperate speeches of politicians representing what the Germans call 'national Bolshevism.'"

11. The Overseas News Agency sent out a dispatch from Frankfurt dated April 7th by Ernest Leiser in which the latter tells about an inquiry made by John J. McCloy which shows:

"That Western industrialists have in recent weeks shown a great deal more interest in developing or restoring trade contacts with Communist-run Eastern Germany than before. . . . They are convinced that Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere cannot provide the Federal Republic with its needed export markets. Therefore, they seek to restore Grman trade with the East (both Soviet Germany and the satellite states) to the level of pre-war—some 35 to 40% of the German total."

12. On April 1, 1950, Jack Raymond reported from Frankfurt:

"Representatives of the East and West German Government have resumed negotiations for the lifting of the embargo on steel shipments from the Ruhr to the Soviet Zone."

Speaking about this East-West trade, Jack Raymond reported a Western Allied official as saying:

"He could not understand why the Western Germans

wanted to sell to the East when they are not getting paid—unless they figure that they have nothing to lose anyway since the Economic Cooperation Administration keeps pouring in money. It is like increasing a loan to a borrower to maintain his interest in paying, the official added. The inevitable result is bankruptcy, not for the borrower, but for the lender."

13. On April 24, 1950, Ernest Leiser made the following comment about East-West trade:

"What is happening, U. S. investigators report, is that if the authorities in Eastern Germany have an alternative of buying goods from Western Germany or West Berlin for approximately equal prices, they invariably take those from Western Germany."

14. On April 12, 1950, Joseph Alsop, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, wrote a lengthy article about the extensive illegal trade going on between the East and West through Vienna:

"What is considerably more important, Vienna is also the main entrepot for trade between the Soviet empire and Western Europe. A good deal of this trade is of course carried on directly especially when there are advantages in this method. An order of 100,000 tons of steel rails for Red China has recently been used to turn the German industrialists in Dusseldorf against the Western Allies and to woo their support for Soviet connected German Rightist Parties. . . . The Dusseldorf leaders who still go regularly to the Soviet Zone will tell you that the East German industries received over 500,000 tons of steel—and steel of high quality too—from the Soviet Zone in the past year.

"Vienna is the first place the Soviet agent would go for ball bearings, radar equipment, servo-mechanisms, and other such vital contraptions. By devious methods, these supposed scarcity items can actually be secured here."

In another article dated March 27th from Frankfurt, Alsop reported:

"At a recent dinner in Dusseldorf this correspondent found that all of the 7 big industrialists at the table were being almost daily besieged with generous business offers and flattering soft words by East German emissaries of the Soviet High Command."

15. On May 19, 1950, Jack Raymond reported to *The New York Times:*

"Ruhr steel manufacturers have maintained continuing pressure for raising the embargo. They have recently issued statements attempting to tie up the steel ban—which they regard as Western Allied rather than German policy—with the Schuman proposal for pooling the West European steel and coal industries, particularly those of France and Germany. . . . Bonn officials are described as hesitant to resume steel exports to the East but they are under heavy pressure from steel manufacturers."

16. On May 16, 1950, Joseph Newman in the *New York Herald Tribune* discussed the latest Soviet decisions in Germany covering political and economic measures. Point 5 of these measures called for:

"Increased trade with West German businessmen who are to be encouraged to violate the Western restrictions on trade with the East and to believe that their economic future lies in the East."

Point 6 called for:

"More vigorous protests against dismantling of plants in West Germany and a stronger appeal to German nationalism."

17. On May 6, 1950, John MacCormack wrote a dispatch to the *New York Times* in which he reported that the U. S. officials were greatly concerned about the supervision of American exports in order to tighten the restrictions on East West trade.

"Austria has recently become the object of official attention in Washington because of the discovery that she has been a means of providing Russia and her satellites with strategic or semi-strategic materials. The latest example was a shipment of between two and three million dollars of seamless steel tubing—in the 1A category as a strategic material—and 30 tons of fittings from Soviet Germany to the Soviet Oil Administration here for use in extracting Austrian oil.

"The shipment apparently originated in Dusseldorf in the British Zone of Germany, was sent to France where a French export credit was supplied, and then transported down the Rhine. . . . Western Germany is said to be the real Achilles heel of American enforcement."

On that same subject, a UP dispatch dated June 4th to the *New York Times* revealed:

"Critical industrial items banned by the Allies for export to Russia are moving eastward from West Germany at a rate of from 10 to 20 tons a month, competent sources said today.

"Top men of three of the Ruhr's largest steel companies agree that the known traffic averaged from 10 to 20 thousand tons a month, and maybe considerably more. The items handled top the list of 'prohibited exports.'"

18. In a lengthy article titled "East Germany's Boom in Output Proves Major Soviet Asset" (*Christian Science Monitor*, May 4, 1950), Paul Wohl disclosed the rising strength of Eastern Germany. Analyzing the East-West steel trade, Wohl said:

"Under the Frankfurt agreement, West Germany was to deliver about 335,000 tons of iron and steel to East Germany between October 1949 and June 1950—mainly special and high quality steel for the operation of engineering industries at the reconstruction of chemical factories, etc. Most of this steel has been delivered.

"In addition, several hundred thousands tons of high quality Ruhr steel is reported to have reached East Germany through special channels, mainly by truck. At least 100,000 tons were imported from Austria which, with the Marshall Plan help, is building up an excessive steel capacity."

19. According to the Swiss daily, *Tages Anzeiger* of Zurich, the Russians offered an inducement to the West German industrial magnates to do business with China. The paper reported that a contract was offered to the Germans to deliver 100,000 tons of railway trucks to China. The British learned about it and intervened.

Vera Micheles Dean, writing in a recent issue of the *Foreign Policy Bulletin* (published by the Foreign Policy Association), frankly states:

"Russia might invite Western Germany, already looking about for export outlets, to provide technicians and machinery for the industrialization of China."

And she adds significantly:

"Such an invitation could not be lightly disregarded by any German Government, whether controlled by industrialists hostile to communism, or by Communists."

Another keen observer of the political scene, Marquis Childs, said in one of his columns from Berlin:

"*(Leaders of the Free German Committee) are said to have gone to China where along with Russian observers they are attached to headquarters of Communist military leaders. According to one source, General Paulus himself is in Peiping. Back of all this speculation is the solid fact that the owners and managers of German industry want to find an outlet for their products and their skills in Eastern Europe and Asia.*"

20. Drew Middleton, in a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Frankfurt, reported:

"*The embargo on shipment of steel to Eastern Germany, proclaimed by the Bonn Government, is not operating effectively and about* 1,000 *tons of steel a day are entering the Soviet Zone. . . .*

"*The major error of the tragicomedy of errors was the failure of the Bonn Government to suspend previously issued export licenses for steel to Eastern Germany when it had decided to impose the embargo.*

"*There were 'literally hundreds' of these licenses outstanding, according to a United States official, and their holders continued to ship steel as though nothing had happened.*

"*In the view of American observers, the Western powers with the best intentions relied on the Bonn Government to shut off a valuable German trade relationship with Eastern Germany. The Government did so, but forgot the existence of the outstanding export licenses, an error that allowed the powerful steel interests in northwest Germany to continue the business. . . .*"

21. Mr. Leiser of the Overseas News Agency reported:

"*The most reliable information available indicates an enormous jump during the past year in the steel output of the Soviet Zone of Germany. A year ago production was at a negligible* 450,000 *tons, far below that needed for the Zone. Today it has risen to a rate of more than* 1,000,000 *tons annually—still a small figure, but phenomenally higher than before. The target for* 1950 *is* 1,350,000 *tons and early in* 1951 *a plant is expected to be completed in Brandenburg which would raise total output to nearly* 1,750,000 *tons.*

"*A good deal of that increase, American economic analysts declare, can be attributed directly to the shipments which the industrialists of the Ruhr have sent to the Soviet Zone in the framework of a general trade agreement between the Federal Republic and East Germany. It has become obvious that these shipments have included not simply raw steel ingots or finished steel products as envisaged, but actually the machines and tools with which the East Germans can make steel. . . .*"

In conclusion, the alarm felt by private trade circles has now found expression in Congress. A prominent Republican Congressman, Kingsland Macy, who for a number of years has been advocating that German scrap be brought to the United States where it has been so badly needed, has recently raised his voice again from the floor of the House of Representatives with regard to this matter. Congressman Macy's exposé in a speech from the floor August 16, 1950, shows the lengths to which the German industrialists have gone in their efforts to hamper our rearmament program.

In Congressman Macy's own words:

"*I have never been able to understand the wisdom of leaving in western Germany a huge stockpile of just the kind of steel scrap we particularly need. Common sense should have dictated a greater use of homecoming empty bottoms resulting from carrying relief to western Europe for transferring this stockpile from a highly exposed position to a more protected and much more advantageously useful one in the United States of America.*"

At this point Mr. Macy read a UP dispatch:

"*Frankfurt, August* 15: *Angry American steel-scrap dealers accused west German Government officials and industrialists today of sabotaging the United States rearmament program by slashing exports to America so they can sell more to Russian satellite countries.*

"*The Americans said the action was outright sabotage and will add millions of dollars to the present price tag on United States rearmament expenditures.*

"*The scrap dealers cabled a protest to high officials in Washington over the signature of D. J. Lewis, secretary of the Scrap Iron & Steel Import Corp., New York, largest United States dealer in scrap.*

"*'Soviet satellite countries,' the protest said, 'are obtaining the major part of the available scrap supply.' It said United States efforts to buy scrap were hamstrung by newly imposed West German Government regulations.*

"*The scrap dealers said they protested to U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy, but that he said the restrictions were purely a German affair.*"

And while the Germans refuse to help us in our rearmament program, they apparently don't mind helping the Russians in their rearmament program. According to Congressman Macy:

"220,000 *tons of high grade scrap have been moved to the Iron Curtain countries under trade agreements the West Germans agreed to honor.*"

EPILOGUE

Lest the democracies think that the economic collaboration between the Ruhr industrialists and the Iron Curtain countries is limited to foreign trade, they are due for another shock—if indeed that be possible in our times. This collaboration has now extended to the domestic field as well. The Ruhr industrialists have decided that the best way to advertise their wares is to insert large ads in the *Freies Volk*, the chief communist paper in Duesseldorf. Among the advertisers in the July 8, 1950, issue were the notorious combines, Guttehoffnungshuette and Demag. Don Cook of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, August 7, 1950, had this comment to make: "*It is difficult to believe that a communist newspaper is a really effective advertising medium for industrial equipment for engineering firms, and the conclusion that the owners of these new companies are trying to buy insurance in case of trouble in Europe, is an obvious one.*"

A month later, September 7, 1950, the *Neue Zeitung* reported a press conference held by the United States Commissioner for Bavaria, Dr. George Shuster (Arthur H. Sulzberger of *The New York Times* was present), at which time it was revealed that in addition to advertising in the communist press, German industrialists have secretly sent large money contributions to the Communist Party in Western Germany. No comment.

A Letter to the U. N. On German Rearmament

Prevent World War III has endeavored to provide its readers with important information and data pertaining to major developments in Germany. As a continuation of this educational service, this magazine prints below the text of a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations, in connection with current movements to rearm the Germans.

In this letter, the Society notes the efforts of the United Nations to prevent the Korean conflict from spreading to other parts of the world, and expresses the belief that the creation of Germany's war-making power would aggravate the present tensions and could lead to new outbreaks. Therefore, the Society suggests that the Secretary General recommend to the Security Council that the Secretariat be empowered to form a fact-finding committee to investigate the four zones of Germany on the specific problem of industrial rearmament and remilitarization.

His Excellency Trygve Lie *August 4, 1950.*
Secretary General of the United Nations

Excellency:

The stated purpose of the United Nations as regards Korea aims to prevent the conflict raging there from engulfing the rest of the world. With this in mind, may we respectfully suggest that current developments in Germany demand your immediate attention, as they threaten to aggravate the present crisis and lead directly to a third world war.

In the Eastern and Western Zones of Germany tension is mounting, as numerous reports in the press show that there are movements afoot to revive Germany's war arsenal and her military power. Whatever the motivations behind these movements, it is clear beyond a doubt that unless all the zones of Germany are kept demilitarized permanently, the United Nations objective to prevent new outbreaks will be vitiated. A race to rearm the Germans by the occupying powers will inevitably increase tensions to a point where the smallest incident could set off a new conflagration.

The peoples of the world, desiring peace and realizing the grave threat to their security from the rebirth of German military might, will undoubtedly welcome concerted action which would prevent the situation in Germany from getting out of hand. They look to the United Nations, not only to resolve the Korean war, but to check any developments that would sharpen the present crisis, and make world peace impossible.

Under Article 99 of the Charter of the United Nations: "The Secretary General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which, in his opinion, may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security." The Society for the Prevention of World War III deems developments in Germany as meriting your prompt action in accordance with Article 99 of the Charter. We respectfully urge that you act without delay on this crucial issue before it is too late.

Toward facilitating practical action by the Security Council we suggest:

A) That you recommend to it that the Secretariat be empowered to form a fact-finding committee to investigate the Four Zones of Germany on the specific problem of industrial rearmament and remilitarization.

B) As a fact-finding body such a committee would not be authorized to draw conclusions as to the policies pursued by each of the occupying powers in their respective zones of Germany.

C) The sole function of such a committee would be to collect all data pertaining to the industrial rearmament and remilitarization of Germany.

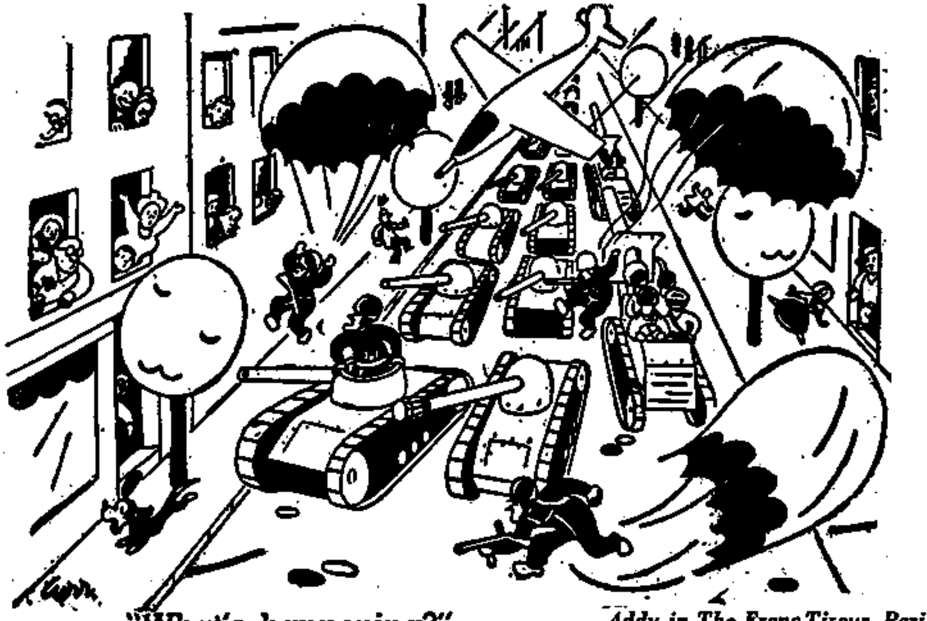
D) The report of this committee should then be submitted to the Security Council for further action.

In making this proposal, it is the considered judgment of the Society for the Prevention of World War III that an objective presentation of the facts as regards the remilitarization of Germany could be an effective barrier against whatever attempts are presently being made to revive Germany's war making capacity.

The peoples of the world are entitled to know the truth and their opinions in the long run are a far more trenchant corrective than is generally realized. We are supremely confident that your initiative to bring this vital matter to the attention of the Security Council will enhance your courageous efforts to establish world peace under the Charter of the United Nations.

Respectfully submitted,
Mark Van Doren, Chairman *Herbert C. Pell, Vice-President*

"GERMAN POLICE FORCE"



"What's happening?" *Addu in The Franc-Tireur, Paris*
"It's the neighbor who called the police."

On the German Lobby

It was recently announced in the press that *Hjalmar Schacht*, Hitler's rearmament wizard, had succeeded in having his book, *Gold For Europe*, translated into English.

In one sense, it is fortunate that Herr Schacht has been able to make his "study" available to English-speaking people. It should help many of us understand certain aspects of the German problem today, including the post-war plans of the Germans.

Herr Schacht, it will be recalled, was tried at Nuremberg for war crimes. Many people are still at a loss to understand why Herr Schacht escaped the gallows in view of his yeoman work in making it possible for Hitler to launch his wars of aggression.

Schacht's new book X-rays German thinking in high places. For example, one of his chapters is entitled: "The German Problem: Kernel of the World Crisis." Apparently defeat has not produced a sense of humility and modesty among the Germans. Schacht still echoes the Hitlerian notion that the world is nothing without Germany and that unless Germany is given her "rightful" place at the center of the universe, all is doomed. Schacht is quite frank about his scheme to place Germany on a special pedestal. According to Schacht, all that need be done is to return to Germany her lost colonies, fill her pockets with gold, and make other nations pay tribute in one form or another to German industrial might. Then, and only then, declares Schacht, can the world be saved.

Some people may say that this is only one German's opinion, but the truth of the matter is that Schacht's ideas are in reality the warp and woof of German policy today. That policy has been carried to the very shores of the United States by a well-financed German lobby.

The popularizing of the Schacht idea is a basic mission of the new German Consulate, Herr Hans Krekeler. Krekeler has had close ties with the Farben cartel in the past. As the nominal head of the German lobby in the United States he wastes no time in winning friends and influencing people.

Everyone knows that the Germans had an effective lobby in Washington prior to the war. Many astute observers declare that a case can be made for the charge that the lobby continued to operate even after Hitler declared war on the United States. Be that as it may, it dared to come out in the open several years ago when the German reparations issue was front page news. In the No. 29 issue of *Prevent World War III*, we discussed this development in an article entitled: "A New Lobby on the Hill." In that piece we brought out the fact that the German steel cartel had circulated a very expensive brochure among members of the 81st Congress, attacking the Allied reparations program. In another article: "Whither Western Europe," which appeared in the September-October issue of *Prevent World War III*, the author, Jean Pajus, revealed how the German steel interests had sent over G. V. L. Loesch, Managing Director of the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke, to convince Congressmen and Senators that the reparations program was "unjust."

In order to increase the effectiveness of the German lobby, the German cartel interests decided to employ the services of certain Americans. This was revealed on March 22, 1950, in the *Brewery Worker*, published by the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink, and Distillery Workers of America. According to its correspondent:

"The House Lobby Investigating Committee has evidence that two of the most important figures in the conduct of this propaganda campaign against dismantling were lobbyists working from inside the Capitol."

The *Brewery Worker reported* that the Committee named as lobbyists John Crane and his wife, Joan.

The *Brewery Worker* states that John Crane has been an Administrative Assistant to Senator Malone while his wife, Joan, was employed for a while by Representative Katherine St. George. Though Senator Malone and Mrs. St. George have denied any knowledge of or responsibility for the "lobbying campaign" of the Cranes *"both admitted hiring these 'inside lobbyists' and Mrs. St. George admitted paying the expenses of a trip last summer by Mrs. Crane to Germany during which she gathered much of the data she used to impress Senators with the desirability of stopping the dismantling program."*

In connection with their activities, the *Brewery Worker* noted that neither John nor Joan Crane were "registered as a lobbyist or a foreign agent." Mrs. Crane's spadework for the Germans has been very effective and it is presently reported that she is lobbying for the German Steel Trust.

The Cranes made it a special point to visit Germany and gather material for smearing the reparations program. They succeeded in influencing many Senators who apparently were unaware of the background of the Cranes. The work of Mrs. Crane was lauded by leading German politicians and industrialists. On January 27, 1950, the Economic Press Digest from the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany carried the following:

"The leading men of the steel industry met in Duisburg to celebrate the end of dismantling of the Thyssen works and to express their gratitude to Mrs. Joan Crane, an American, for her untiring work against dismantling. Dr. Adenauer thanked Mrs. Crane and those American circles who had helped to bring about an end to dismantling. The ovation given Mrs. Crane may be considered unique in the history of meetings of this kind. When she left the assembly, the ordinarily reserved West German industrialists rose to their feet and demonstrated their thanks and apreciation with a storm of applause." (*Wirtschafts-u. Finanzzeitung.*)

In view of the past successes of the German lobby in Washington, experienced observers anticipate that Herr Schacht's views will receive an influential audience. In this connection, *The Brewery Worker* posed a series of questions regarding the German lobby which have as yet gone unanswered:

"1. *To what extent is such lobbying done by 'insiders' in Congress, either members of Congress or their representatives?*

"2. *Is this a loophole in the lobby registration law, or are such lobbyists required to register under the law as it stands?*

"3. *Who, if anyone, was paying the Cranes? Were they violating the foreign agents registration law?*

"4. *To what extent have liberals in this country been misled by a false front propaganda campaign conducted by German cartelists and Nazi sympathizers?"*

Crossroad of Decision: German Rearmament

by

Albert Z. Carr

The author has written several noteworthy books in the field of history and politics. He has served as special consultant to President Truman and to the International Allied Reparations Agency.

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When Secretary of State Dean Acheson assumed office, the foundations of the North Atlantic Alliance had already been laid. General Marshall had negotiated in Paris the broad terms of the treaty with the British and the French; it was left to Acheson to carry the plan through to its diplomatic conclusion in Washington.

The military core of the North Atlantic Alliance lay in the establishment at Fontainebleau of a headquarters of the international General Staff which was to plan the defense of western Europe. The question arose promptly: what plan of defense should be followed in the event of war with the Soviet Union? For a while the impression prevailed in the popular press that if the Soviet troops pushed to the west they could not be stopped in Germany, so that the Allied plan would have to be based on defense of the Rhine.

But here was an obvious inconsistency in policy. Why, on the one hand, were we preparing to re-establish the industries of the Ruhr in all their economic majesty, if, in the event of war, we expected them to fall to the enemy? Little by little the mystery was dispelled. Hints of another strategy began to appear. An American senator dropped a word here, a British field marshal there, a French general elsewhere, until it became evident that deep inside the Alliance, like a pea in a pod, was the idea that the real plan was to defend the Ruhr; and that for this purpose Germany might have to be rearmed.

Large sections of the American and European press waxed enthusiastic over the prospect of re-creating a German Army, incorporating it into the military plans of the North Atlantic Alliance, and equipping it initially with supplies made available under America's Military Aid Program, eventually with German-made arms. Advocates of this course reasoned that the Soviets would eventually create an East German army to serve their purposes. Why should we not "beat them to the punch"? In fact, unverified reports of a strong East-German army (as distinguished from a police force) in the making began to circulate in Washington, while the Soviet press asserted that we had begun to train a secret army of West Germans. But leaders on both side were aware of the danger of adopting aggressive policies on the basis of such reports. The fact was that the struggle in Germany differed sharply in a fundamental respect from that in Korea, for example, where both the Soviets and ourselves openly trained hostile native armies on either side of the 38th parallel. A clash in Korea might be localized, or at least kept short of direct war between America and Russia. Not so in Germany. There sustained aggression by East Germans against West Germans, or vice versa, unquestionably meant the direct involvement of all the great powers. For either side to take the initiative in beginning the large-scale rearmament of Germans, in violation of pledges given, would be an act of great provocation and an incitement to world war.

Of this the Germans themselves were well aware. Some of them began to wonder publicly what the reaction in Moscow would be if the United States, backed by the British and French governments, were to begin to build up West German military strength beyond the police level. Might not the Soviets then feel impelled to launch a "preventive" war in their turn? Would they not see their only chance of success in striking before a West German army and production of munitions under a pro-American government should become strong enough to be a serious threat? Would German rearmament end by making Germany the battleground and the German people the chief victims of another world war?

While the possibility of German rearmament dawned on the public consciousness, relations between the United States and Russia remained fundamentally unchanged. The appointment of Acheson early in 1949 was matched by the Soviets with the replacement of Molotov as Foreign Minister by Andrei Vishinsky. The new ministers had the advantage of never having exchanged discourtesies up to that time, but if any betterment followed in the tone of world diplomacy, it was temporary and superficial; it did not extend to the underlying conditions of the struggle.

In that struggle the succession from Byrnes to Marshall to Acheson marked three fairly distinct stages. The essence of the heated debates between Byrnes and Molotov had been the organization of the liberated states of eastern Europe. There the Soviets had won. The bitter Marshall-Zhdanov fight had concentrated on Italy and France, where the United States had scored a victory. Now the focal point of the contest shifted to Germany; and if Acheson and Vishinsky were wielding rapiers rather than broadswords, and conforming better than their predecessors to the traditional rules of the duello, the weapons were none the less deadly.

II.

In the summer of 1949, when I was again in Europe, there was a great stirring and excitement over the question of reviving German military power. Responsible American journalists coming out of Germany in the late summer of that year reported that leading Germans were confident that rearmament was almost at hand. An important German steel manufacturer had said to an American correspondent that high United States army officers and many senators favored letting Germany establish an army of twenty-five divisions, and that this proposal was receiving favorable consideration in Washington. The manufacturer remarked enthusiastically, "With your atom bomb and our infantry, nothing could stop us!" A number of German deputies at Bonn had openly said to Americans that the German Government expected to be given participation in America's Military Aid Program; and they cited as evidence a recent statement by Senator George of Georgia urging German rearmament. Leaders of the German steel and chemical industries told American visitors that "it would be to America's interest to let Germany manufacture arms for western Europe"; and they claimed that this view was shared by important American officials and businessmen. It could not be gainsaid that arms manufacture might be a source of great profit for West German heavy industry; and with the long-range future of Germany uncertain, foreign investors as well as German owners were not unnaturally tempted by the chance of an immediate "killing" through rearmament.

It seemed to me strange that the Germans should spread such reports, which would certainly tend to create resistance to the idea of German rearmament in France and other countries. American and British journalists suggested an explanation—that the Germans were relying on the United States to take care of French opposition. Meanwhile, it was the strategy of the strong nationalistic elements in Germany to keep France in a state of tension. They believed that by preventing France and England from working together they would increase the influence of Germany on the continent and in American eyes. The Germans were acting on the assumption that America needed them, and would compel Europe to agree to their demands. That they were taking the outcome for granted was indicated by the fact that in a number of places in Germany groups of war veterans, wearing forestry uniforms and carrying wooden sticks in place of rifles, had begun to drill intensively every week end—a phenomenon which had been observed before in "defeated" Germany in the 1920s.

At this period the press was giving much publicity to the International Ruhr Authority. The hope was expressed that the newly established organization, with headquarters in Duesseldorf, would be able to exert real control over German production, and prevent the manufacture of illegal munitions. But this hope was swiftly dissipated. The Ruhr Authority, it developed, had been crippled at birth and by no less a force than the American State Department. The method used for this act of mayhem was the cutting away of funds. The organization was left with so weak a budget as to assure that it could have nothing but a weak policy. Lacking manpower and authority for firsthand investigation, it was compelled to rely on German sources for its data. Instructed to ignore minor violations, it had little recourse if the Germans wished to conceal major violations. To expect the Ruhr Authority to police German industry and to limit German munitions production was exceedingly optimistic, especially if the American and British governments should approve German rearmament.

The demonstrable facts were brought to official attention in Washington. It seemed inevitable that the French would presently react to the rumors seeping into Paris, and that President Truman would be called upon to comment. In fact, only a few weeks later he was asked about alarmist reports in the French press relating to German rearmament. There was no truth in the reports, the President accurately stated. About the same time, however, General Omar Bradley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was subjected to questioning by reporters, and said that German rearmament was not being contemplated "at this time."

The idea was in the air. Debates in the West German Parliament brought violent attacks on Chancellor Adenauer by Socialists, who termed him "Chancellor of the Allies," because he advocated creation of a German Army "backed by German and American imperialism." Although Adenauer was compelled to drop his proposal, it seemed probable that it would only be a matter of time before it was revived in another form.

An English friend who had followed the issue carefully wrote me a letter which ended on a significant note. He said:

I hope your people realize that no single element of foreign policy would be more fraught with danger than the rearmament of Germany. In no way could our governments do more to assure another war and the total destruction of democracy in western Europe than by encouraging German rearmament. In no area could we work more directly for peace than by reinforcing our agreement with the Soviets to forego the rearming of Germany, both East and West. We stand at a crossroads of tremendous decision. The time is at hand when we must frankly face the question: is the purpose of our German policy the preservation of European democracy through peace or a short-lived revival of German industrial profits through war?

III.

The essential facts of the struggle were clear for all to see. The Soviet Union had imposed its socialized institutions on East Germany. We had opened the way for our "free enterprise" institutions on West Germany, not our democratic institutions, since it was idle to talk of German acceptance of democracy. To defend Soviet institutions ramifying into Prussia and Silesia, the Russians were said to be building up an East German army in the guise of a police force; to defend American institutions ramifying into the Ruhr and Bavaria, we were contemplating the rearmament of the west Germans.

In this competition we had the advantage of a traditional hostility against the Soviets on the part of most Germans, both in the east and the west. The Soviets, on the other hand, had the advantage of a strong impulse to socialism in the working masses of the German people. The labor unions in West Germany in particular were filled with resentment at the domination of their government by big business cartels re-established with American support.

Most Germans, east and west, deeply yearned for the re-establishment of a unified German state, free from foreign control. If and when such unification became feasible, it would certainly have to recognize the powerful urge to socialism both in the east, where socialist institutions were already established, and in the west, where the Socialist party was very strong. There was then a strong chance that the institutions of a unified and independent Germany, if and when it should come into being, would be closer to those of the Soviets than to the United States—that is to say, those institutions might well turn out to be authoritarian and socialistic.

It also had to be considered that the unification of Germany depended even more on the willingness of the Soviets to agree to it than on the Western Allies.

There was much talk of a possible "deal" between the Russians and the violently nationalistic right-wing groups whose power was steadily growing in Germany. A certain affinity for the extreme anti-democratic left showed itself in the speeches of the extreme anti-democratic right. They understood each other. Some of the most influential German industrialists, diplomats, and former military leaders were reliably reported to be in touch with Soviet officials in East Germany and ready to conspire with them to link Germany to Russia by military and economic ties, in order to achieve German freedom from foreign control.

Three main purposes underlay the flirtation between the right-wing Germans and the Soviets. First, they wanted a unified Germany, preferably extending to the 1937 boundaries, and including the Neisse River provinces which Russia had given to Poland. Second, they looked for a resumption of large-scale German-Soviet trade. Third, they sought a non-aggression pact, under the terms of which German sovereignty would be respected. These were aspirations close to the hearts of almost all Germans. In addition, many of them shared a strong desire to eliminate the large holdings of American and British financial groups in German industry.

Even if the potentially anti-American right-wing groups of the new Germany could be kept under control, another dangerous possibility confronted us. What would happen if, at some carefully chosen moment, the Soviet Union were to bid for the good will of the German socialists and offer the people of West Germany unification with East Germany in a "popular-front" government? When I discussed this question with west Europeans of half-a-dozen nations I was impressed by the similarity of their replies. They believed that large elements of the powerful Socialist party of West Germany might yet come under radical nationalistic leadership and turn toward the Soviets. This belief was based in part on the steady rise among German socialists of anti-democratic leaders who belonged to the school of radical Nazis "purged" by Hitler in 1934—men who favored nationalization of industry, and who in political practice were only a short distance removed from the Communists.

The purposes of such an anti-democratic left-wing coalition, should it emerge, would be largely identical with those of the extreme right, so far as concerned the unity and boundaries of Germany and friendly relations with Russia. The essential difference of aim between the two groups lay in the fact that the radical German socialists, like the Communists, would almost certainly advocate nationalization of heavy German industry—a measure opposed, of course, by the rightists.

This, then, was the consensus of opinion among informed Europeans: if the Soviets failed to come to terms with the nationalistic right wing in West Germany, they might succeed with the nationalistic left wing.

Facing this danger, the American Government had to anticipate the crisis that would arise if a nationalistic, anti-democratic coalition, of whatever political complexion, should achieve enough voting strength to reach out for dominance in West Germany, with a rapprochement with Russia as their goal. In such an event America, England, and France would certainly incline to override the results of election and maintain in power at Bonn a West German government shaped to their liking.

The natural Soviet countermove would then be to foment civil disturbances in Berlin and West Germany, ostensibly to protest against "undemocratic" Allied policy, but actually to compel troops of the Western Allies to use force against German civilians. This, of course, would be a circumstance calculated to tap the strong German nationalistic feeling for the benefit of the Soviets.

Carrying surmise another step, one could anticipate an effort by our government to relieve our occupation forces of the necessity of shooting German rioters by organizing a strong West German military force. At this stage armament of Communists in Germany by the Soviets and disorders in West Germany might easily produce a situation approximating civil war; and the direct involvement of the Western Allies and Russia in the internal German struggle would be highly probable.

We could not, of course, afford to stand by and let the Soviets rearm the East Germans to the point where an army of German Communists might try to overrun West Germany. Should they try to do so, we would almost certainly match and overmatch them, by rearming the West Germans. But unless and until the Soviets began to build up a powerful East German military force threatening West Germany, the rearmament of West Germany by ourselves might prove a decisive action in producing a third world war.

In sum, the situation stood as follows: if without provocation we rearmed West Germany, as part of the North Atlantic Alliance, we invited aggression by the Russians to forestall us. If we allowed nationalistic and anti-democratic elements to grow in numbers in West Germany, we might find ourselves compelled to establish a German army under a right-wing dictatorship—an action which would bring civil war and world war measurably closer.

IV.

The crisis of decision in the matter of German rearmament moved appreciably nearer in May of 1950, when France's Foreign Minister Robert Schuman put before Acheson and Bevin a proposal to merge the steel production of Germany, France, Belgium, and Luxemburg, and possibly England, under joint governmental supervision.

This idea was a brilliant adaptation to political reality of the French conviction that Germany could be made "safe" only by linking her western lands with France, England, and the Low Countries, through ties of mutual economic interest.

The German Government professed itself delighted, and American opinion was highly favorable. At a single stroke the Schuman Plan (said to have originated with the economist-statesman Jean Monnet and to have had the blessing of American authorities before its formal presentation) promised to achieve three desired ends:

1. Better relations between western Germany and France;

2. Practical action looking toward the economic integration of western Europe;

3. Removal of the last limitations on German steel production (thus reducing American costs in Germany) without shocking the political sensibilities of the French.

Immediately after Schuman made this proposal, the High Commissioners in Germany announced that the Bonn government would be permitted to determine the ownership of the Ruhr industries, thus virtually assuring the return of those industries to former owners who had been temporarily deprived of legal control.

There could be no doubt that the Schuman proposal, once put into effect, would give official sanction to the international steel cartel. Anti-cartelists heatedly protested on this account. Their argument was weakened, however, by the fact, known to most European economists and statesmen, that the cartel already existed. The only question was whether it was to be openly recognized and controlled, or permitted to operate in secret. The Schuman plan at least gave promise of providing for a degree of actual governmental regulation of the cartel. It was an interesting fact that the chief initial opposition to the Schuman plan in France came on the one hand from the French Communists and on the other from the association of French steel masters, the Comité des Forges. Some thought that the public objections of the latter were part of a political trick to confuse the real opponents of the plan. It may be, however, that the Comité des Forges actually feared the eventual reduction of its power, if formal governmental regulation of the steel cartel's operations was established.

Against the plan, too, were the German Socialists, headed by Kurt Schumacher, who saw it as a heavy blow to their hopes for eventual nationalization of the German steel industry. The British Socialist government was also perturbed, not only by the effect of the plan on its own proposal for nationalization of British steel plants, but also by the prospect of increased industrial competition from Germany.

In Washington, too, some dubious aspects of the plan were recognized. It seemed likely that under the conditions of the Schuman proposal West Germany's annual steel production, which officially stood at a rate of 11,000,000 tons in 1950, and was probably well in excess of that figure, would rise swiftly to 20,000,000 tons. Even allowing for Germany's increased internal demand for steel, especially for her housing program, there was reason to think that the new west European steel association, should it achieve substance, would shortly find a substantial steel surplus on its hands.

Strong pressure might be expected to turn part of that surplus over to German industry for use in the manufacture of arms. When, at about the same time that Schuman made his proposal, President Truman spoke of the possibility of reducing America's defense costs in the years ahead, some thought he contemplated the possibility of German arms production to relieve us in part of the necessity of producing arms for Europe under the Military Aid Program. Although there was no evidence that this thought was in the President's mind, it was certainly in the minds of influential military authorities in Washington. On the other hand, some high army officers were said to have held the opinion that at the first move to reconstitute West Germany as a center of military power Russia might move to occupy the Ruhr, and begin war at once, with German industry in her hands, rather than wait until Germany had become a potential aggressor against her.

It was certainly the part of wisdom to make sure that the Schuman plan would not turn into a short cut to war. If the plan meant a west European steel surplus, was it not at least possible to find non-military markets for that surplus? Two such markets suggested themselves. One was the American market. Our steel interests, operating their plants at full capacity, and eager to avoid expansion of facilities, faced a possible shortage of steel. Conceivably, under suitable conditions, large quantities of steel might be imported from Europe to make up any deficit appearing in the United States, to the benefit of the European trade position, and with the effect of reducing the economic drain on America through the Marshall Plan. Beyond this, part of the European steel surplus might be converted into non-military goods wanted by eastern Europe, to the stimulation of East-West trade, assuming, of course, that political tensions between the Soviets and America could be eased to the point where an enlargement of such commerce was feasible.

For those primarily concerned with preservation of world peace, the virtue or danger of the Schuman plan lay primarily in the answer to a simple question: would the European steel surplus under this plan be used for revival of German arms production or for an increase in peaceful East-West trade and European-American trade? The peace of the world might well depend on our ability to keep West Germany not only democratic in its governmental form, not only pro-American in its sentiment, but demilitarized, and dedicated to the interests of peace only. To achieve the delicate balance of forces necessary to these ends was an undertaking far more difficult than was generally realized by the American people or, for that matter, the American Congress. It is safe to say that, as the new decade unfolded, and as President Truman contemplated the problem of Germany, he knew that our decisions there, perhaps more than anywhere else, would dictate the success or failure of the postwar American foreign policy which had evolved under his direction, and the goal of which, as he saw it, was peace.

> **"... The illustrated Munich weekly *Revue* has just conducted its own local 'plebiscite' and concluded 'there is no chance to convince Germans' of the advisability of Western military participation.**
>
> **"*Revue* summarized the attitudes it found in this manner:**
>
> **" 'A shoemaker stated: *"The Amis (Americans) will not die for us. I'd rather be a coward than dead."* A former colonel: *"How they treated our professional soldiers! And now we are to be cannon-fodder. No thank you!"* A market woman: *"The Amis will run away and we'll get it in the neck!"* A physician: *"I have not been disappointed by the Americans since I never expected very much from them!"* ' "**
>
> (*Ernest Leiser to the ONA*)

Nazi Industrialists Regain Hold On German Press

by
Dr. Frederick Wallach

THE TIMING

In the fall of 1949, a Restitution Court in Germany rendered a verdict which adjudged Robert Bosch, one of Hitler's leading armament industrialists, to be a victim of National Socialism and, therefore, entitled to restitution under Military Government Law No. 59. On July 17, 1950, there appeared a small notice on the front page of Stuttgart's leading newspaper, the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, that its co-publisher, Franz Karl Maier, had left the paper, "on the basis of a mutual agreement."

Unfortunately, the American press did not carry these stories though they reflect a grave threat to the status of the independent German democratic press established under the protection of the Allies after the end of the war. It is significant that these reports came at a moment when Hitler's war arsenal, the Ruhr, is emerging from "the doldrums" and strenuous efforts are being made to remilitarize the former enemy as an "ally" of democracy.

Though it is acknowledged that in rearming the Germans the West is undertaking a "calculated risk," leading Allied officials are determined to go ahead regardless of the possible disastrous consequences to the security of the West. Needless to say, the job of selling the remilitarization of Germany to the peoples who have suffered under the Nazi occupation will not be easy. But in addition to "convincing" Germany's victims, it is now necessary to tackle German apathy on this question. This, too, will not be an easy task since the occupation authorities have been trying to make the Germans believe that militarism is their besetting sin. To generate a certain amount of enthusiasm among the Germans, it is obvious that all channels of public opinion will have to be mobilized. That is where the German press comes in.

The development of a free and independent democratic press in Germany has been one of the few triumphs of the Western Occupation of Germany. How long it will be able to exist in the face of remilitarization plans is now open to question. It is against this background that Nazi industrialists and former Hitler supporters are being provided with the opportunity to regain control of vast sections of the German press. This is true in spite of the fact that under press Law No. 5 the Allied High Commission is empowered to protect the integrity of the German press.

THE NAZI PRESS MONOPOLY

To understand what is now occurring, it is necessary to describe in brief the status of the Nazi press under the Nazi regime. The chief Nazi propagandist, Joseph Goebbels, regarded the press as a vital instrument for the molding of the minds of the Germans. When Hitler grabbed power in 1933, the radical press was suppressed almost immediately. As to the so-called "bourgeois" press, other methods were employed. These papers retained their names and the trimmings of independence. In reality they were owned by the Nazi party and transmitted Nazi propaganda though in a more moderate tone than the official Nazi press. Obviously this was designed to give the impression that the Nazis had not taken over the complete field of journalism. However, through Nazi holding companies, the so-called independent publishing houses of the "bourgeois" press were kept securely under the thumb of Hitler and his cohorts. To round out the picture of the Nazi press monopoly, it must be mentioned that even papers owned by individual Nazis were gobbled up by the press monopoly of the Nazi Party.

THE GERMAN PRESS UNDER THE ALLIES

The Allies were well aware of the transformation which had taken place with regard to the ownership of the German press under the Nazi regime. Thus Allied Law No. 2 not only abolished the National Socialist Party and its organizations, but "all other Nazi institutions used by the Party as tools." Article I, Paragraph 2, of the said law, expressly abolished the Franz Eher Verlag, the chief holding company under the Nazi press monopoly. Additional Allied regulations provided for the seizure of the properties and facilities of the so-called "bourgeois" press. These properties were placed under German trustees who, upon Allied orders, leased the principal facilities and equipment to the licensed press which was created by the Allies. However, since the licensing of the press in Western Germany is now abolished, the independent German democratic press depends for its continued existence on the rather limited length of their leases obtained from the trustees. The Allies are aware that if the printing facilities should ever fall in the hands of their former Nazi owners, the German democratic press would be destroyed. As mentioned above, the Allies possess sufficient power to prevent this disaster, but they have not intervened and apparently will not act. Indeed, the decision in the Bosch case opens a wedge through which former Hitler supporters among the German industrialists could regain title to the properties which had been originally seized by the Allies as Nazi owned.

HOW THE BOSCH PRESS CARTEL WAS TAKEN OVER BY THE NAZIS

It had been customary for German industrialists to own their own publishing houses so as to further their private interests. The Robert Bosch was no exception. The Bosch cartel had been created by Robert Bosch, a brother of the late Karl Bosch, the first German head of the notorious I. G. Farben Chemical Combine. The activities of the Bosch cartel were well known by U. S. officials in both world wars. The U. S. Government possessed sufficient evidence to show that Bosch had closely cooperated with the German General Staff. In both world wars, the United States Alien Property Custodian seized the American subsidiaries of Bosch on security grounds and on the basis that these subsidiaries owed their first allegiance to Germany.

As the power of the Bosch cartel grew under the Weimar Republic, its founder, Dr. Robert Bosch, decided to round out his economic dominion by exercising a decisive political influence in his home state of Wuerttemberg. In order to do so, he created, with the help of dummy corporations, a press cartel which virtually bossed public opinion in his state until the arrival of the Nazis. Aside from owning vast book-printing and book-binding establishments, Bosch owned the printing plant and offices now in use by the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, the leading newspaper of Stuttgart today.

In February, 1936, Dr. Bosch sold his press holdings to the Nazis, receiving as a reward no less than 4 million RM. Dr. Bosch was obliged to transfer his newspaper interests to the Nazis because of the previously described Nazi press monopoly, which had even absorbed the papers of faithful adherence to the Nazi cause. As he was amply rewarded, Bosch did not complain.

It is interesting to note that no less a figure than Hermann Goering negotiated with Bosch concerning the transfer of his properties. While reluctant at first to deal with Nazi underlings, Bosch was willing to talk turkey with Goering and it is beyond any doubt that Hitler's right-hand man promised Bosch substantial armament orders as compensation for the sale of his press holdings.

BOSCH'S CONNECTIONS WITH THE NAZIS

Bosch received great honors from the Nazis as well as juicy armament orders. He had free access at all times to the Nazi bigshots, including Hitler. Indeed, Bosch remained a member of the Nazi Reichstag until his death (of natural causes). He received one of the highest honorary titles Hitler's third Reich could bestow, namely, that of "Pioneer of Labor."

The Bosch corporation was also declared to be an "exemplary Nazi firm," an honorary title which was to be tacked on to the name of the firm. This rare and coveted honor was granted only to those firms which had convinced the Nazis that they were organized 100% as prescribed by the Nazi Party. To be deemed 100% organized, a German industry would have to dismiss all "non-aryans," maintain strict adherence to the "leadership principle" and enact mandatory regulations for the wearing of Nazi uniforms by all employees, at Nazi meetings. In addition, a 100% organized firm would have to smash all union activities and force its workers to join up with Dr. Ley's (hanged in Nuremberg) Labor Front. Finally, such a firm would have to participate in all Party festivals and celebrations, contribute substantial funds for Nazi Party purposes and grant preferential positions to the favored sons of the Nazi Party. On October 17, 1941, Bosch was named the No. 1 of the "elite class" among the six leading Nazi industrialists by the Nazi Economic Minister Funk for his wholehearted cooperation and allegiance to the Nazi cause.

HOW THE BOSCH CARTEL PREPARED ITS RETURN TO PRESS POWER

When Dr. Robert Bosch died, the seven executors of his will, all Bosch stalwarts, were faced with an apparently impossible job, namely to restore the old Bosch Press Cartel. Article I of Allied Restitution Law No. 59 provided that only "opponents" of Hitler's Third Reich who lost their property for reasons of their opposition to the Nazis could hope to receive restitution.

Moreover, the General Claims Law of the American Zone of Occupation, while providing compensation for money damage inflicted on victims of Nazism, further stipulated that the granting of such compensation excluded anyone "who had supported the Nazi dictatorship." Therefore, the chances to obtain restitution for the Nazi armament profiteer Bosch, appeared slim. The picture became even bleaker when a restitution court in Greater Hesse decided that the so-called "bourgeois" press could not be considered an opponent of the Nazis. As Dr. Bosch's papers were originally part of this section of the German press, it seemed to be a foregone conclusion that the executors of the Bosch will would fail. Their fears, however, appear to be short-lived.

In view of the fact that the situation in Germany has been radically changing and that the United States favors militarization of the former enemy, the Bosch people concluded that all was not lost. Consequently, they resumed the fight to regain control over the press. There were many factors including the general situation which led the Bosch interests to believe that they would succeed.

The Bosch Cartel had strong connections in the United States. At the outbreak of World War I, the Bosch subsidiary in the United States managed to obtain the collaboration of influential Americans, including the banker, George Murnane and Mr. John Foster Dulles, senior partner in the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell. When hostilities ceased, the Bosch cartel escaped decartelization thanks to General Clay. In addition, a retired American General, Arthur Wilson, returned to Germany to protect the Bosch interests. Therefore, the executors of Bosch's Will were supremely confident that their friends abroad would continue to lend their support.

Furthermore, the Bosch cartel had other trump cards, especially among the leading German politicians. The President of the West German Republic, Theodor Heuss, who had voted the dictatorial powers which had established the Hitler dictatorship in 1933, was not only a friend of Robert Bosch, but his official biographer. In his book on Bosch, Heuss extolled the armament king as dove of peace and a sworn pacifist. Indeed, Heuss believed that Bosch was one of the greatest of German democrats.

The Bosch people also had friends in the top echelon of the Government of Wuerttemberg-Baden, including the Minister President, Rheinhold Maier. These politicians could be trusted as subsequent events proved. The fact that the former co-publisher of the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Franz Karl Maier, was the public prosecutor of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht and had also indicted in 1947, the Minister President of Wuerttemberg-Baden, Rheinhold Maier, as well as Heuss' predecessor as Minister for Education, Herr Simpendoerfer, were also factors that the Bosch interests took into account.

Rheinhold Maier and Simpendoerfer had voted for the Enabling Act in 1933 which gave Hitler dictatorial powers. Moreover, Rheinhold Maier, on that occasion, showered praise on Hitler. Thanks to U. S. Army Lt. Col. Fritz Oppenheimer, a former officer in the Kaiser's army who later became an aide to General Clay and helped to scuttle effective denazification of Germany, Franz Karl Maier was dismissed as the public prosecutor.

It is noteworthy that Minister President Rheinhold Maier had been a Minister of Commerce in one of the Bosch controlled cabinets during the Weimar Republic. One could hardly expect Rheinhold Maier to take a determined stand in defending the state of Wuerttemberg against any claims which the Bosch people would institute for the return of the Bosch Press cartel. These were some of the favorable circumstances which impelled the executors of the Bosch will to take action. Indeed, such action appeared urgent in view of the fact that the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* under Franz Karl Maier, was a thorn in the side of those elements in Germany who never lost faith in the ideals of Hitler.

JUSTICE IN GERMANY

The Bosch lawyers, therefore, prepared the case under the most favorable conditions. As stated, the President of the Bonn Government had written a biography which whitewashed Robert Bosch. Another book appeared, entitled "Press In Chains" which claimed on page 146 that the Bosch press did not belong to the so-called "bourgeois" press which had been bought up by the Nazis. It was further stated in the book that the Bosch press had supported the foreign policy of the Weimar Republic. Strangely, however, the authorship of this book is anonymous, but it was accepted as a piece of evidence in favor of Bosch!

Another piece of evidence which was used in the court proceedings was that presented by a so-called expert on the Nazi Holding Co., VERA—one Professor Herr D'Ester. VERA had been created by the Nazis to buy up that portion of the German bourgeois press (General Anzeiger Presse) which did not oppose the Nazis. Herr D'Ester alleged that VERA had also bought up some newspapers which opposed the Nazis. This was supposed to help the Bosch claim for restitution since VERA had purchased the Bosch press in 1936. Finally, Bosch's private secretary, one of the seven executors of his will, signed a statement that Bosch never wanted to hand over his Press Cartel to the Nazis. These were the exhibits which were used by the Bosch lawyers to clinch the case!

If the judges at the trial had been independent and honest, Bosch might have failed, notwithstanding all of the tricks employed by the Bosch lawyers. But this was too much to expect from the present status of the German judiciary. Two of the three judges were ex-judges of the Nazi regime, and it goes without saying that they knew on which side their bread was buttered. The court proceedings were a farce. The judges turned out to be mere tools of the Bosch interests. It is an outrage that they ever claimed to have jurisdiction over this case since the Bosch Press cartel had been domiciled in Munich. In rendering their verdict, the judges said that Bosch did not want the Nazi rearmament orders, and that "as a matter of fact" Bosch did not receive these fat orders, but rather the Bosch Corporation! As to the honorary titles of "Pioneer of Labor" and of "Nazi Exemplary Firm," the court found that "even anti-Nazis could receive such honors." Therefore, based on the so-called evidence of ex-Nazis, Hitler supporters, pro-Bosch politicians, and anonymous authors, the court concluded that Bosch was a great democrat and a staunch opponent of Hitlerism.

It is obvious of course that if Bosch had been a true opponent of the Nazis he would have been liquidated long before his natural death. His faithful cooperation with the Nazis is a matter of public record, but the court ignored the facts. Other facts concerning Bosch's close cooperation with the Nazis (his co-ownership in the Nazi espionage outfit Transocean News Agency in the United States, his blocking of the use of Bosch patents by the United States Navy and Funk's speech in Bosch's home) were not introduced into the record of the court proceedings.

VICTORY THROUGH BLACKMAIL

With this victory under their belt, the Bosch executors did not lose a minute. Having been assured that the Government of Wuerttemberg-Baden would not take any vigorous action in appealing the decision, they immediately approached the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* with an ultimatum. They informed the publishers that their lease of the printing facilities would not be renewed unless Bosch was able to dominate the policies of the paper. The publishers of the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* were told that if they did not "come across," they would be tied up in law suits aimed at taking over the printing facilities and other equipment. As an additional measure, the Bosch people warned the publishers of the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* that the defunct "Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt," which had been originally published by Bosch, would be revived so as to undermine the circulation of the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*. These threats made an impression on two of the co-publishers who meekly submitted to the Bosch dictate. The third publisher, Franz Karl Maier, defied Bosch and sold his interests rather than knuckle down to the Nazi cartel.

At present the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* is published by the two remaining co-publishers since Bosch is clever enough to proceed with caution at this time. The Bosch interests know that it is better to keep this scandal from the public so as to maintain the impression in the minds of the people that the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* is still an independent paper. There can be no doubt, however, that when the appropriate time comes, Bosch will return triumphantly. In the meantime, the two co-publishers are taking their orders.

THE FUTURE

The victory of Bosch will have far-reaching implications. It clears the way for other industrial war lords and Hitler supporters to regain control of their newspapers. The fact that a substantial number of ex-Nazis have returned to the bench in the German courts should help legalize future coups. On the other hand, the prospect for the independent German democratic press is black indeed inasmuch as the greater part of the publishing facilities in West Germany were originally owned by Nazis and Hitler supporters.

As this development proceeds, the Allied High Commission maintains its "watch on the Rhine" from the Petersberg mountain where Chamberlain had once appeased the Nazis and prepared the infamy of Munich. The Germans must have possessed an ironic sense of humor when they offered Petersberg to the Allied High Commission. It is from this vantage point that the Allied High Commission continues to issue its monthly and weekly reports trying to reassure the world that the democratic press in Germany is a safe and a "going concern."

"Chancellor Adenauer and Dr. Schumacher have agreed that they will jointly fight the renaissance of another generals' regime. However, that danger emerges in Germany as soon as a German army is formed . . . If there should be a German army, then it would be the generals of such an army who, at a critical state, might make the decision for Germany on East or West . . ."

(*From the Frankfurter Neue Presse* [*Christian Democratic*])

A Statement On German Rearmament

by
Mark Van Doren

In dealing with the Korean crisis the United Nations called for the cooperation of all governments to prevent the conflict from spreading to other parts of the world. Toward that end, the United States pledged its full support and the President has assured the American people that the action taken in Korea is designed to avert the catastrophe of a third world war.

Yet this dangerous moment, when world peace hangs in the balance, has been seized by German master-minds to evade the consequences of their aggressions, and to prepare the groundwork for resurgent German military might. Since the end of World War II the Germans have sought by every possible means to play off East against West. They have gone further by artfully fostering a climate of fear, suspicion, and instability among our Western Allies. The German strategy thrives on crises as the means to extract concession after concession, aiming at the eventual rebuilding of Germany's war-making power. The German militarists and their friends see in the Korean conflict the payoff for their long range plans to revive their arsenal for war.

The efforts of the United Nations to isolate the Korean conflict will be gravely impaired if Germany is permitted to produce war material and re-establish military forces. Since Germany has been a major bone of contention between the Russian and the Western democracies, it is inevitable that the recreation of German war potential and armed forces will provide the Russians with a legitimate pretext to further strengthen the military power of the Germans in the Soviet zone of occupation. This would touch off a race between East and West to rearm the Germans, thereby increasing tensions to a point where the smallest incident could set off a new conflagration.

It is stated that rearming the Germans is a military expediency; as if it were conceivable that a West German army would fight against an East German army! In the long run, however, it will hasten the disaffection of our most reliable friends in Europe, thus nullifying any possible short-term military advantages that may be gained. Indeed, even as a military policy, the strengthening of Germany's war potential may turn out to be a booby-trap for the West.

The free world must not fall prey to the delusion that present-day Germany is a reliable bulwark of democracy. The free world cannot effectively meet the Communist challenge by resorting to short-sighted military policies which ignore the nefarious record of the Germans and bypass those political and moral factors which will ultimately determine the fate of Western solidarity.

The United States must not permit itself to appear as the initiator of German rearmament at a moment when we are endeavoring to strengthen the moral, military, and political unity of the Western democracies. Psychologically, the United States would be committing a terrible blunder by remilitarizing the Germans, who only recently ravaged the lands and homes of our Western Allies. It would create bitter disillusionment among the victims of Nazi aggression and alienate them from our common cause. What better propaganda could anti-American elements possess than to place the onus of the remilitarization of Germany on the United States!

Western Europe has been assured time and again that German recovery did not mean German rearmament. In the Petersberg Agreement of November 25, 1949, the Bonn Government pledged: "*its earnest determination to maintain the demilitarization of the Federal territory and to endeavor by all means in its power to prevent the recreation of armed forces of any kind. To this end the Federal Government will cooperate fully with the High Commission in the work of the Military Security Board.*" If we are not to break faith with Western Europe, this agreement must be respected in letter and spirit.

In the long run the United States will be in a far stronger position morally and politically, if it continues to press for an iron-clad agreement prohibiting the remilitarization of the Germans by any State. As the international organization responsible for the maintenance of world peace and security, the United Nations should be encouraged by our government to bring about such an agreement. This policy would be in complete harmony with the basic objective of the United Nations in Korea, namely to preserve world peace.

"... But the problem is not that simple. What if the Allies agree that Western Germans shall be armed and proceed to create a defense force? What if this force is trained and equipped with weapons and munitions? Could it be readily picked off in an armored attack from the East and turned against the Allies?

"Another concern is the old and proper one of France and the Low Countries. An armed Germany is a threat to Western Europe—or so it has been for decades. The Frenchman wants no more invasions by armed Germans. His position is wholly understandable. What Russia may do he does not know, but what Germans with guns have done every time they have had a chance, the Frenchman knows only too well ..."

(From an editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

Two Indispensable Books

Two books have recently been published which in our opinion deserve the careful study of all serious students of international affairs.

One of these books was written by *Mr. James Stewart Martin,* former Chief of the Decartelization Branch of military government in Germany. Mr. Martin's book is entitled *All Honorable Men* and as the jacket of the book declares: It is *"The story of the men on both sides of the Atlantic who successfully thwarted plans to dismantle the Nazi cartel system."*

Mr. Martin speaks with experience, having helped organize, with members of the anti-Trust Division, the Economic Warfare Section of the Government during the war. In February, 1945, he was assigned, at the request of the War Department, first to the Finance Division of the United States Group Control Council and then to the Financial Branch G-5 Division of the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF). Later he was appointed Director of the Division for the Investigation of Cartels and External Assets in the Office of Military Government, and subsequently he was reassigned as Chief of the Decartelization Branch with the status of Division Director, the civilian equivalent of a general officer rating in the army.

Thus Mr. Martin's background fully equipped him to tackle one of the most important missions in the American occupation of Germany. *All Honorable Men* is Mr. Martin's accounting of his work and is, in effect, a report to the American people. He does not write with bitterness nor is there any attempt to sensationalize. *All Honorable Men* deals with facts supported by careful documentation including names, places, and dates.

Though Mr. Martin has dwelt primarily on the German cartel problem, his story throws light on many other aspects of the German problem. In other words, many things which have occurred in Germany during the past five years which seem incomprehensible, are cleared up by a reading of *All Honorable Men.*

Mr. Martin discusses certain key personalities in military government, such as *General Clay, General Draper, Col. Bernstein, Brig. Gen. Hugh Hester, Lawrence Wilkinson, Phillips Hawkins, Richardson Bronson, Alexander Sacks,* and many other important figures. Yet in discussing these men, Mr. Martin is not interested in smears or backslapping. Rather does he try to place all of these individuals and their ideas in proper perspective. They all symbolize certain policies and certain programs. Some represented those forces in military government which courageously tried to carry out the original directives of our government. Others tried to block their fulfillment.

After the defeat of Germany, it was clear that unless the German cartel network was smashed and her war potential industries deconcentrated, there could be no genuine peace nor security. Mr. Martin was fully aware of the significance of his mission and tried to serve his country to the best of his ability. He gathered around him a group of tireless workers who were equally imbued with his determination to carry out the pledges of our Government.

However, Mr. Martin and his heroic crew of trust-busters were confronted with a powerful obstacle, namely the long years of intimate cartel tieups between the Germans and their counterparts in the United States, Britain and France. In short, Mr. Martin and his co-workers were pioneering in the literal sense of the word. They were entrusted to do something which had never been accomplished before in the history of modern industry, namely to smash the cartel setup of Germany and deconcentrate its industries. Perhaps it was the very novelty of this mission which partially explains its ultimate failure.

But in the long run it seems that this lack of success was due to factors beyond the control of Mr. Martin and the Decartelization Branch. On the one hand, Mr. Martin was confronted with the inner conspiracy of the cartelists. On the other, most folks back home had a naive-like trust in paper directives. They were unaware of the fact that it takes willing hands to carry out policies, and since Germany was far off the American people left it up to their representatives in Germany to do the job. They could not know what was transpiring from day to day in the offices of the military government, and so they were for the most part ignorant of the "subtle changes" which were taking place in our treatment of the cartels.

Caught between the cartelists on the one hand and the general apathy of the American people, Mr. Martin and his group were virtually isolated. Mr. Martin had no effective means to alert the people back home except for a handful of courageous newspaper correspondents who from time to time lifted the curtain of conspiracy. It goes without saying that the men of the cartels exploited this situation to the fullest, at a time when Mr. Martin and his organization worked tirelessly to smash I. G. Farben, the German steel trust, the ball bearing trust, etc. They were the gallant soldiers of peace but they were overpowered by vested interests and the dead hand of public indifference.

Thus *All Honorable Men* is in reality the story of a great tragedy—a tragedy because the resurgence of the German trusts and cartels may be the precursor of future disasters to the well-being and security of the American people and their Allies. It remains to be seen, too, whether economic enterprise and commercial stability can be assured under conditions where German cartels spread their tentacles in the world markets.

In dealing with the failure to decartelize Germany, Mr. Martin does not generalize. Indeed, he is very specific and goes into great pains to give the case histories of many of the subjects with which he deals. He recounts how original Allied policy was sabotaged continuously by those who were duty-bound to carry it out. Among the significant episodes he relates is one

in connection with military government Law No. 56 which was designed to deconcentrate Germany's powerful industries.

The law had finally been promulgated after many setbacks due to the undermining activities of General Draper who was General Clay's economic adviser. But when the decartelization branch officials were all set to go to work on the basis of this law, they were told by Mr. Richardson Bronson, who had succeeded Mr. Martin as Chief of the Decartelization Branch, that they were "to go easy." Mr. Bronson declared that there was to be no deconcentration of German heavy industry and that the German vertical monopolies were to be preserved. As this was in direct contradiction to the spirit of Law No. 56 as well as General Clay's own position, the members of the Decartelization Branch decided to take this matter up with General Clay. They were confident that General Clay would support them against this gross distortion of Law No. 56. Their hopes were in vain. General Clay informed them that Bronson's views were his own. Speaking about the steel industries in Germany he declared that they must be big enough to "live" in competition with the steel industries of other countries. In addition he said that the German steel firms must operate at a profit so as to bring the owners a "reasonable rate of return on investment." Mr. Martin describes what took place after General Clay had finished his statement:

"At this juncture, Alex Sacks raised a point. The history of the Ruhr steel industry, which would long since have been bankrupt but for a large government subsidy, emphasized the absurdity of guaranteeing a 'reasonable rate of return on investment' to the industry in a competitive market. What right did the owners of these combines have to this kind of consideration? Suddenly General Clay cut in. His face clouded up. His fist banged on the table. 'I did not come here to be lectured on decartelization.' He looked around the table. In a controlled voice he finished off: 'I hope that no one feels he has to leave.' He paused. 'I hope that everyone will feel that he can remain and work under the policy as I have stated it. Good night, gentlemen!' He rose and left the room."

General Clay's reply was a signal victory for the cartelists and their tools in military government. It was a victory for General Draper whose banking firm, Dillon, Read, had played a major role in building up the German steel trust. It was a triumph for Lawrence Wilkinson, the Director of the Economic Division who had helped to preserve the German ball bearing cartel in defiance of American directives. More important, it was a victory for those very same forces which had unleashed two world wars within a generation.

The breakdown of the decartelization program was therefore not accidental. It was not due to insufficient personnel or impractical policies. Rather was it the result of deliberate planning. Thus, Mr. Martin notes, the American people have won a war but the fruits of that victory have been squandered.

Concluding his brilliant study Mr. Martin says:

"The moral of this is not that Germany is an inevitable menace, but that there are forces in our own country which can make Germany a menace. And, more importantly, they could create a menace of their own here at home, not through a deliberate plot to bring about a political catastrophe, but as a calm judgment of 'business necessity.' The men who would do this are not Nazis but businessmen; not criminals, but honorable men."

* * *

The second book was written by *Mr. James P. Warburg*. Mr. Warburg is one of our clear thinkers on American foreign policy whose voice deserves a much greater audience. His new book, *Faith, Purpose and Power*, is a plea for a positive policy in the conduct of our foreign relations.

Few will deny Mr. Warburg's contention that much of our policy is merely the negation of Russian designs. Mr. Warburg rightly declares that such a policy can only play into the hands of the Russians. He is convinced that only long range plans and not merely military expediency will achieve success for the interests of the United States. As he says:

"Nothing could make clearer the sincerity of our basic ambition—to live at peace in the world rather than to dominate it—than our avowed readiness to accept the supra-national authority of the United Nations, transformed by charter amendment into a federal government of the world."

Writing further he states:

"The second thing we need to do is to recognize—far more clearly than we have—that hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance anywhere in the world are a threat to our own peace and our own prosperity."

While the United States alone cannot "cure" this misery, Mr. Warburg writes,

"We can supply the moral and material forces to get the wheel of progress off dead center. We can and must place ourselves and our resources at the service of humanity, wherever our help is wanted and can effectively be given to those who are struggling to help themselves and their neighbors."

Part of his book is devoted to discussing in more detail these two basic concepts. But there are other portions of his book which are of immediate significance to the American people. We refer in particular to his discussion of the question of the remilitarization of Germany. Mr. Warburg opposes the rearming of the Germans on the following grounds:

(a) The rearming of the Germans would not strengthen Western Europe because it "would destroy the fighting morale of France" and "would not guarantee that a rearmed Germany would fight for the security of Western Europe." As a shrewd observer of French politics and French history, he knows full well the deep-seated fear of the French vis a vis the resurgence of a strong remilitarized Germany. He knows that such a development would give ample ammunition to the French Communists and would thereby create disunity among the French people.

As for the Germans, Mr. Warburg rightly suspects German willingness to side with the Allies. He poses a question which has yet gone unanswered:

"Why should a German army be expected to fight on the wrong side of the Rhine with German soldiers exposed to atomic attack and all of Germany in Russian hands?"

He shows that the Germans who are anxious for rearming are primarily those *"who would fight with only one consideration in mind—namely to be on the winning side in the next war and thus to gain a position of power for a resurgent Germany."*

(b) Mr. Warburg contends that a remilitarized Germany would destroy the hope of a "democratic Germany." He shows that even today democracy in Germany has far to go. To encourage militarism among the Germans, therefore, would destroy whatever gains have been made up to now. *"Probably no single factor,"* writes Mr. Warburg, *"could militate more strongly toward a complete regression of the German people into their former pattern than the rebirth of a German general staff and a German army. The Germans have never yet learned to create a State which possesses an army; they have always in the past, tended to create an army which possesses the State."*

(c) Mr. Warburg demolishes the argument that Western Germany must be rearmed because the Russians are arming "their" Germans. Mr. Warburg shows that the number of Germans the Russians could arm would be insignificant in comparison to what the Russians themselves would need and could mobilize in a march to the Channel. He declares that the Russians are arming "their Germans" as a propaganda maneuver to withdraw their own troops from their East German puppet state. This is intended to put the Western Allies on the spot and encourage agitation for their withdrawal from West Germany. Obviously, as Mr. Warburg writes, the Western Allies do not want to withdraw their occupation troops. *"But,"* he declares, *"if we fall into the Russian trap—if we rearm 'our Germans' because the Russians have rearmed 'theirs'—we shall have created the very condition in which it will seem unreasonable for us not to withdraw our own forces. How stupid can we be?"*

The present world crisis has encouraged rash and impetuous decisions. Many of those who advocate the rearming of Germany have undoubtedly been swept away by a rising emotional tide and fear, but effective policies in the long run can never be built on the quicksands of hysteria.

For those who want to listen to a dispassionate view of this crucial issue, we strongly recommend *Faith, Purpose and Power.*

(*All Honorable Men*, by James Stewart Martin, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1950.)

(*Faith, Purpose and Power*, by James P. Warburg, Farrar, Straus & Co., New York, 1950.)

"On August 22, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* published an article dealing with the organization of the Bruderschaft. The author of this article concludes with the following paragraph:

" 'The very first condition which Germany will demand for her participation in the defense of Europe will be the return of their former dignity to the German officers and soldiers, by reviewing the war crimes trials which have condemned their leaders, and by guaranteeing a decent livelihood to the former professional military leaders, including those who belonged to the SS.' "

(*From L'Epoque*)

ULTIMATUM?

"Gen. Hasso von Manteuffel, German World War II tank commander, . . . named the immediate release of all German war criminals as one condition of German participation in the defense of Western Europe.

"Addressing the Rhein-Ruhr Club, an association of West German industrialists, Manteuffel made clear that he does not favor German rearmament unless Germany is granted full sovereignty. Among 'preconditions' for West Germany's remilitarization he listed:

"1. Settlement of Germany's border problems in east and west under international law. This means, he said, that some west European countries will have 'to give up their territorial claims.' He did not elaborate.

"2. Freedom for Germany's shipbuilding and merchant marine.

"3. Guaranteeing the legal pension claims of professional soldiers.

"4. Immediate release of all German war criminals who would be sentenced only by German courts if they have violated German laws.

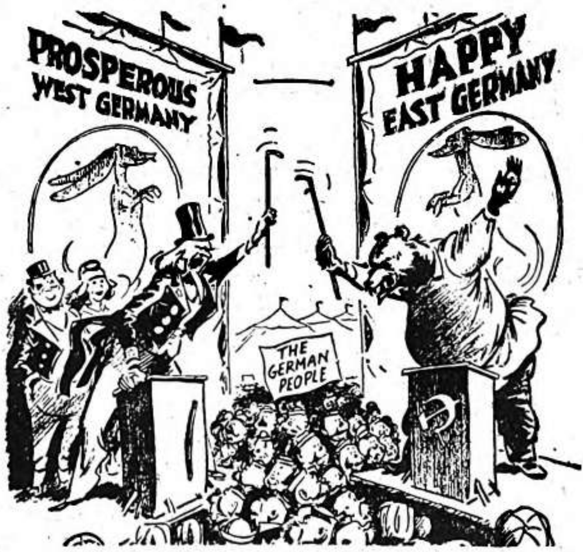
"Manteuffel demanded inclusion of German officers in the command of a future west European army.

"Former Col. Gen. Heinz Guderian echoed Manteuffel's views in a letter to the Munich newspaper 'Sueddeutsche Zeitung,' . . .

" 'Equal rights for Germany is a goal which is far more important than rearmament,' said Guderian."

(*AP dispatch from Duesseldorf, Germany*)

"GREATEST SHOW IN EUROPE"



Cartoon by Smith—Courtesy N. E. A. Service, Inc.

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH WILHELM FOERSTER

80th Anniversary

There are few personalities in recent times whose lives contain such rich experience as that of Professor Wilhelm Friedrich Foerster who reached his 80th year during the past summer. Prof. Foerster is a founder of the Society for the Prevention of World War III and a member of its Board of Directors. It is no accident of fate that the name of Prof. Foerster should be linked so intimately with the Society for the Prevention of World War III. Indeed, we would say that the Society is a concrete symbol of all that Prof. Foerster has stood for during the major portion of his adult lifetime.

Prof. Foerster was born in Germany of a family which exhibited two opposing lines of development. The first trend was steeped in Prussianism and militarism. In opposition to these war-like ideologies, one could find in Prof. Foerster's family life great spiritual power motivated by Humanism in the true sense of the word. Prof. Foerster chose the latter path after having absorbed through his father the philosophical ideals of Alexander von Humboldt, the great German philosopher.

As a youth, Prof. Foerster witnessed the growing Prussianization of Germany and foresaw that this development bode ill for the rest of mankind. He therefore took on a mission, a virtual one-man responsibility to warn the world of impending catastrophe unless mankind awakened and acted with determination. Prof. Foerster knew whereof he spoke. He studied deeply all aspects of German life as a social scientist and educator. Few Germans, indeed few people, attained such a thorough understanding of the forces which were catapulting Germany into war.

Wherever he travelled in Germany, Prof. Foerster spoke up against the rising tide of militarism. For this he was hounded and persecuted as a "traitor to the Fatherland." But Prof. Foerster's patriotism was made of sterner stuff and he never faltered despite the quickened tempo of German rearmament. His was one of the lonely voices in Germany which dared to challenge the sabre-rattling speeches of the Kaiser before World War I broke out. He was practically alone in his devastating exposes of the hollowness of German intellectuals who meekly bowed to the Prussian God of War.

Foerster was not a starry-eyed idealist. On the contrary, he was a keen and practical student of politics and sociology. He knew that Germany under Prussian leadership could never conquer the world. He realized that such plans were doomed and would only bring ruin and shame to his people. Therefore, he kept on his uncomprising fight to take Beethoven out of the trenches. But the unholy conspiracy of the German militarists and the so-called democratic politicians under the Weimar Republic could no longer tolerate dissent. Foerster was a marked man. In 1923 he had to flee for his life having been forewarned that the German militarists were plotting his death.

In exile, Prof. Foerster continued his work which had a two-fold purpose: first to arouse the world to the dangers of the Pan-German conspiracy, and secondly, to save his own people from infamy and disgrace. In 1926, when the great powers met in Geneva, Switzerland, to discuss disarmament, Foerster boldly revealed the plans of the German General Staff to secretly rearm behind the pacifistic mask of the German Foreign Minister, Stresemann. His warnings fell on deaf ears and in Germany his name was villified. Foerster was now Germany's "Benedict Arnold." But despite the calumnies and abuse and danger to his physical person, Prof. Foerster never deviated from his great purpose and ideals.

He foresaw the rise of Hitler and wrote brilliant expositions against the folly of appeasement. However, as in the past, Foerster's admonitions went unheeded.

The 50 years of Prof. Foerster's struggle have placed great burdens on him. But greater burdens have been placed on a world which refused to listen because it was willing to put an undeserved trust in Germany.

Prof. Foerster came to the United States in 1940, and it was no accident that he chose this country, for what he revealed in his testimony before the Kilgore Committee in 1946 had a direct bearing on the future security and well being of the American people. In discussing the German problem before the Kilgore Committee, Foerster quoted the Kaiser as stating during the first World War "*three Punic wars will be needed to crush the Anglo-American powers.*" In addition, he quoted the German Geo-Politicians who claimed that "the first World War destroyed France as a first rate power. The second World War inflicted deadly wounds on the British Empire and the third World War will deal the death blow to the United States."

In one of his brilliant addresses before an American audience, Prof. Foerster recounted the story of the American journalist, Carlton Smith, who, at the outbreak of the second World War, visited the Geo-Political Institute of General Haushofer at Munich. Prof. Foerster told his audience that when the American journalist expressed astonishment at all the treasures of detailed information possessed by Hitler's leading geopolitical adviser, particularly about far-off America, Haushofer replied: "*Young man, we think in terms of centuries. In case we should lose this war, you may be sure that from the first hour of armistice we shall prepare for the next war.*"

Prof. Foerster's talents have been recognized by all objective students on Germany. Since his arrival in the United States, Prof. Foerster has lectured in some of the major universities in the East. For several years he was the Director of the Germanic Library at Columbia University. This library contained one of the most complete collections of documents, pamphlets, and books dealing with all aspects of German life. Today Prof. Foerster is still at work writing and lecturing. His dynamic personality has never failed to inspire those who have come in contact with him.

Prof. Foerster's contributions in making the Society for the Prevention of World War III the foremost educational institution on Pan-Germanism, stems from his profound understanding of the long range plans of the German General Staff. Some months ago, Mr. Ernest Pisko, of the *Christian Science Monitor*, compared the Society for the Prevention of World War III to the "remembrance slave" of Xerxes, the King of Persia. This slave, according to Mr. Pisko, was to continually remind the King of Persia of "unfinished business of the previous war" when the King appeared relaxed and over-confident. We deeply appreciate the compliment paid to us by Mr. Pisko, but in reality that tribute is due to Prof. Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster. May his wisdom prevail in these troubled times.

Was the Decartelization Program Sabotaged?

As part of its educational activities, the Society for the Prevention of World War III has held conferences with former decartelization employees and has made a study of their findings, most of which have been published in books and magazine articles. The Profiles following represent the collective viewpoint and expression of these experts.

Profile No. 1: Richardson Bronson

Richardson Bronson became chief of the Decartelization Branch of Military Government in 1947. During the war he was an army colonel ferrying troops across to Europe.

He began his Military Government work as deputy I. G. Farben Control Officer in which position he was subordinate and responsible to James S. Martin, chief of Decartelization. Bronson had no training in anti-trust work, although he was a lawyer; and was very frank in stating to his subordinates that his background had been with big business and that his sympathies were there too.

Bronson became I. G. Farben Control Officer in which position he developed a plan for turning over the various units set up under I. G. Farben breakup plans to German trustees who would administer and run the properties until finally disposed of to new and independent owners. The series of "independent" units which Bronson set up were legal fictions, since they were in fact neither units nor independent. The scheme was a temporary stop-gap to take the pressure off the persistent demand for positive action.

Although Bronson was administratively responsible to Martin, in reality he took his orders from his superiors in the Economics Division, Lawrence Wilkinson, General William H. Draper, Jr., and eventually Phillips Hawkins. In common with his superiors, he was unalterably opposed to breaking up and deconcentrating German combines, and never concealed his antagonism to the program of the Decartelization Branch. While still subordinate to Martin, Bronson told Johnston Avery and Creighton Coleman, assistant chiefs of the branch, that he was glad he had nothing to do with decartelization since he had always been on the side of big business and did not believe in breaking up German combines.

The principle behind the establishment of "independent" units to replace the Farben combine was the policy that these units should not be bigger than were absolutely necessary to carry out efficient production. It would appear that this principle was not adhered to. Actually, the biggest plants of Farben were grouped into one unit under a single trustee. All of the plants in Hoechst, for example, were placed under one trustee and operated as a unit. The Hoechst complex constitutes one of the biggest pieces of Farben property. The aim was not efficient production, but to safeguard the interests of the former owners of Farben who, through their influence, both on the Americans and on the German trustees, were able to prevent any dismemberment of the cartel. The trustees of these units were trusted functionaries of the company, many of them former high Nazis, who were retained in their positions because of their alleged "know-how." These trustees knew how to cater to American occupation authorities in order to accomplish their aims of safeguarding their property from liquidation.

Bronson conducted long conferences with various officials in search of a formula which would circumvent the Allied Control Council Law 9 seizing I. G. Farben property. This concerned the method whereby ownership would be transferred to new owners. It was a convenient piece of juridical maneuvering to which Bronson offered no opposition. The whole history of the liquidation of Farben clearly shows that the top officials did very little to carry out U. S. policies. And this also applies to Bronson.

The net result of Bronson's tenure as I. G. Farben Control Officer was the gradual emergence of the old power of the Farben cartel, with production policies under nominal direction of the American officials, but actually in the hands of the same crowd which guided

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REICH CARTELS STILL FLOURISHING

". . . The retiring chief of the U. S. Marshall Plan for Germany said today that the Western Allies have failed to break up the huge cartels that helped Hitler wage war.

"'The program of decartelizing and deconcentrating West German industry has not been successful so far,' Robert M. Hanes said in an interview. 'Practically no German industry has been decartelized or deconcentrated . . .

"'. . . Cartel-smashing has been attacked bitterly by West German industrial and governmental leaders, including Chancellor Adenauer.'"

(*From UP, Frankfurt, October* 14, 1950)

ANOTHER VERSION . . .

"It is a familiar lament in left-wing circles that the German cartels are at their supposedly sinister work again. But General Clay reports that the big German chemical combine, I. G. Farben, has been broken up into 52 independent operating units, that the so-called Big Six banks have been dissolved, and that former owners of the Ruhr coal, iron and steel plants have been excluded from the management of their properties. I can testify on the basis of a trip to the Ruhr in the summer of 1949 that a complete scrambling of property rights, leading to chaos, and a multiplication of foreign controls were far graver problems than any revival of cartels . . ."

(*From "Germany: Another Korea?" by William Henry Chamberlain in The Freeman, October* 16, 1950)

Farben throughout its nefarious history.

The turning over of the German chemical industry by John J. McCloy to the Germans was only the logical consequence of an existing state of fact.

The fact that former Nazis were back in control of Farben, was admitted by Bronson's colleague, Myron S. Maupin, who was appointed by Bronson to succeed him as Farben Control Officer when Bronson moved up to the position of decartelization chief.

Maupin was little concerned with the breaking up of the Farben empire. Testifying before the Ferguson committee, Maupin admitted that many of the present officials of Farben were former Nazis and justified their employment on the grounds that all he was interested in was production, and those Nazis knew how to produce.

With the announcement that the "independent" units of Farben would not be sold to the public as originally planned, the final step was taken by the American occupation in abandoning plans for the elimination of this source of resurgent economic power of the German cartels.

When Phillips Hawkins moved up from Assistant Chief to Chief of Decartelization, he picked Bronson to succeed him. Bronson and Hawkins were close personal friends—Bronson was best man at the latter's wedding—and the fact that Hawkins was the son-in-law of Draper, the Military Government Economic Adviser, was particularly attractive to Bronson.

Hawkins selected Bronson for the job of decartelization chief, because he could rely on Bronson to follow his orders and hew the line. As an administrator of the program, Bronson showed a lack of interest in breaking the cartels. The promises made to his staff to undertake any particular action were never kept. He always sought reasons for his lack of action. Bronson would call for the submission of proposals against a particular combine, but after receiving them would completely ignore them, while the staff would be involved in some internal reorganization or shifting of responsibility. A favorite technique for avoiding action would be the shifting of the responsibility for recommendations from one staff member to another. Projects such as the Bosch and Siemens deconcentration orders went through innumerable individuals, each obliged to review the data and come up with some new recommendation. Proposals for deconcentrating the Siemenswerke, the giant electrical trust, for example, were ready as far back as 1946. Yet more than two years later, Bronson assigned an entirely new set of individuals who did not know the material to undertake a new study of the combine.

Bronson never fought for any part of the decartelization program, and when he was publicly accused in March, 1948, by 19 members of his own staff of revising basic U. S. policy, he failed to justify his position. Nor did he try to defend U. S. policies before his superiors who used him to promulgate this arbitrary change of policy without any explanation whatsoever. Quite the contrary, Bronson told the staff to be "good soldiers" and obey their superiors. Martin, however, fought back and defended the United States interests.

Bronson's testimony before the Ferguson committee shows his true character. He affirmed to the committee the possibility of deconcentrating the Henschel locomotive combine although he himself earlier had informed the staff that Henschel was not to be deconcentrated.

Bronson's performance before the Ferguson committee is an example of the man's ability. As described by Francis Laurent, one of the assistant chiefs of the Branch, Bronson, "because of his poor memory and lack of understanding of the issues was not well qualified for the conduct of negotiations, and was unwilling to compensate for his shortcomings. While work on the Henschel case was in progress he undertook to conduct negotiations with his British opposite but did not ask the persons who were familiar with the case to accompany him. On two occasions he brought back reports of agreements which were at variance with reports which came to us from the British side. The resulting disagreements were extremely embarrassing."

In testifying before the Ferguson Committee, Bronson gave a misleading picture of the results of the work of the Decartelization Branch. Thus, in December, 1948, he told the Committee that the Decartelization program had reached a point "where it could go in either direction," that no fait accompli had been put over. He made these assertions in the face of known facts that back in March, 1948, General Clay had already jettisoned the whole decartelization program with his famous "rule of reason" theory under which heavy German industry was practically exempted from any decartelization action.

In a letter to the Ferguson Committee, dated March 31, 1949, Bronson attempted to defend his record and told the Committee that hearings on Bosch, the great auto accessory combine, were being finalized. The record of the Bosch case does not bear this out. Under orders of Clay, he had removed from the Bosch recommendations its vital parts dealing with the planned severance of the Eisemann Company which was Bosch's chief competitor before it was swallowed up by Bosch in 1924. Bronson ordered Eisemann to remain a part of the Bosch combine! In addition, Bronson, acting under Hawkins' instructions, changed other sections of the Bosch Determination order, particularly the patent and foreign subsidiaries parts. The net effect of these changes was to allow Bosch to retain control over its patents and to permit Bosch to reestablish itself as an international cartel.

In connection with Bosch's efforts to regain its international cartel position, Bronson, unofficially, conducted many private conversations with a General Wilson, who was acting as Bosch's representative in Germany, and who was the head of the International Products Trading Company which the Bosch combine established in Switzerland for the purpose of building up Bosch's foreign exchange, without the embarrassment of submitting their dealings to the scrutiny of Military Government. The contract signed with Bosch by the IPTC was executed with Bronson's approval after consultation with Hawkins. The Bosch-IPTC contract was a clear violation of Military Government Law 56 on decartelization. It is typical of Bronson's conduct that in discussing this deal between Bosch and Wilson before the Ferguson committee, Bronson expressed annoyance at Wilson for "barging" into his office at all times and "interfering" with the work of the Decartelization Branch. Notwithstanding the illegality of Bronson's action in pushing through the contract, notwithstanding all of the actions involved in watering down and making the Bosch decartelization ineffective, Bronson informed the Ferguson committee in *March*, 1949, *that everything was getting along fine with regard to the decartelization of Bosch.*

Bronson's role in furthering the contract between the International Products Trading Corporation and Bosch was prejudicial to U. S. interests.

In the case of the Siemenswerke, Bronson told the Committee that the whole Siemens question was being examined by the U. S.-U. K. Bipartite Board. He accused other witnesses before the Committee of not knowing the latest achievements of the Decartelization Branch.

He didn't tell the Committee that this was the nth time the deconcentration of Siemens, the electrical combine, was being considered and that nothing would come out of this consideration, for the simple reason that he knew that no action against Siemens would be undertaken.

In his statement to the Committee, Bronson pointed to the abolition of the business licensing laws of the German State Government as one of his major achievements, but he did not tell the Committee that the enforcement of the regulations abolishing licensing was practically non-existent and that the slight criticism levelled against the German officials was hardly calculated to force these officials to carry out the Military Government policy on licensing.

He pointed to the fact that the Germans were considering fair trade legislation. Such legislation has yet to be passed. Nowhere does Bronson point to the major failures of military occupation in carrying out the decartelization program. He says nothing about the Henschel case even though he himself had told the Committee several months earlier that some action on Henschel was contemplated.

Or take the case of the United Ball Bearing Works—the VKF combine. This was a Swedish affiliate of SKF and represented a virtual monopoly in Germany, with the exception of a small independent concern—Kugellager Fischer. Since the United Ball Bearing Works was a foreign-owned company, Military Government dismantled the Fischer plant as part of the reparations program, *thus creating a complete monopoly for VKF.*

The Decartelization staff, therefore, prepared a series of recommendations for deconcentrating VKF. Under pressure of the Economics Division headed by Wilkinson, all action on VKF was suspended and a solution was offered which consisted of having VKF turn over to Kugellager Fischer some of its obsolete machinery for the production of ball bearings. On specific instructions of Wilkinson, Bronson held off all action to deconcentrate VKF, although this firm would have remained a monopoly within the meaning of Law 56 even after the turning over of machines to Fischer. Subsequently, General Clay killed all action on VKF.

The same pattern of action can be discerned in relation to other combines. Bronson would tell his staff one thing and proceed to act in another way behind their backs.

Notwithstanding this record, Bronson had no compunction in telling Creighton Coleman, a member of the Decartelization Branch, that he knew more about decartelization than anyone else!

The above record speaks for itself. Let the reader judge for himself too.

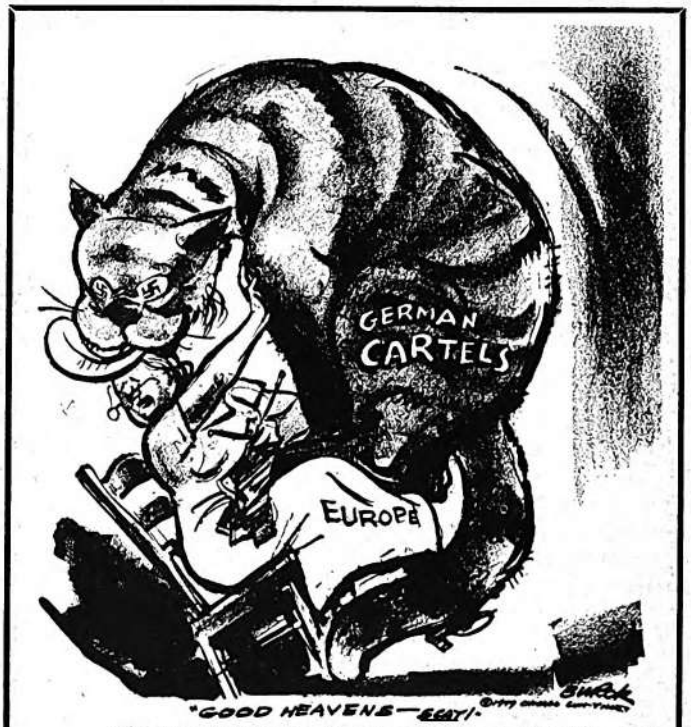
Profile No. 2: Lawrence Wilkinson

Lawrence Wilkinson, who recently resigned from the firm of Dillon, Read & Co., belonged to that top inner circle of economic advisers who guided General Clay in the latter's decisions affecting the major United States economic objectives for occupied Germany.

Wilkinson, until his resignation in August, 1949, was top economic adviser for Military Government. Although neither a trained economist nor a lawyer, Wilkinson, an ex-army colonel, occupied in succession the positions of chief of the Industry and Commerce Branch, deputy chief of the Economics Division, chief of the Economics Division, and finally Economic Advisor to Clay. We still fail to understand what qualifications Wilkinson had for these exalted positions, especially since his main concern was not to upset the basic German economic pattern.

It is clear that having such all-consuming purpose as restoring German industrial recovery as his chief aim, Wilkinson would have little use for the work of the Decartelization Branch, and indeed, like his superior, General Draper, Wilkinson openly opposed the program of decartelization and, in fact, on every possible occasion he vetoed actions pending by the Decartelization Branch on the grounds of their interference with the objectives of Germany's industrial recovery. In effect, with Clay's backing, he exercised a virtual veto over the decartelization program even though *Military Government Law* 56 *on decartelization made the carrying out of specific deconcentration actions mandatory.*

Like other top officials of American Military Government who did not believe in the U. S. objectives and the basic purposes of the American mission in Germany, Wilkinson "believed" in preventing "excessive" concentration of German economic power but failed to find anything "excessive" about the existing concentrations. After General Clay instructed his subordinates to apply a so-called "rule of reason" in their decartelization work in March, 1948, Wilkinson's job, like that of his depu-



(Cartoon by Burck—Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

ties, Hawkins and Bronson, became relatively easy. Any real efforts towards carrying out the decartelization program were simply branded inconsistent with the so-called "rule of reason."

When questioned by the Ferguson committee on his attitude towards decartelization, Wilkinson made the following statement which is typical of the thinking of the top layer of Clay's advisors:

"In numerous conversations with members of the Decartelization Branch and with other officials of military government, and never to the press nor to the Germans, I have expressed the fear that the blanket application of the anti-trust doctrines of the U. S. to the German economy would not only be futile but would also retard German economy. I call particular attention to the word 'blanket,' because I have never disputed the necessity of carrying out our Government's policy to destroy excessive concentration of economic power in Germany. . . . I have indicated my belief that the anti-trust policy which I fully support in the U. S., which is a rich country which can afford to waste raw materials and manpower and plant capacity, is not necessarily to be applied to a country in Germany's reduced economic circumstances, with any hope of ultimate success of the program. . . ."

The underlying assumptions of this argument are that decartelization would interfere with Germany's industrial recovery and that it was inconsistent with a better distribution of goods and services. These economic assertions are specious, to say the least, since the converse is actually true, namely that the abolition of monopolies would reduce prices, afford a better distribution of available goods and promote more incentive for increasing production on a democratic basis.

Wilkinson, in common with the other assorted fry who were defending the vested interests in German industry, sought to back up his actions by appealing to German history. Why disturb, he said, the pattern so familiar to the Germans—that is the pattern of combines, monopolies in allocation and distribution, exclusive trade agreements and the whole claptrap of the Hitlerian economic organization?

Wilkinson made no bones about his antagonism to a democratic reorientation of German economic life. He told the Ferguson committee that on many occasions he had imparted his views to his subordinates, Hawkins and Bronson, as well as to his chief, Draper, and on one occasion to General Clay himself. Thus the very men entrusted with carrying out the program of democratic reorganization of the German economy through decartelization and denazification were most articulate in their opposition.

As various members of the decartelization staff testified, proposals brought to Wilkinson, as head of the Economics Division, for action in specific cases, were met with indifference or outright antagonism.

Wilkinson claimed that he never sought to influence public opinion in the U. S. against the decartelization program. It is well known, however, that advance information on pending action against German firms were "leaked" to the German officials. For example, the pending action against the Bosch cartel was given to officials of the Bosch concern by one of Wilkinson's subordinates, George Erion, head of the Stuttgart Economics Office, months ahead of formal presentation.

As for talking to the press, the testimony of James S. Martin, who resigned in disgust as chief of decartelization in July 1947, is pertinent in this connection.

Martin told the Ferguson committee that *"certain officers of Military Government, including General Draper, Colonel Wilkinson and a number of others in the Economics Division of Military Government made a studied effort, throughout the year and a half that I was head of the Decartelization Branch, to create the impression in the minds of the visitors from the United States that the purpose and effect of the decartelization program was to hamstring German economic recovery. . . ."*

Elsewhere in his testimony, Martin stated: *"On the very evening of my arrival back in Berlin, I was asked by the Economics Division to represent the Decartelization Branch at a briefing of a visiting group of American businessmen from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. In my presence, General Draper and other members of the Economics Division, in a rapid succession of set speeches, made statements emphasizing the need for German economic recovery and intimating that the removal of Nazis from the ranks of industrial management and the threats of a decartelization program were retarding and hampering German recovery. . . . Finally, at a meeting with visiting editors from the United States, held in Economics Building on Oct.* 9, 1946, *Peter V. Martin (no relation to James S. Martin) Deputy Director of the Economics Division, introduced Colonel Wilkinson as chief of the Industry Branch to make a statement. Wilkinson once more parroted the theme that the denazification and the decartelization programs, which he frequently confused with one another, were responsible for delaying German economic recovery."*

Wilkinson's opposition to decartelization expressed itself in various ways.

For some time, the Decartelization staff had sought to induce military government to approve of a law abolishing the issuing of licenses to new businesses. The power to hinder new enterprises from going into business was one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the reactionary German governments and was vigorously used to prevent the spread of competitive enterprises. The position of Wilkinson was that if the Germans wanted to retain the licensing laws, why upset their mental habits? Nevertheless the German laws on business licensing were such a patent violation of economic freedom that military government was compelled to issue a regulation abolishing them. This was done over Wilkinson's dead body, so to speak. Wilkinson issued the following dictum with regard to business licensing:

"For the emergency (what emergency?), I think they are justifiable and have the support of the German people. To rescind them by military government order at this time could only lead to further chaos and confusion in the economy and in the minds of the German government officials."

Although Wilkinson and his subordinates did not succeed in keeping free enterprise off the books, they could and did indicate to the Germans that military government would not seriously seek to enforce it. This minor victory for economic freedom could thus be frustrated in view of the antagonism of men such as Wilkinson. Moreover, the Economics Division and the economic advisors of General Clay did not undertake any educational campaign to explain the necessity of free access to business opportunity as a form of the democratic way of life.

The manner in which Wilkinson regarded the efforts of the Decartelization staff is illustrated by his action on deconcentrating the Swedish affiliated VKF ball bearing plant.

A member of the Decartelization staff, Russell Bartels, testified as follows before the Ferguson Committee on Wilkinson's intervention in the plans of the Branch:

"When SKF (the Swedish parent company of VKF) found out what Mr. Olnick (another member of the staff) and I had recommended to the Branch with reference to the anti-friction bearing industry, the head of SKF called Mr. Wilkinson, then head of the Economics Division, and he entered into an agreement with SKF substantially to the effect that our recommendations would not be carried out. So far as I know Mr. Wilkinson entered into this agreement without consulting any member of the Decartelization Branch. . . ."

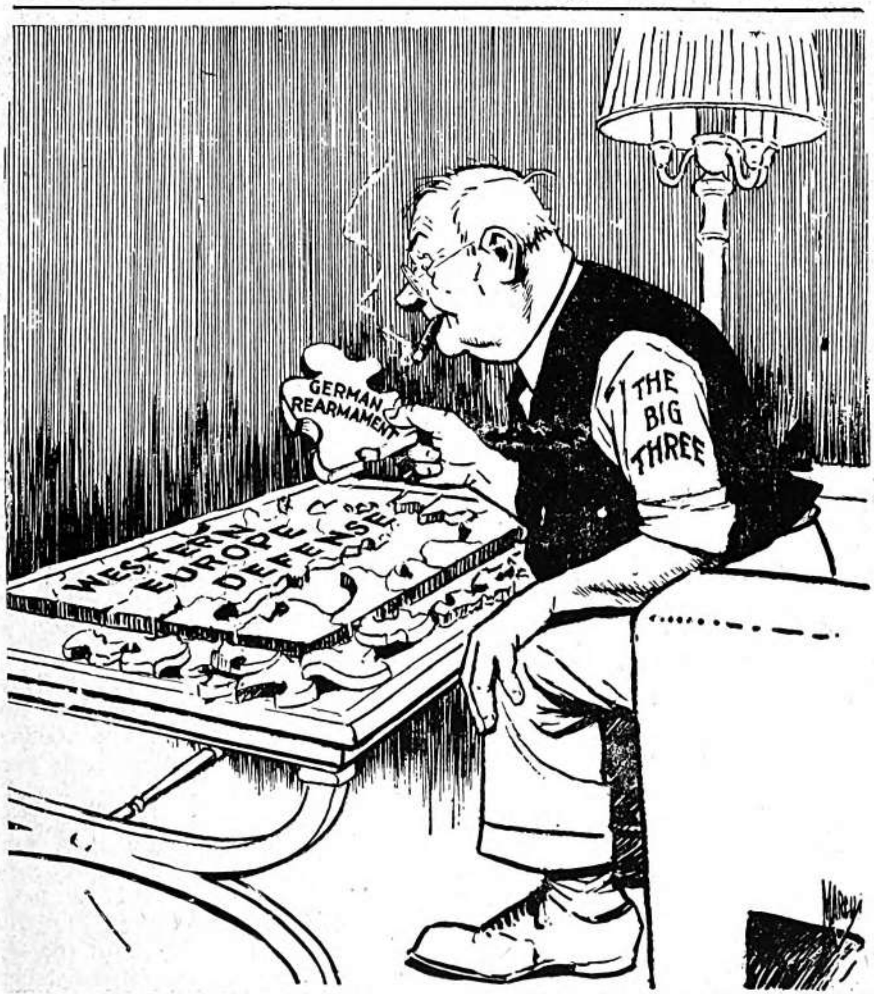
In a memorandum to Bronson, Wilkinson, in effect, ordered Bronson not to take any action against VKF under the Decartelization law in order not "to complicate the issues."

The action taken by Wilkinson with regard to deconcentrating VKF was later approved by General Clay, on the theory that the obsolete machines which VKF would give to its small competitor, Kugel Fischer, would create competition in the industry, and that, therefore, there was no need for further action against VKF.

As a matter of fact, this deal which Wilkinson consummated behind the back of the Decartelization Branch, as the price for calling off action against the Swedish-owned ball bearing trust, was never actually carried out, since VKF, having made the promise to deliver machines to Kugel Fischer, refused to deliver anything but an insignificant number of obsolete machines. This is a typical example of decartelization as interpreted by Wilkinson.

Wilkinson played an important part in making it possible for the Bosch international cartel to be re-established. He conducted many conversations with the American Major General Arthur Wilson, the "unofficial" representative of the Bosch firm, and helped the latter attain approval of the contract between Bosch and the "International Products Trading Corporation" which Wilson established in Switzerland to take care of Bosch's international interests.

Although the "political climate" did not change in Washington in 1948, as Wilkinson and the group of bankers' representatives running Military Government had hoped, Wilkinson's labors were well rewarded. On his return home, Wilkinson's old boss, Draper, took him into the firm of Dillon, Read, and General Clay, his top boss, has now made him Civil Defense Director for the State of New York.



NOT EASY TO FIT IN *Cartoon by Marcus, Courtesy N. Y. Times*

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

REPRESENTING GERMAN INTERESTS

From a "New York Times" report of a speech by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer:

". . . Dr. Adenauer mentioned several times that the West German Republic lacked sovereignty and that this meant 'many difficulties and many a danger.' He added, however, that the 'cooperation' of the Western High Commissioners was good.

" 'In most instances we found that the High Commissioners were not only representatives of their respective countries but also representatives of German interests and I would like to take this opportunity to thank them,' the Chancellor added. . . ."

GERMAN MILITARISTS AT WORK

From an ONA report by Landrum Bolling:

". . . A former German admiral recently told a friend of mine that so long as the 'honor' of the German Navy remained besmirched and his brother officers, Admirals Doenitz and Raeder, languished in prison, he did not care even to discuss the problem of the defense of Western Europe. Many another German military leader takes the same stand on the war crimes trials as they affected the sacrosanct 'professional' men-of-arms.

"There are other German officers, however, who hold a much more opportunistic view of the situation. They are frankly offering themselves to the highest bidder and are maneuvering to get the best possible price for their return to active duty. Some have already made a deal with the Soviets and are happily whipping into shape the growing land, sea and air forces of East Germany's Red military machine. Others of special technical competence have been taken to Russia for work with Soviet military scientists. A number have made individual contracts with the British, French and American governments. Some, particularly Luftwaffe veterans, are said to have found a congenial home in the Argentine.

". . . From the writings of some of the more outspoken ex-officers it is clear that the German military don't think much of the way the Western powers have managed things or the way they are planning the defense of Western Europe. It goes without saying that a good many of them can think only in terms of a strong, independent remilitarized Germany, with Germans in the position of dominance in a new European coalition —whether oriented toward the East or toward the West.

". . . 'Na, Ja, now they need us!' is a common folk expression which has long since become utterly trite in German speech from overuse. It expresses the cynicism mixed with sardonic pleasure at another's discomfort which characterizes a widespread German attitude toward their conquerors. And as the embattled communist and non-communist worlds have wooed the Germans with ever increasing ardor, German appreciation of their military potential has risen. . . ."

STARTLING BUT FRIGHTENING

From "Report on our First Front—Europe," by Lester Markel in "The New York Times":

". . . Meanwhile you discover in Germany much hoarse whispering about the former army officers, rumors about secret organizations set up ostensibly for pension purposes but useful for other ends if the time should come.

". . . There are Germans who hold firmly that the only course for Germany is to renounce the past and its flirtations with Russia and become irrevocably a part of the West. But the majority seem to have chosen the way of opportunism; to pit the two opponents against each other, in order to gain concessions from each. Nevertheless, there seems no present alternative except to grant more self-rule to Germany.

". . . The recovery in Germany in the last two years is startling, and in a way frightening. The people are well fed, they walk with an assurance that is in vivid contrast with the dazed shambling of the early postwar years, the tempo and the atmosphere are wholly different.

". . . The German view of it is not so clear. A visit to Duesseldorf, capital of the Ruhr, provokes some suspicions. There you will meet the important industrialists, the successors of the steel and coal barons. These are shiny-pated, paunchy fellows, who look much like von Stroheim. They move freely in and out of the Soviet zone, on mysterious missions, and indicate that, if Germany and Russia should join forces again, they are smart enough to run the show. To many of them the Schuman Plan is a means of lifting the steel quota and a step toward a revival of the prewar cartels. . . ."

S.S. COMEBACK?

From "L'Observateur," Paris:

"Any unilateral treaty with the Western powers would deal a fatal blow to the cause of German unity which can only be obtained by walking the tight rope between the East and the West. This thought led General Speidel, who was appointed by Adenauer to run the Federal Office of Security, to refuse to undertake the carrying out of this idea as well as having any contact with Fontainebleau, France, so long as the position of the German generals, as natural leaders of this new German army, is not clearly stated. This thought has also led Chancellor Adenauer to prepare a declaration dealing with the official rehabilitation of Germany in order to eliminate in advance in Germany the feeling that this country could participate with equal rights and even superior rights to the defense of Europe but which will nevertheless remain with minor rights and lesser honors. (Adenauer's Koelnische Rundschau, Sept. 21, 1950.) In this connection it is worth mentioning that the chief of the press office of the federal government declared that the members of the SS would be included in this rehabilitation of the old Wehrmacht. (Der Fortschritt, Sept. 22, 1950.)"

IS GERMANY RESPONSIBLE?

From "Information on Germany" published by the W. J. C.:

"The continuing attempt to evade German war guilt operates on all levels of authority as well as among the general population. Thus, on the highest level, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer is quoted by the 'National-Zeitung' of Basle as stating: 'The population of the Western democratic countries still sees in Germany the responsible power for the Second World War—Germany of today, however, feels herself not responsible.' This explains why it is no wonder that other politicians, not in such a prominent position as Adenauer, hammer at this line with far stronger and more irresponsible blows than Adenauer himself. Among these people is Otto Kranzbuhler, defense lawyer of Admiral Doenitz, who has tried to shatter the foundations of the Nuremberg Trials in a published pamphlet 'Review of Nuremberg.' He argues against both the legal and political basis on which the defendants were sentenced and concludes that the Nuremberg Trials did not live up to international law. It is interesting to note that Otto Kranzbuhler, who is in the forefront of the cabale trying to get important Nazis out of Landsberg prison, had been invited during 1949 to lecture before American audiences.

". . . The surprising release of Nazi war criminals was criticized by the 'Telegraf' of Berlin, published by Paul Loebe, a prominent Social Democrat and one-time President of the Reichstag in the days of the Weimar Republic.

"The newspaper asks 'Is that Necessary' and goes on to say that 'the German democracy cannot be interested in the early release of the most prominent Nazi leaders, respectively promoters, of the Nazi cause in order that they may possibly repeat their destructive game of which Germany fell victim.' The complete sordid records of these men now released are listed and the paper concludes that if the Germans do not now prosecute them for crimes not covered by the International Charter, grave injustice would be accorded the persecutees. . . ."

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TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT

From "Combat," Paris:

"The first precondition (for German rearmament), writes the Hamburg 'Freie Presse,' is that Germany's contribution must have for its aim the guarantee of the security of Germany.

"The second precondition is that the German army, which is an expression of the national sovereignty, must be autonomous to the same degree as the armies of other countries.

"The third precondition is that the German army must be placed under a German command and that it must not be placed under a supreme European command unless Germany is represented with equal rights —the rights enjoyed by other nations.

"That is the least we can accept and nothing else would do, concludes the German newspaper. Are these conditions? It looks like an ultimatum. The plan of the German reactionary forces seems quite clear in its simplicity. Under the cover of a 'contribution' to the collective defense of Western Europe, the German reactionary elements are trying to obtain a complete restoration of Germany's sovereignty. Banking on its human and industrial potential and on the bureaucratic and military traditions, Germany hopes to get out from under the Atlantic or 'European' trusteeship in order to play her own game by playing a new 'Rathenau' strategy.

"As regards the Western powers, the Big Three have learned nothing, forgotten nothing, and they are going around in circles and Europe is turning with them.

"If this 'realistic' policy should cause a resurrection of German militarism—a militarism which engendered defeat for Germany as well as catastrophes for Europe—we will know who will be responsible for them. The verdict of the peoples of Europe will not be able to make a distinction between those who have promoted this defeat through selfish interests and those who will have tolerated it by showing a total lack of political perspective, or those who have followed this disastrous policy through plain cowardice."

★

THE GLORY OF THE SOLDIER

President Theodor Heuss, speaking on the first anniversary of the formation of the West German Federal Republic, comments:

"The glory of the soldier has fallen since its 'hubris' made it the grave digger of the German nation. Germany is no longer one of the great powers of the world, and this is the result of treacherous cynicism. But the others need us again and we need them. We need an equal status in order to cooperate in Europe's re-establishment. We need equal legislative and executive powers, not for any prestige but so that we may contribute to the destiny of a great European whole. It requires courageous understanding of the other powers to overcome their war attitude toward Germany."

★

NEW BOOKS

Ernest Leiser reports the following item to ONA:

"In Duesseldorf, an enterprising reporter for the newspaper 'Frankfurter Rundschau' has discovered that orders supposedly issued for the suppression of a 'textbook' containing strongly anti-Semitic material have not actually been transmitted to booksellers. Officials in the North-Rhine-Westphalian government had previously declared they were banning it. The reporter, however, had no difficulty finding it in a Duesseldorf bookshop he visited and was told by the proprietor that no instructions not to sell it had been given him."

★

SPIRITUAL UNITY

The "London Economist" reports:

"There are ominous signs that the Evangelical Church in Germany may not prove a faithful ally for the west. In the Soviet German State, the Communists are able to claim increasing support from Protestant pastors, and even some bishops, for their National Front, and the 'peace' campaign. Bishop Dibelius of Berlin has, it is true, made a valiant stand against the National Front in a pastoral letter and has committed the crime of visiting the United States. His attitude led Ulbricht to denounce him and his supporters, with the typical Communist threat that 'we grant democracy only to progressive democratic forces, not to warmongers.' But Communist action has been postponed until after the single-list elections of October 15. In the meantime a considerable number of Evangelical clergy apparently think that Bishop Dibelius has gone too far in defying the state.

"In the west, a conference called recently in Dusseldorf by the Evangelical Church passed a resolution to the effect that Germans would never fight Germans, and a statement by one of the leaders condemned the approval of German aid in western defense, expressed by the Catholic archbishops. The protest made by the Bonn minister of the interior, Herr Heinemann, against Dr. Adenauer's demand for a force to match the Soviet Volkspolizei was due, it is believed, to his leading position in the Evangelical church, as well as to the fact that the chancellor had omitted to consult him.

"There are good reasons for this equivocal attitude on the part of the Evangelical church. From the days of Luther it has been taught to submit to the state, whatever its nature, in all but matters of creed. The Evangelical clergy tend to be narrowly nationalistic, as was shown by their widespread support for the Nazi state. At present, another factor makes the Protestants likely to fall victim to spurious propaganda on German unity from the eastern zone. The main strength of the Evangelical church lies in eastern Germany. Not long ago Pastor Niemoeller himself declared that there was nothing in the Bible to condemn Bolshevism and that Germans would prefer a country united under Communism to one permanently divided. It is on such confused thinking that the Soviet cause thrives."

★

THEY NEED US

From a recent report by Carolus to "The Nation":

"Returning to Germany after four weeks abroad I can scarcely recognize my country. Is this the same West German state; are these the same politicians, the same newspapers, the same parties? No one talks now about the Schuman plan, about German consulates in foreign countries, about the unemployed and the price of bread, about former Nazis and the law for the defense of democracy. No high commissioner of the occupying powers raises a warning finger against industrial cartels, or urges further dismantlings, or demands a house-cleaning in the I. G. Farben trust. As a small manufacturer who was on the train with me said, 'At last German is being spoken again in Germany.' Swelling out his chest, he added, 'They need us. They need us badly. If they had listened to Hitler they wouldn't be in that mess in Korea. It serves them right. And now they want us to pick their chestnuts out of the fire.'

"... The federal Minister of Justice, Dr. Dehler, mocks 'the holy Three Kings of Petersberg, who have not the slightest idea of Germany's problems.' Herr Seebohm, federal Minister of Commerce, declares that the remilitarization of Germany cannot be discussed until 'the honor of German soldiers has been vindicated and the shameful verdicts of Nurnberg have been set aside.'

"... Rehabilitation, reemployment! Already they are cleaning their old uniforms, getting out their swords and decorations. General Dittmar, the well-known Nazi radio commentator, writes articles on the military situation in Korea in which he criticizes American strategy. General Guderian, who invaded Poland, France, and Russia at the head of Hitler's armored divisions, says that with two billion American dollars he could raise and equip a Panzer army on which the Russians would break their teeth.

"For the present Guderian can make his plans only on paper. In the eastern zone his talents might be put to greater use. The Russians have gone much farther than the Western Allies in using and arming the Germans. Former Hitler officers in the eastern zone have been asked to register for military service. Eight hundred thousand young men are drilling against 'Wall Street imperialism. . . .' "

Recommended Reading

We believe that many of our readers will want to get acquainted with the penetrating study of post-war international problems written by *Mr. Lionel Gelber*, a former official of the United Nations.

Mr. Gelber was born in Canada and taught international affairs at the University of Toronto. In 1942, Mr. Gelber wrote *Peace by Power which* immediately received wide attention. A realist, as well as an experienced observer of international diplomacy, Mr. Gelber has continued to probe the complex problems which face us all.

His latest book is entitled *Reprieve From War* which he calls "*A Manual for Realists.*" Mr. Gelber examines the problems which confront us today with refreshing realism. As he sees it, the West must build up its power morally and militarily so as to save the peace. In advocating this policy, however, Mr. Gelber is mindful of the grave dangers which may develop from impetuous decisions as regards the treatment of Germany. According to Mr. Gelber, a strong and independent Germany is "*more likely to take up the cudgels against the West rather than for it.*" He points out that Soviet Russia has many trump cards which it could employ to bribe the Germans should a showdown come. Among Russia's "Aces" are, (a) a strong United Germany; (b) returning some of the Eastern territories which are now in Polish possession; (c) partnership with the Soviet Union for expansionist purposes; (d) permitting Germany to exploit the vast markets of the East, including Communist China.

Mr. Gelber warns that these factors should not be taken lightly by the West. He sees the grave possibility of Western Germany rebuilt by the Western Allies turning around and linking up its fate with the Russians. Mr. Gelber believes that the resurgence of Germany contains the seeds of disaster for all of us. In concluding his remarks on Germany, Mr. Gelber declares: "*Against the West the defeated Germans can now no longer go their way alone; together with the Russians they might, quite literally, find new worlds to conquer. What the question might boil down to is the question of Germany's revival or Europe's survival. Through any indiscriminate effort to restore the European balance with Germany's help, the world preponderance of the West may be lost.*"

It would be well for Western statesmen to carefully study Mr. Gelber's *Reprieve From War*. Certainly this masterful exposition of fact and not fantasy deserves a wide reading public.

(*Reprieve From War* by Lionel Gelber, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1950.)

Press Items

U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER McCLOY protested the withholding of immigration visas to known Nazis and former members of Hitler's storm troopers.

THE BIGGEST GERMAN CARTELS and combines have advertised extensively in West German Communist papers.

DR. GEORGE N. SHUSTER was appointed U. S. Commissioner for Bavaria despite his writings which praised Hitler, criticized the Nuremberg trials, and slanderized victims of Nazi persecution.

THE ALLIED HIGH COMMISSIONERS refused to discharge Dr. Globke, chief of Federal Personnel in the Bonn Government, who helped write the commentary on the Nuremberg racial laws.

THE WEST GERMAN POLICE, according to a high U. S. official, are riddled with Communists.

GERMAN NEWSPAPERS are permitted to criticize the Allied war crimes trials.

ALLIED AUTHORITIES are allowing the Germans to whip up a propaganda campaign for the return of their former Eastern territories which can only strengthen Russia's influence in the satellite countries.

THE GERMANS slandered American military power during the first months of the Korean war.

THE ALLIES permitted the appointment of one Herr Floel, as chairman on the Committee of Investigation of Elections in the State Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein when it is known that he participated in Hitler's Munich putsch and was sentenced to six months by a British Military Government Court in the early post-war period for concealing his notorious past.

THE AMERICAN HIGH COMMISSIONER freed Hanz Fritsche, former Nazi radio propagandist and Goebbels' right-hand man, and Baron von Weiszaecker, convicted for war crimes and right-hand man of hanged Ribbentrop.

AMERICAN AUTHORITIES have failed to carry out the execution of the six Malmedy war criminals though there is no longer any question regarding their guilt of murdering defenseless G.I.'s taken prisoners during the Battle of the Bulge.

THE ALLIED HIGH COMMISSIONER remained silent over the fact that Eduard Hempel, Hitler's Minister at Dublin, has been permitted to return some months ago to Germany and is now in Dr. Haas' office in Bonn which is selecting Germany's future diplomats.

THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES have not demanded the removal of Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol, press officer of Dr. Franz Bluecher, the German Vice-Chancellor, though he had joined the Nazi Party and the Storm Troopers before 1933 and was a member of the S.S. and Liaison Officer between Ribbentrop and the Gestapo in 1944.

THE RUSSIANS are reviving the German Navy in their Zone which will be equipped with torpedo boats, and the Erfurt People's Police is being trained by the Russians for guerrilla warfare.

THE FIRM OF FRIEDRICH KRUPP received an order of 100 locomotives from South Africa though an American court in Germany decided that the Krupp properties were to be confiscated.

DR. KARL SPEICKER was permitted to go to Argentina where he can help to strengthen the ties between the Nazis living in Argentina and their friends in Germany.

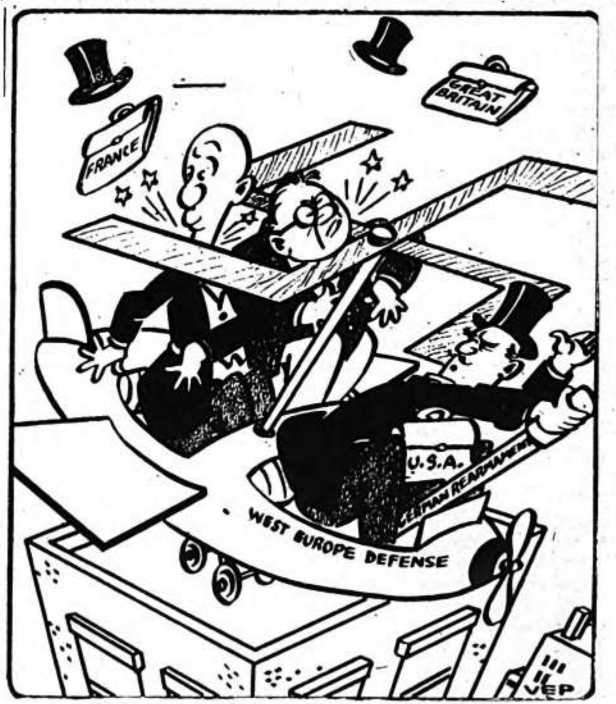
"Within nine months, Western Germany, industrially 'demilitarized' as it has systematically been during five years of Allied occupation, could again turn out the tools of war.

"This is a startling estimate. Nonetheless it was made by officials on the staff of U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy, after consultation with German industrialists and technical experts.

"There would be three major gaps in war production—airplanes, submarines and high explosives—but the general process of converting industry to produce the weapons of ground warfare could be effected in nine months.

"...Today, however, even those Allied officials whose job it has been to see that the Germans did not try to produce war material are undertaking careful studies to see exactly what West Germany could and should produce, either for its own rearmament or for that of Western Europe..."

(Excerpts from a dispatch by Ernest Leiser to the ONA)



"I don't see what you boys are afraid of."
(Courtesy Compass)

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

"A few weeks ago I had occasion to tune in on a television program which carried an interview with Mr. Henry Byroade, Director of the Bureau of German Affairs in the State Department. Mr. Byroade was explaining State Department policy in Germany, and judging from his remarks, it seemed to me that our policy makers are eminently satisfied with the way things are now progressing there. In answer to the question of the CBS correspondent: 'What is the status of Nazism in Germany now?' Mr. Byroade replied: 'I believe Nazism as such is dead.'

"About two weeks after Mr. Byroade assured his television audience that Nazism 'was dead,' the press carried reports of a new survey of German opinion in the American Zone of Occupation. That survey showed that whereas in 1949, 52% of the Germans thought that Nazism was a good idea which had been badly carried out, the figure had now risen to 59%.

"As an ordinary layman, I am not familiar with the basic factors which are considered in establishing policy in Germany, but I would assume that before we take the Germans to our bosom, our officials search their pockets for hidden weapons.

"American policy in Germany reminds me of the lazy housekeeper who would sweep the dirt under the carpet every time she entertained visitors. Obviously the housekeeper did this to make an impression on her visitors—but the house was still dirty. From all indications, it appears to me that we have been using the housekeeper's method in solving the German problem. Billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money are employed to touch up German scenery, modernize her war potential industries, lay out new roads, provide for athletic facilities, etc. However, underneath it all is the filth of Nazism which accumulates as the months go by. How long our policy makers will be able to conceal this dirt from the view of the outside world is open to legitimate question. In my opinion the day will come when there will be no room to hide this filth and it will inevitably contaminate other areas in the world.

"If it could be shown that our responsible officials in Germany have seriously tried to cleanse Germany of Nazism and its related ideologies, then we could at least absolve them of what is now occurring. But the fact of the matter is, from what I have read and heard, that our leading officials are speeding up the process of returning the Nazis and their fellow travelers to important positions of power. For example, Mr. McCloy sets up a Clemency Board which is supposed to search for mitigating circumstances that would allow the granting of clemency to German war criminals. I must confess that my imagination is not able to picture what factors could justify the freeing of these criminals. In addition, Mr. McCloy has released a number of leading war criminals on the grounds of good behavior. Evidently Mr. McCloy's imagination is more fruitful than my own. If by good behavior it is meant that none of these war criminals committed murder during their stay in prison, then of course their plea for freedom must be recognized.

"Recent developments show that we are going further than that. Now we are told the Germans must be rearmed if civilization is to be saved. Hereafter American democracy will have to depend upon a people who moved heaven and earth to destroy us.

"Five years ago the Allies decided to prosecute German war criminals so as to convince the Germans that crime did not pay. This was supposed to be part of the education program. Another part of the educational program was designed to eradicate German militarism. We told the Germans that this was necessary. We tried to convince them that this policy was for their own good, since militarism had perverted the talents of the German people in the past.

"Now we turn around and free the war criminals and agree to rearm the Germans. Is it any wonder that the number of Germans who believe that Nazism was a good idea badly carried out has now risen to 59%? What else can we expect from a policy which may one day explode in the face of the American people and their Allies. That policy is essentially un-moral and indeed defeats the very purposes for which our country today is mobilizing its strength to ward off the threat of totalitarianism. A man from Mars, viewing the past five years, would be justified in describing our policy in Germany as the product of unbalanced minds. It is even becoming fashionable to fatalistically accept Germany as the decisive power in Europe.

"Mr. Bernard Baruch went further. Some months ago (N. Y. Post, May 18, 1950) he told a newspaper columnist: 'Germany will dictate the peace in Europe. That always has been obvious.' I take issue with the second part of Mr. Baruch's statement. It is true that Germany is being placed in a position where she can dictate the peace which would probably be the prelude to a new war. But why was this obvious? Certainly Mr. Baruch, of all people, had the answers in 1945 as to how the Germans could be prevented from winning the peace. Those answers have been known to our policy makers all along. If this is the case, then how can one explain this deliberate, almost enthusiastic desire to accept a German dictate? It just isn't normal for people to deliberately commit suicide. Yet I am forced to conclude that those who are responsible for our German policy lack the faculty of objective reasoning based on cold facts.

"Frankly speaking, the only voice of sanity that I have heard during the past years has been that of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, and I hope that this wonderful publication will courageously continue to call a spade a spade. As a member of and a contributor to your organization, I am writing you this letter to express my personal opinion regarding the shameful betrayal of the interests of the American people.

"Best wishes."

L. L.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

"While I am fully in accord with the spirit of your statement on German rearmament, and share with most people the fear of German intransigence, I believe the present strained situation, with American boys fighting and dying in Korea, requires a more realistic approach to the matter.

"If the Germans are rendered incapable of defending their own homeland, there is no alternative save that American soldiers must do it. To have American boys fighting and dying to save Germany, while German boys sit at home in safety, just does not make sense, at least not to this father of two and father-in-law of two more who have all done their share in the last war and are ready to go again...

"In the first place, I don't believe German rearmament is the question at issue. Rearmament today means vast industrial production of guns, tanks, planes and munitions, the production of which by Germany would undoubtedly endanger world peace, and I would oppose it vigorously.

"The arming of Germans in their own defense is another matter. It could be done without danger. One hint is the French Foreign Legion, where a heavy percentage of Germans serve loyally and capably under officers who are hereditary German enemies. A United Nations or an American Foreign Legion, officered by United Nations or American officers with German non-coms and privates would make a splendid counter to the Soviet hordes and aid in preventing a third world war.

"Even a German force of say, some ten divisions of infantry, would be no danger providing the Western powers matched them with equal or greater forces and kept tanks, planes, and heavy artillery in their own hands. An infantry force without these aids would be no danger to anti-Communist nations.

"The grave situation today requires realistic and unemotional use of every iota of force we can assemble, to assure the survival of the free world."

Major Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson
Great Neck, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

"A friend of mine recently introduced me to your fine periodical, Prevent World War III, *with the observation that it might be useful to me. And it proved to be very useful.*

"I am a student of comparative government, currently doing graduate work at Stanford University, preparing a thesis on 'The Political Parties in the Bonn Government.' I am amazed at the wealth of material in your magazine which is impossible or difficult to obtain elsewhere..."

Dean Gregory
Palo Alto, Calif.

Dear Sir:

"I have seen some of your literature. I believe you are doing humanity a great service. Please send me one copy of each of all available pieces of literature issued since the beginning of your organization, which I want for my library, and place my name on your mailing list for all future releases."

Arnold Holden
Bucyrus, North Dakota

PITFALLS AHEAD

"The reality is that our real line of defense in Europe lies with the democracies of Western Europe, not with the reactionaries of Germany, who have still suffered no basic change of mind and heart since the days of Hitlerism. Most Germans—a larger majority today than a year ago—say quite explicitly that Hitler's aims were fine, and only his methods were foolish. Armed or unarmed they are dangerous, only they are more dangerous when armed.

"But—it is argued—we won't let them form a separate German national army. We'll enroll them in a joint European army, perhaps under American command. What folly to think that a quarter or half-million armed men—they must reach that number soon—would be any less a German army merely because their formal designation was European . . .

". . . What will it profit us to sell our souls cheap to the Germans, only to find that we have sold away the soul of Europe as well?"

(Max Lerner in the New York Post)

"Following a recent speech by Assistant U. S. High Commissioner Benjamin Buttenwieser in the United States, in which he said that Nazism was dead in Germany, a rash of swastika-ordered leaflets appeared mysteriously on the streets of a number of Ruhr cities. The leaflets said, 'The Jew Buttenwieser says we are dead. We are alive and strong! And we will drive his kind out of our Fatherland!' "

(Ernest Leiser to the ONA)

"Guy Mollet, Minister of State in the French government, said he feared that 'the existence of a powerful German army, and the revival of militarism which would follow, would involve a risk of conflict, since Germany's desire for unity and power was so great.' "

(New York Times)

Dear Sir:

"Today a friend of mine showed me a copy of the magazine, Prevent World War III. *I was amazed to find that a publication of this nature existed.*

"Since my discharge from the U. S. Army late in 1946 I have been trying to understand the development of events that led us into World War II . . .

"The whirlpool of confusion of our post-war world almost makes the last decade meaningless.

"I didn't get a chance to do more than thumb through your 34th issue, but it contains a wealth of factual information about Germany which is given little publicity in our newspapers and magazines.

"Please send me material which you publish and back issues of Prevent World War III . . ."

Alex Pollack
Philadelphia, Pa.

REPENTANT WAR CRIMINAL

"Convicted Nazi war criminal Baron Ernst von Weizsaecker walked from Landsberg prison a free man today and immediately knelt at the graves here of the executed leaders of Nazi Germany.

"Von Weizsaecker, former Nazi Ambassador to the Vatican, emerged from prison on the arm of his wife.

"Von Weizsaecker's seven-year sentence had been reduced to five though he was ruled guilty of aiding the deportation of Jews to Poland for slave labor . . ."

(U. P. dispatch from Landsberg, Germany)

"A German newspaper in the British-zone town of Osnabrueck has now undertaken to revive the bitter, German criticism of the Allied war crime trials at Nuremberg. Those trials, the paper has editorialized, 'put the veil of silence over all the crimes committed by non-Germans, overlooked the backing of the Nazis by Wall Street and ignored the massacre of 10,000 Polish officers at Katyn. The lesson of Nuremberg is nothing but a demonstration of one-sided jurisdiction. When today we see newsreels of American soldiers in Korea, we ask ourselves why German generals are still kept under lock and key. Only the victor is right!' "

(Ernest Leiser to the ONA)

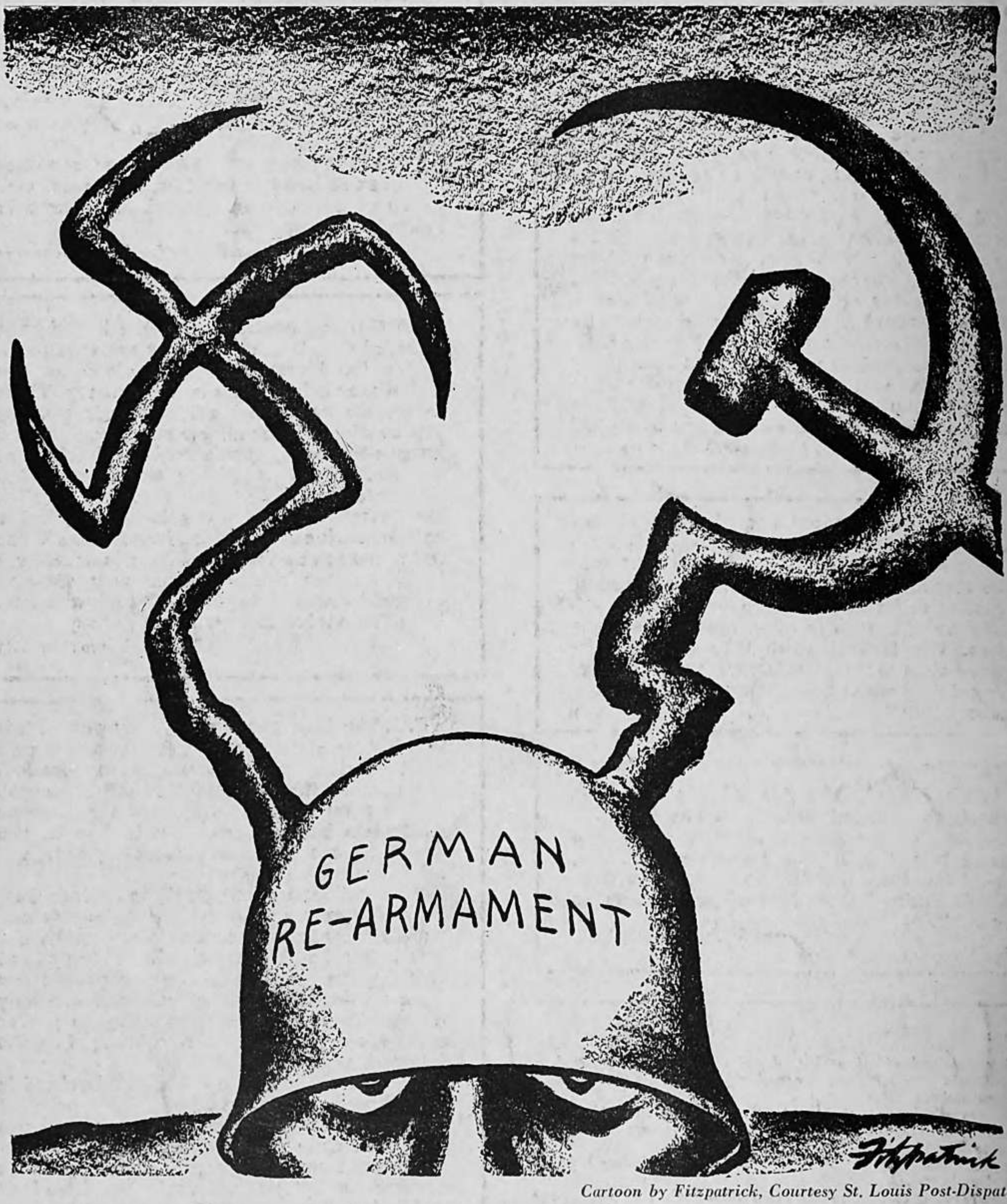
". . . The Germans are the only people left in Western Europe who have something to sell both sides, and their old military leaders are making the most of it. Both American and Russian policy are wooing the German militarists because each would like to use the Germans as mercenaries against the other.

"The call issued last month in Eastern Germany for cooperation with reactionary and non-democratic elements in a national front was indicative. The same political logic is at work in the West. The German people are from all accounts sick of war and can only be mobilized again by restoring to power much the same elements who brought on the last two wars.

"This is an issue the French understand in their blood and bone . . .

". . . The faster Germany is rearmed the less politically dependable France will become since patriotic rightists and centrists as well as leftists will feel that American policy is selling France down the river. German rearmament is a wedge which may set France free politically and make her the cornerstone of an independent 'in between' bloc . . ."

(I. F. Stone in the Daily Compass)


GERMAN RE-ARMAMENT
Fitzpatrick

Cartoon by Fitzpatrick, Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

HORNS OF THE DILEMMA

No. 37
February—March
1951

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985
No. 37 February — March, 1951

C. Monteith Gilpin

This issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III is dedicated to the memory of Mr. C. Monteith Gilpin, a founder of the Society for the Prevention of World War III and its Secretary up to the time of his death on November 3, 1950.

Mr. Gilpin was born in Philadelphia seventy-eight years ago. He was graduated from St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, and received his Law Degree from Columbia Law School in 1897. For many years he specialized in corporate and estate law, and was the director of several corporations in New York and New England. Mr. Gilpin was a veteran of the Spanish American War and a member of many patriotic clubs and societies, including the Academy of Political Sciences. Thus it can be seen from this brief outline of his diversified background that Mr. Gilpin's life was not a narrow one.

Nor were his activities confined solely to his professional pursuits. Mr. Gilpin was a man of action. He saw events not as disconnected phenomena but rather as part of a large pattern. Mr. Gilpin had a realistic comprehension of the driving forces in history and he was aware that this great land of ours had a vital role to play in shaping the destiny of the world, providing that its leadership maintained a sense of history. It was Mr. Gilpin's firm conviction that only by understanding the basic forces at work in the world could American leadership act intelligently.

It was for this reason that he advocated the establishment of an academy to train American diplomats on similar lines as West Point educates Americans to assume military leadership of our country. Behind his plan for the training of future diplomats was his insistence that American leadership plan on a long term basis, that it be imbued with a sense of history, so as to avoid the pitfalls of short term expediency and improvisation. American leadership, he maintained, could not afford to blow hot at one moment and cold at another time. On the other hand, if American leadership acted resolutely on the basis of a clear historical perspective of world developments, then America's voice in world affairs could be effective and only then could our security and peace be preserved.

A specific reason which impelled him to propose this plan was the fact that he, in common with other officers of the Society, was witnessing blunder after blunder on the part of American diplomats and statesmen in the solution of post war problems, particularly that of Germany.

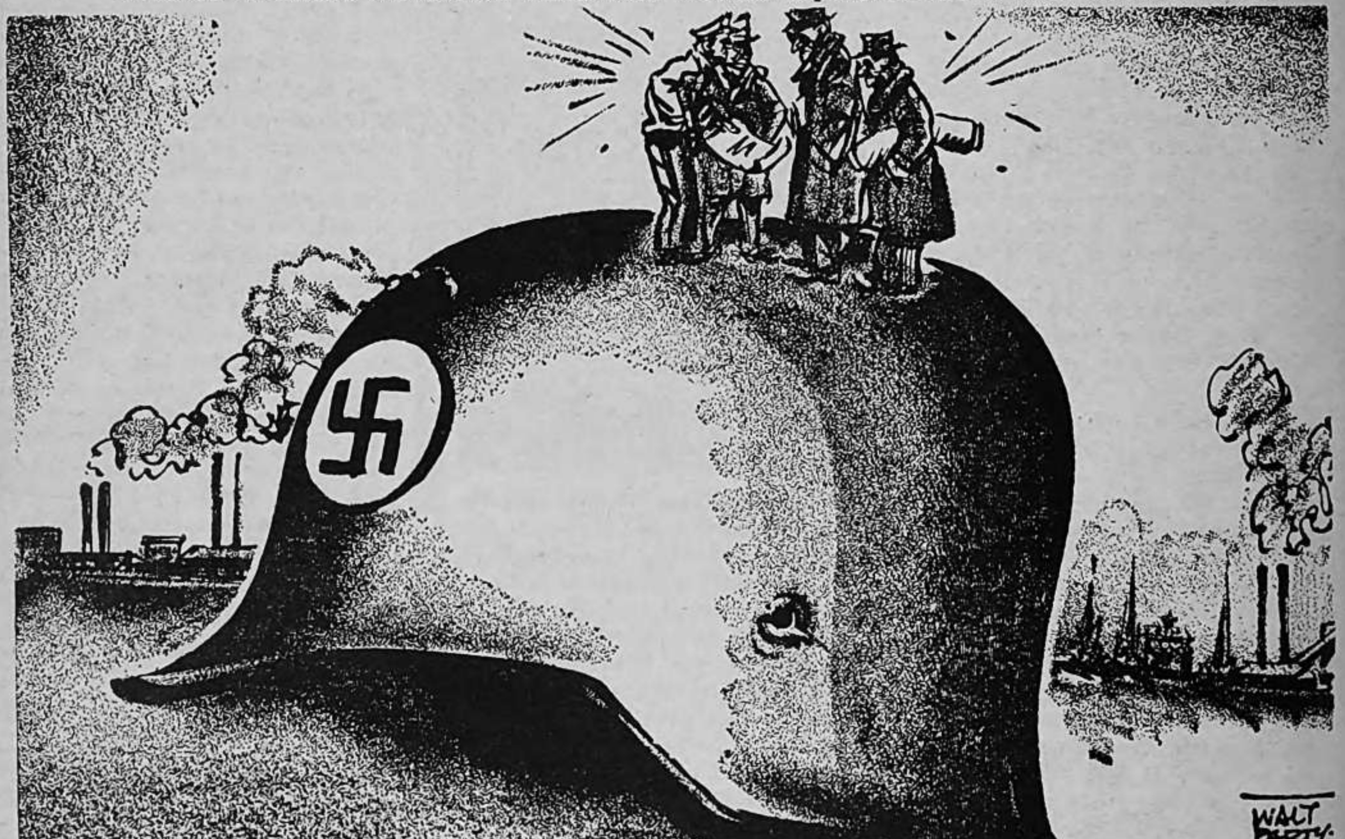
At the end of the war Mr. Gilpin expressed high hopes that the United States would take advantage of the great opportunity to break once and for all Germany's capacity to make war and to deprive her of the ability to bargain and maneuver. These were the prerequisites for stability in Europe, and would enable the West to reach some sort of agreement with the Russians without compromise of principle and without appeasement. But, as the months wore on, Mr. Gilpin saw with vivid clarity that those who were responsible for policy had no policy except the same old outworn discredited programs which were applied in Germany after World War I and which failed to prevent the rise of Nazism.

As one of the leading spokesmen of the Society, Mr. Gilpin time and again insisted that if American security was to be assured in our lifetime, then it would be essential to break away from the discredited formulae of World War I and deal with the German problem on the basis of historical realities. He expressed his views in many letters which appeared in the leading newspapers throughout the country. He dealt with specific aspects of the German problem, such as reparations, German assets abroad, the resurrection of Germany's war potential, and the dangers of neo-Nazism. Undoubtedly, his letters received the serious attention of our leading officials and his views were shared by many Americans who did not have the facility to speak out as Mr. Gilpin did on behalf of the Society.

In the last issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III Mr. Gilpin's last piece was published and appropriately enough, the title of his article was: "Towards Collective Security." In that article Mr. Gilpin once more returned to the importance of establishing a world-wide collective security system under the United Nations. Mr. Gilpin supported Secretary Acheson's views, which, he pointed out, could be the forerunner of such a system of collective security and would be the greatest deterrent to armed aggression such as that which occurred in Korea. Then he made the following observation: "Those who have advocated the remilitarization of Western Germany have based their arguments to a large extent on the fact that in Europe the Russians possess overwhelming land power and cannot be effectively checked without available military forces in the West. Underlying this thesis is the assumption that the day of a genuine world-wide system of collective security is gone and that the West must look to its own reserves for protection. But if this premise is true, then how seriously will the nations of the world take the recommendations of Mr. Acheson for the adoption of a world-wide system of collective security?" This is but one sample of his incisive logic. The question which he raised regarding the relationship of Secretary Acheson's recommendations and the remilitarization of Germany has yet to be answered.

It has been said by some of our friends that the Society's educational work will be vindicated some day—when we are no longer around. We do not share that pessimism. Indeed, we are confident that events will vindicate our viewpoint in the not too distant future. In any case, whatever the Society has accomplished or will accomplish, there can be no doubt of the role played by Mr. C. Monteith Gilpin. He was a great inspiration, a wise counsellor, a great American.

News Item —
Generals of Hitler's Wehrmacht confer with Western experts on use of West German troops.



(Cartoon by Walt Partymiller—Courtesy Gazette and Daily)

Editorials

WE MUST ALWAYS TRY

It is understandable that the State Department should be suspicious of the Soviet proposal for a Big Four meeting on the question of the remilitarization of Germany. With Asia ablaze, the latest Russian demarche seems to be a cynical gesture in the eyes of our diplomats. It is as though the Russians were offering a single hose to put out widespread flames which threaten to engulf the whole world. Moreover, it is clear that the new Soviet bid aims to break up Western solidarity by raising the specter of a militaristic Germany, which sacked Europe twice in a generation and haunts every household on the periphery of German territory.

The importance of resolving the crisis in the Far East which threatens our security and peace is beyond debate. To achieve a measure of success in Asia, however, will be of little comfort if in the meantime a new blaze sweeps over Europe, ignited by the remilitarization of Germany.

Insofar as the Soviet objective to break up the Atlantic Alliance is concerned, we may as well admit the fact that the Soviets possess some important trump cards. The question is, shall we give the Russians the opportunity to play them? One of these cards could be used to place the onus of German rearmament on the United States. The other trump would be Russia's exploitation of the fears of the French and other Western European nations which don't relish the idea of German armed forces stalking their borders.

Business Week of January 6, 1951 reports: "Some American observers in Paris feel a refusal to talk with Moscow now will completely shake Western Europe's faith in American leadership." Finally, a U. S. refusal to meet with the Russians would, in the words of the *Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 1951, leave the United States "open to the charge that it is unwilling to negotiate with the Russians. This country should always be willing to talk as long as it is possible to talk." Similar sentiments were expressed in an editorial in the *New York Post*, January 5, 1951.

A Big Four meeting on Germany would not preclude the possibility and probability of discussions on other vital problems, including the Communist challenge in Korea. It would give our diplomats a chance to call a spade a spade and challenge before the peoples of the world the sincerity of the Soviet's peace offensive. In addition, such a meeting could be used by our statesmen as a means of "getting the record in perspective, the record, that is, of Soviet violations of Potsdam and the remilitarization of East Germany, which the Soviets have long undertaken." (*Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 1951)

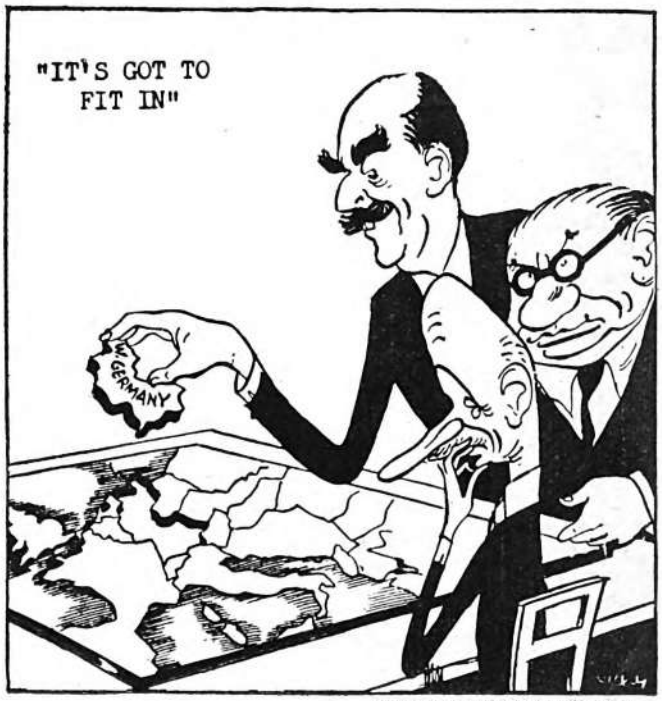
A Big Four meeting, therefore, would not in any way weaken the determination of the Western powers to defend themselves and would not detract from American leadership. The contrary is more likely. In addition to these considerations, a Big Four meeting on the demilitarization of Germany would check, at least temporarily, the German drive for resurgence, by playing East against West and vice versa.

The Society for the Prevention of World War III has contended for many years that the cold war has not only been a blessing to the Germans, but more than that, it has enabled them to play no small part in keeping East and West at sword's point. Through the heightening tensions between East and West the Germans are succeeding in evading their responsibility for their crimes against humanity. Thus it is no surprise that the Germans are fearful over a Big Four meeting. The Germans don't want to be "sold out."

Mr. McCloy, the American High Commissioner for Germany, has gone so far as to assure Chancellor Adenauer that the Western Allies' investment of their resources in Western Germany gives evidence of their (Allies) good faith that there would be no betrayal of the Germans. (*New York Times*, December 28, 1950) Mr. McCloy's attitude explains a statement made by Bernard Baruch some months ago when he said: "Germany will dictate the peace in Europe."

The future would be gloomy, indeed, if this prophesy should come true. A Big Four meeting, therefore, could very well prevent such a catastrophe. Actually, there should be no contradiction between the basic interests of the United States and those of the Germans—that is, if the Germans are not interested in fishing in troubled waters. Why should the Germans fear a Big Four meeting, unless perhaps they are afraid that out of such talks agreements would be reached which would ease the present crisis?

Of course, miracles cannot be expected out of such a conference. Yet, if the Big Four can agree to enforce their original war aims with regard to Germany, there is hope for a brighter future for mankind.



Vicky in The London News Chronicle

FACTS VERSUS WORDS

When the war ended in 1945, the Allies were faced with a great problem, namely the creation of a free and independent German press. The problem was made more difficult by the fact that in most cases printing facilities in Western Germany belonged to Nazis and Hitler supporters.

To assist German publishers who desired to make a clean break with the undemocratic traditions of the old German press, Military Government issued regulations which enabled such publishers to utilize the printing facilities and equipment which had formerly belonged to Hitlerites. Allied protection of the rights of these publishers was confirmed as recently as July, 1950 by Mr. *Ralph Nicholson*, former Director of the Office of Public Affairs in the Office of the American High Commissioner for Germany. Mr. Nicholson reaffirmed the validity of the mandatory leases on German newspaper plants established by the U. S. Military Government in a reply to a letter from *Franz Karl Maier*, President of the Association of Newspaper Publishers in the United States zone. Mr. Nicholson informed the German publishers, (see July, 1950 issue, *Information Bulletin*) through Mr. Maier, that the Newspaper Leases Review Board, set up to review proposed changes in mandatory leases, continues to exercise jurisdiction in this field.

In addition, Mr. Nicholson referred to Allied Law No. 13, which "prohibits German courts from rendering a decision impeaching the validity or legality of any recognition, decision or order published by the Military Government. . . ." Mr. Nicholson further declared: "Only the occupation authorities are competent to determine and construe the existence, terms, validity or intent of the voluntary and mandatory leases of the job printing contracts formulated . . . under Military Government directives . . . and that German courts have no competence in cases involving these issues."

In reply to Franz Karl Maier's question as to whether recognized restitution claims affected in any way the lease facilities, Mr. Nicholson wrote: "The recognition of a restitution claim to property subject to one of the newspaper leases in question does not terminate the lease nor affect its validity. . . . These leases can be terminated or altered, therefore, only by the Newspaper Review Board."

Yet, in spite of these avowed policies to encourage the development of an independent German press, the first victim of the drive on the part of powerful vested interests to undermine the free press in Germany was none other than Franz Karl Maier himself! Dr. Frederick K. Wallach described in detail in the last issue (No. 36) of PREVENT WORLD WAR III how the Bosch interests, through dubious legal proceedings and tactics, were able to obtain from a German court the verdict that they had been victims of Nazism. Following up this triumph, the Bosch interests immediately confronted Franz Karl Maier, one of the publishers of the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, with an ultimatum—either he would submit to their dictation or they would, by hook or crook, undermine his position.

The printing facilities which the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* uses were at one time the property of the Bosch interests. In view of the fact that the Bosch Trust had been adjudged a victim of Nazism, it was determined to regain control over these facilities as part of its claim for restitution. Franz Karl Maier alone, of course, could not balk the Bosch people who have friends in the highest circles of the Bonn Government. He had every right, however, to expect the protection of the American High Commissioner for Germany. No such help came, and Mr. Maier had to quit. This was a victory for the Bosch interests, but more than that, a very dangerous precedent in terms of the future of the democratic German press.

It would be hard to believe that American officials in Germany were unaware of the machinations of the Bosch interests. In this connection, we recall a part of an address on democracy and German public opinion by Mr. Shepard Stone, present Director of the Office of Public Affairs: "Above all, however," he told his German audience, "the papers themselves should be aware of their duties. Publishers and editors should know that they are trustees—trustees of the people. In times of financial difficulties they should remain firm, and not look for some capitalists to give them money to save their paper, which may very often turn out to be dangerous for the paper's independence. The publisher should take a close look at the man who gives him money and should insist upon the independence and the mission of the paper in being endangered." (October 20, 1950)

It seems to us that Mr. Stone would have not issued this warning unless he was aware of the fact that powerful industrial interests were out to recapture the German press and use it for their selfish purposes, as was the case before and during the Hitler regime. It is all very well for Mr. Stone to advise German newspaper publishers to be wary of sinister forces which would destroy the independence of German newspapers, but, in view of Allied regulations on this important matter, isn't it clear that Allied officials also have a responsibility in keeping clean the German newspaper profession?

The danger to the independence of German newspapers was also admitted by John J. McCloy in his Fourth Quarterly Report on Germany: "Potential threats," he observed, "to the independence of the German press are spreading newspaper mergers. As yet there is no evidence of outside financial interests in these combines, although this development could lead to the establishment of powerful newspaper trusts."

Although he recognized the danger to the independence of the German press by spreading newspaper mergers, Mr. McCloy denies the fact that outside financial interests are pulling the strings, although in the Bosch case the contrary is true. Moreover, the very fact that mergers are increasing could imply that outside capital has been brought in to effectuate these changes. As Mr. McCloy knows, it takes a great deal of money to buy up other newspapers. Therefore, an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the ouster of Franz Karl Maier from the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* might open up new clues for Mr. McCloy regarding the influence of outside financial interests in the German newspaper field.

From recent reports it seems that the pernicious influences which threaten the independence of German newspapers have invaded another important channel of public information, the film industry. The *New York Times* of November 7 carried a story captioned: "Ex

Nazis Seek Control of Films." The dispatch discloses that the German film empire, UFA, which was supposed to have been broken up under the Allied deconcentration laws, is attracting the eyes of some of the most influential Nazis and Hitler supporters. Among those who are trying to regain control over the UFA empire, are:

Max Winkler, Joseph Goebbels' right hand man, who was special deputy propaganda minister in charge of films.

Alfred Hugenberg, steel tycoon, who helped Hitler come to power.

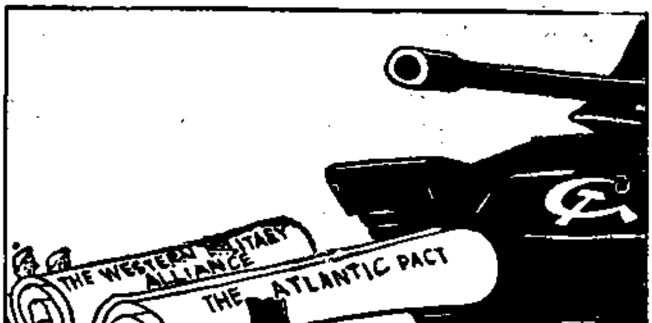
Alfred Greven, director of German film interests in France during the occupation.

Dr. Gunther Dahl Grunen, Managing Editor of the Nazi super holding company, Cautio, which controlled *all* propaganda media, including films.

According to the *Times*, this group is in close contact with the Allied Film Reorganization Committee, and "is lobbying extensively with important West German Government personalities to keep the empire intact." In view of the activities of this unholy group, it is not surprising that efforts to suppress a new film produced by Veit Harlan, favorite movie maker of Joseph Goebbels, were blocked by a German court in Hamburg.

One can hardly say that the situation in the newspaper field and in the film industry in Germany is encouraging. Yet some of our leading officials in Germany continue to make lengthy speeches and write detailed reports on how successful "we" have been in bringing democracy home to the Germans.

A GERMAN VIEW



"Well, anyway, we are secure from the rear."

Die Welt, Hamburg

DECARTELIZATION FARCE

The most recent report on Germany (Fourth Quarterly, 1950) by the United States High Commissioner, is not only interesting in what it says but also in what has been virtually omitted. Mr. McCloy comments on a wide variety of subjects, ranging from the field of civil liberties where he notes that the Bonn Government, *"has been inclined to follow German traditions and has resisted efforts to liberalize some of the most paternalistic practices which have grown up in the past,"* to his discussion on the need for increasing Germany's war potential. *"Capital,"* he declares, *"must instead be furnished to industries likely to play an integral part in Germany's contribution to the common defense effort."*

Strange as it may seem, Mr. McCloy's report says practically nothing about the question of deconcentrating German heavy industry and the smashing of the German cartel network. One of the few remarks which we have been able to find alluding to this problem is filled with exuberant optimism: "Free enterprise . . ." he reports, has been one of the "watchwords of the Government's economic policy as formulated and carried out by the Minister of Economics, Dr. Ludwig Erhard."

Reading this statement one could easily get the impression that the Germans are now on the road to a genuine free enterprise economy. Unfortunately, all the evidence we have seen points the other way around. (In this connection, the relationship of German economic policy to a system of free enterprise was discussed in issues No. 32 and 33 of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, under the title: "Champions of Free Enterprise?" by Dr. Jean Pajus.)

As a matter of fact, Law No. 27, which is supposed to break up the German coal and steel trusts is in reality a far cry from the avowed policy to deconcentrate German heavy industry. This Law and the regulations accompanying it make it clear that the same German tycoons who have been responsible in the first place for the trustified character of German heavy industry, will be in charge of liquidating it.

As early as June 26, 1950 the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, commenting on the Law, noted that German industrial circles were very pleased about Article No. 5 of said Law. Article No. 5, in the opinion of these powerful interests, writes the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, permits, "the exchange of shares of the old steel industry against shares of the newly to be formed steel units." Moreover, the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* flatly states that under Law No. 27, "It will be possible now to reorganize vertical concerns of mines and steel plants." It is a fact of history that the vertical German monopolies have not only exercised a stranglehold over the German economy, but have dominated the economic life of most of Europe.

As mentioned above, regulations supplementing Law No. 27 provide that these powerful monopolies will be liquidated by the German monopolists themselves. We estimate that roughly 50% of the present leading officials of the German monopolies to be liquidated, fall within the classification of the War Department circular of March, 1945, as individuals who: "in an outstanding way thrived under National Socialism, who welcomed it in the beginning, aided the Nazis to obtain power,

supported them in office, shared the spoils of expropriation and conquest, or otherwise markedly benefitted in their careers or fortunes under the Nazis."

The inadequacy of Law No. 27 is further confirmed by a description of the powers of the German coal control board (DKBL), by the *London Economist* of November 11, 1950. The *Economist,* speaking about the temporary coal shortage, said: "Last week the German Coal Control (DKBL)—a curiously anomalous body which exercises the powers of a government or cartel under the nominal authority of the Allied Coal Control —was empowered to ration supplies, in practice though not in name. The DKBL can do so because it controls a sales organization which in the internal market exercises all the powers which used to be wielded by the Rheinisch-Westfaelisches Kohlensyndikat. This organization was dissolved by Military Government on account of its being a cartel. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose."

Francis D. Murnaghan, Jr., of the Decartelization and Deconcentration Division, HICOG, writing in the November issue of *Information Bulletin,* confesses that decartelization and deconcentration of German industry is no easy matter. Implicit in his remarks is the admission that the German cartelists are far from convinced of the benefits of free enterprise, nor are the cartelists pursuing a do-nothing policy. Consequently, Mr. Murnaghan writes: "A large portion of the Division's time is devoted to obtaining evidence of such agreements (cartels) which, understandably, the parties keep as quiet as possible." Though more than 6,000 of such cartel agreements, according to Mr. Murnaghan, have been "formally terminated . . . there are signs of a revival of such agreements. . . ."

To round out this picture we are taking the liberty of quoting from a report by one of the members of a United States anti-trust team which had been sent over to Germany last year to undo the damages against the decartelization law under the regime of General Clay. We are indebted to Mr. Robert S. Allen, who published excerpts of this report in the *New York Post* of November 26, 1950:

"We have been fighting our own battle here ever since the Korean affair broke, but it looks as though ours will have a far less happy ending. Decartelization, dispersal of the I. G. Farben combine and break-up of the banking monopolies are about to be swept away in the panicky rush to give the Germans whatever they want in order to get them to accept the arms we are trying to thrust upon them. It is a truly tragic and despairing situation.

"All prospect of any acceptance by the Germans of any part of our economic reform program has virtually disappeared in the scramble to get them back into uniform. . . . Instead of advancing as we were doing for a while, we are now having to fight very hard to hold on. to anything at all. It now appears that our decartelization program is out the window. . . . The British were always against it and so were a lot of other people in our own occupation establishment. Between them and the rush to rearm Germany, our deconcentration program appears about finished.

"Now, only a few months later, there is a beautifully organized drive, encouraged by the British and led by the old Farben gang, to scrap the law and let the Germans, meaning the Farben crowd, handle the problem.

". . . The lack of resolve by the Allies, and their susceptibility to blackmail, has now been graphically demonstrated. The Germans have tasted blood and they are on the prowl once more. Once again, it is the old cry, 'Deutschland Uber Alles.'

"Only recently, the Minister of Justice at Bonn made a public speech in which he denounced the three High Commissioners, demanded that they get out of Germany, and excoriated the occupation statute as a scrap of paper which had no authority in Germany. That's where we came in. Adolph Hitler rides again."

This sensational indictment of the decartelization farce is in sharp contrast to Mr. McCloy's rosy picture of free enterprise in Germany.

GUNS FOR BUTTER

"We're trading guns for butter in Germany today. The Soviet world is getting the tools with which to make guns; in return the free world's getting stuff with which to butter bread and sweeten coffee and trim Christmas trees.

"Here in the Ruhr—the industrial heart of West Germany — factories are booming this winter. Blast furnaces are roaring and the night sky is lit by the glow of open hearths. But much of its production—its high-grade steel and tools and heavy machinery—are flowing across the iron curtain at the rate of $250,000,000 a year.

"With these critical materials the Communist East German state is building up an industrial plant whose steel output has trebled in three years and which will be practically self-sufficient in two more. In 1952 production is expected to reach 160 per cent of prewar levels.

"In exchange, Soviet Germany is sending back silk stockings and film, glassware and baubles—the kind of trinkets that fill shopwindows and give West Germany its look of lush prosperity.

"This bustling trade is being carried on in the West by German industrialists, often with the approval of the German Ministry of Economics and in shocking disregard of the free world's strategic interests. It is causing grave alarm among American and British officials—who are all but powerless to prevent it.

" 'We turned export licensing back to the Germans last February,' I was told by a State Department economic supervisor. 'Now they're determined to go on doing business as usual with their fellow-Germans across the line. And the Soviet Germans pay well—in gold and dollars—for the goods they need.'

"I looked at last year's figures of approved shipments to the East: $23,000,000 worth of iron and steel; $14,000,000 worth of vehicle and construction parts; $2,500,000 worth of machine tools; $7,500,00 worth of chemical and electrical products. And those are only a few of the items . . ."

(*William Attwood in The New York Post*)

RE-EDUCATION FIASCO

"German schools in the American zone are bringing up another generation to be blind followers. . . . Unless a major operation is performed in the German school system, we shall prepare for another generation that will welcome a dictator. . . . Ironically, we are doing it with American taxpayers' money expended for the express purpose of making another dictator unacceptable."

Thus spoke Dr. Worth McClure, Executive Secretary of the American Association of School Administrators before a Washington audience some weeks ago. There are ample facts to back up Dr. McClure's observations. Indeed, on the same day he spoke, the Associated Press reported from Stuttgart that: *"Thousands of former Nazis are back in their school teaching jobs in Western Germany."* According to the AP, at least forty-seven school teachers were found to be worse than "nominal Nazis" in the state of Wuerttemberg-Baden "where denazification scandals have been frequent."

A correspondent for the *New York Times,* writing from Stuttgart, revealed that of the forty-seven mentioned by the AP, twenty-four had been Nazi Party district leaders while many others had been active in "Racial Problems Bureaus." A number of them were "confidence men" in the Nazi Party Teachers' Association. For the information of our readers, Nazi "confidence men" were stool pigeons and spies employed by the Hitlerites to execute the Fuehrer's directives in whatever organizations they were assigned.

To illustrate the importance of these teachers to the Nazi machine, the *Times* correspondent cites the case of Dr. Ernst Schmidhuber. Schmidhuber was the executive officer of his Gau which was the biggest regional area in the Nazi Party organization. He possessed great talents and was an invaluable asset to the Nazi cause. Schmidhuber was an authority on the Hitler youth. He was a leading Party orator and district orientation leader. And last, but certainly not least, he was one of the Party's oracles on the "racial question." Today, he is back on the job—a teacher again!

The setbacks suffered by democracy in the German schools are reflected among German youth. A recent United States High Commission survey disclosed that only one out of four German youths in the American zone and one out of three adults believe that American democratization efforts "have achieved any great success up to now." Specifically, the survey reported that among Germans with twelve years or more education "84% see little or no success in American democratization efforts."

In this connection, we call attention to the fact that neo-Nazi youth organizations are appearing on the German scene. The latest of these outfits is called: "Reichsjugend" (Reichs Youth). It is led by one Herbert Muenchow, who, according to the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of November 4, 1950, was a district leader in Berlin under Hitler and at the end of the war was "Superior Fuehrer" of the Pioneers of the Storm Troopers. Muenchow, therefore, is a professional youth organizer who received his basic training in the Hitler youth organizations. The political godfather of Muenchow's organization is none other than Wolfgang Hedler, an important bigwig in one of the extreme German rightist parties. Hedler is a violent anti-Semite and has savagely attacked the Occupying Powers. His anti-Semitic activities became so obnoxious that even members of the West German parliament demanded his ouster from that body.

Ernest Leiser of the ONA writes: *"The group, like the Hitler youth, is uniformed, and on the right breast of each uniform shirt the members wear a Germanic 'wolfsangel,' a symbol which closely resembles the National Socialist swastika."*

In discussing the deteriorating situation among West German youth, the *New York Times* said in one of its editorials: *"Five years of Allied and German efforts of reorientation have not succeeded in filling the vacuum left by the collapse of the Reich with an understanding of the workings and meaning of democracy."* Every informed person knows that the *New York Times* is right in its conclusion, namely that there has been no significant victory for democracy among German youth.

But one is justified in asking the question—precisely what efforts have been made on the part of the Allies and the Germans to drive home the lessons of democracy? We are not talking about the handful of sincere Allied educators who have worked under the most difficult circumstances to do a job. They are not at fault. One merely needs to compare the paltry sums spent for education in Germany with the billions expended for the re-creation of German "efficiency," to understand how little has been done and who is to blame.

The American High Commissioner for Germany, Mr. McCloy, insists that a strong Germany is essential to the security of the West. Strength, to him, means a powerful industrial war potential. Everything else appears to be secondary. But would such a Germany really be strong to meet the challenge of Communism? Could such a Germany be a trusted ally of the West? There was a strong Germany before World War II. It was strong in the sense that it had unrivalled economic power, and that the Germans were thoroughly indoctrinated to follow the leader. But that Germany did not serve as a bulwark of democracy. It did not help to maintain peace.

Only a Germany whose people are thoroughly imbued with the democratic spirit can be strong, and that is why the re-education of the German youth is of paramount importance. It is they who must be made strong through the conviction that crime does not pay, and that peaceful pursuits and respect for one's neighbors is the truly democratic way. This will require much greater effort on the part of the Germans themselves. But, can we expect the Germans, young or old, to respond when they find that the Allies are hypnotized by the magical words, "German economic efficiency?"

DEMOCRACY IN REVERSE

"Roger N. Baldwin, national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, recently called American efforts to reorient Germans toward democracy a 'failure' and charged:

" 'The old gang of civil servants is back; business is run by the same men who ran it under the Nazis. Order, not liberty, is their chief concern. Government of, by, and for the people is a long way off.' "

(From a report to the Christian Science Monitor)

I. G. FARBEN MERRY-GO-ROUND

The New York Times of January 15, 1951 reported that the Allied High Commission had agreed on a plan to "break up" the mammoth German chemical trust and cartel, I. G. Farben.

Long before VE day, the U. S. A. had been aware of the evil role which Farben had played in building up Hitler's war machine and undermining the economies of Germany's prospective victims. At the risk of being trite, we dare say that I. G. Farben was a government within a government. Indeed there are many authorities who say that I. G. Farben ran Hitler, and not the other way around.

As early as May 19, 1946, the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Howard C. Petersen told a radio audience that the position of the American Military Government was "to destroy cartels and we are proceeding to do so." In this connection, Mr. Petersen declared that the old management of I. G. Farben had been removed and that "four or five Farben munition plants" were destroyed. Concluding his remarks, Mr. Petersen assured his audience that the Farben cartel would be wiped out in accordance with Allied control agreements. The year 1946 passed but nothing substantial happened.

A chronicle of events in 1949 and 1950 indicates the vicissitudes in the efforts to eliminate the Farben cartel.

1. On June 1, 1949 the *New York Times* reported that the United States Military Government was going to sell one of the I. G. Farben chemical trust properties. It was reported as a move to implement previous laws for the breaking up of the Farben cartel.

2. On June 25, 1949 the *New York Times* reported that "a committee of creditors, bond holders and stock holders of the former I. G. Farben chemical trust" would be established "as one of the steps in the dissolution of the monopoly and the sale of its properties."

3. On July 13, 1949 the United Press reported that the stockholders of I. G. Farben had charged the occupying powers with disregarding "rights of private property." According to the United Press dispatch, the I. G. Farben stock holders were objecting to Law No. 9 of Nov. 30, 1945 which was designed to break up Farben.

By the end of 1949 it became apparent that the wide publicity given to the breaking up of Farben that past summer was "premature." As the year 1950 rolled around, it became clear that the resistance of the stock holders of Farben was having its effect:

1. On February 24, 1950 the *New York Times* carried a story titled: "New Farben Trust Seen in Germany." The article reported "the alarm" expressed by Allied officials over the rebirth of the Farben cartel. The *Times* dispatch observed that "officials here also deplore the fact that subsidiaries, notably in Spain and South America, are operating for the benefit of the old German proprietors."

2. On April 24, 1950 the *New York Times* carried a story titled: "I. G. Farben Cartel Again Is Target." But the dispatch revealed that the sale of Farben properties "which was to have set the stage for a vast liquidation program, is now 'dead as a doornail.'"

The *Times* wrote that the Office of the High Commissioner had rescinded the plans for such sales because they had been "ill-conceived." The article continued: "Instead of selling the remaining I. G. Farben properties outright—as previously was considered by military government officials—the Allied High Commission experts were thinking in terms of reorganization with stocks to be rearranged among the present stock holders."

Finally, on June 5, 1950 the Associated Press carried a report which read in part: "The Western High Commissioners turned control of the West German chemical industry back to the Germans today. . . . The Germans get control of some chemicals that can be used in war, but that also have peacetime uses. . . ."

During these years of promise and failure, the former bigwigs of the Farben cartel were reinstated in their old jobs, particularly in the French and British zones. For example, Wilhelm Mann, who had been indicted as a war criminal, resumed his post as director of Farben's Bayer Co. at Leverkuesen. Mann, according to the court transcript of the Farben trial, was an active Nazi Party member from 1931 until the end of the war. He took a leading part in creating and equipping the Nazi war machine. On the basis of his Nazi affiliations, Mann in 1933 purged the Farben organization under his control of all "non-Aryans."

Another important Farben official, who was restored to a preeminent position in the Farben hierarchy is *Ulrich Haberland.* Herr Haberland, unfortunately was not placed on the dock for the war crimes he committed. He was a member of the Nazi Party and as a bigwig in the Farben Combine, shared the responsibility for the employment of slave labor.

According to the *New York Times* of January 15, Haberland is the chief spokesman for the Farben empire in opposing the present plan of the Allied High Commission to establish 3 large companies and 6 smaller concerns out of the Farben combine. This is only a slight change from the pre-war organization of Farben, which was always divided into 3 groups as contemplated by the new plan.

One would think that Haberland would be prevented from regaining a position of power. But in accordance with the morality of some of the leading occupation officials, and with Allied policy to encourage "efficiency," Haberland was appointed as a manager of the Leverkuesen plant of I. G. Farben, which includes the huge Bayer organization.

As regards the new Allied plan to "break-up" Farben, the authoritative magazine *Business Week*, declares that the 3 major units resulting from "splitting" Farben look "a lot like cartels in their own right."

The *Times* indicates that the war criminal, Herr Haberland, who was never prosecuted, is not so much opposed to the setup of the 3 major units as he is to questions of detail. In this connection, *Business Week* reports that Law 35, covering the "decartelization" of Farben is precisely the kind that "the Germans—government, businessmen, stock holders, have been plumping for with all their might." Thus it seems that we are witnessing a sham battle, one which has been fought over and over again since the end of the war.

Given the political climate of today, which is so favorable to Germany's resurgence, and given the group of Allied officials who worship German "efficiency" and who do not feel any pangs of conscience by permitting war criminals like Haberland to dominate the German Chemical industry, is it not clear that the final victory will go to the Farben gang?

An Alternative to Rearming Germany

by

James. P. Warburg

(Author, Economist, Lecturer)

I

The writer has been a "re-examinist" with regard to certain aspects of our foreign policy during most of the postwar period. He has supported the Marshall Plan, "Point Four" and the Atlantic Treaty. He has opposed our assuming the role of self-appointed global policeman, involving the assumption of far-flung military commitments without commensurate military power. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in May 1949, the writer warned against assuming the specific commitment of defending Western Europe against invasion in the event that the deterrent to aggression provided by the Atlantic Treaty should fail to prevent a Russian attack. He contended that the United States should not commit itself to any pre-announced strategy of defense and maintained that an undertaking to defend Europe at the Elbe or the Rhine would sooner or later lead to the fatal mistake of rearming Germany. This would not only fail to make Western Europe secure against invasion but might easily provoke the very attack we were seeking to prevent. The Senate Committee expressed its concurrence with these views. Nevertheless, the commitment to defend the frontiers of Western Europe was shortly thereafter taken by the administration, accompanied by repeated assurances that no rearmament of Germany was contemplated.

A year later the Government of the United States declared itself in favor of West German rearmament and is now engaged in trying to force the consent thereto by a reluctant Germany and an even more reluctant France. On October 21, 1950, the Russian Government issued a protest and suggested renewed four-power discussion of a German peace settlement.

In view of these developments, the writer has ventured to submit to the Secretary of State a proposal for the "re-examination" of our European policy which he believes would strengthen the defense potential of Western Europe, while at the same time creating the conditions in which a German peace settlement might profitably be discussed. The following is the gist of the proposal submitted.

II

Our Government is proceeding, at present, on the assumption that German rearmament and French rearmament can be made to complement each other. The evidence from abroad indicates this belief to be a fallacy.

1. Reports from Germany indicate:

(a) that the West Germans will not willingly rearm for a war in which their country would be the battleground—much less for a war in which the defense might be moved back from the Elbe to the Rhine; if they fight at all, the West Germans will want to fight an *offensive* war to recapture Eastern Germany;

(b) that the Germans will be uncertain allies unless they are sure of a Western victory, which they will be only when they see some twenty American and British divisions stationed in Western Germany; and

(c) that the Germans will not willingly rearm at all as second-class members of a Western coalition; that they will demand full equality, including equality in command.

2. Reports from France indicate:

(a) that if these German conditions are met, France will become more "neutralist" than ever;

(b) that the French do not want to fight an offensive war to recapture Eastern Germany for a strong, militarized German nation;

(c) that the French do not want or trust Germany as an equal partner; and

(d) that while the French would like to see large American and British armies stationed on the Continent, they fear that such a build-up *in Germany* may provoke Russian attack.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that *German rearmament and French rearmament would actually cancel each other out;* and that our present policy, while possibly producing some sort of compromise "agreement," *will fail to produce the will to resist anywhere in Western Europe.* Such a result might well invite Russian attack.

III

The alternative suggested is to forego German rearmament and, instead, to encourage serious rearmament and the will to resist in France and the Low Countries, by undertaking to station in those countries not less than twenty American and British divisions. This would be done on condition that France would match—division for division—any such Anglo-American garrison.

Admittedly, this alternative will not provide a sure defense against 175 Russian divisions. It still involves the risk—inherent in the commitment we have taken—that, if war comes, we may have to begin it with another Dunkirk, or worse. But, under this alternative, we should at least know upon whom we could count to provide a real deterrent to aggression and to put up a real fight if an invasion were launched. At the very least, we should have created the conditions in which a rearmed France and its rearmed neighbors could reasonably be expected to offer determined resistance.

This is the first part of the writer's proposal. It is a plea to reconsider where, how, and with what to build *real* strength in Western Europe, even if it entails far greater immediate efforts and sacrifices here at home than our present program.

IV

The second part of the writer's suggestion is founded upon the revised rearmament program just suggested. It deals with a new approach to a German peace settlement.

In their proposal of October 21, the Russians put forward four major suggestions:

1. A reaffirmation by the four occupying powers of their Potsdam undertaking to keep Germany demilitarized;

2. The "removal of all hindrances to the development of a peaceful German economy," and a renewed pledge against the "rehabilitation of the German war potential";

3. The "undelayed conclusion of a peace treaty," the creation of a unified German state, and the withdrawal, within one year after the peace treaty, of all occupation forces;

4. The "creation of an all-German Constitutional Council on the basis of balanced representation of Eastern and Western Germany"—this Council "to prepare for the establishment of a German Government."

Taking his cue from the Russian preamble to this proposal, which contained the usual vilification of the West, the Secretary of State issued a formal statement on October 24, denouncing the "effrontery" of the proposal and demanding that the Russians demonstrate their sincerity by deeds rather than words. This was to be expected, in view of the predicament to which our present policy has brought us. That predicament consists in being unable to discuss the possible attainment of our own avowed objectives in Germany without running afoul of our present efforts to include Western Germany in a Western defense bloc. So long as these efforts continue, we cannot discuss the unification of Germany, we cannot discuss a peace treaty, we cannot even contemplate the withdrawal of our occupation forces. So long as our present policy stands, it is clear that we shall be embarrassed by any suggestions—sincere or insincere—for a renewal of negotiations leading toward a German settlement.

If, however, we were to modify our defense program along the lines already suggested, the situation would be reversed. We should be relieved of our present embarrassment and Russian sincerity would then truly be on trial before the world.

As matters stand, we cannot renew our Potsdam pledge against remilitarization for the simple reason that we intend to remilitarize Western Germany. Therefore, we can only denounce the Russians for having broken their pledge by a partial remilitarization in Eastern Germany. Granted that the Russians *have* transgressed, our case is weak *because we intend to transgress even more.* Under the alternative here proposed, the Russians would have to undo what they have done in Eastern Germany or else admit that their proposal was insincere.

The same thing holds for the Russian proposal to unify Germany, sign a peace treaty and withdraw all occupation forces. Here, too, we can only denounce the Russians for having until now obstructed unification. Our case is weak for two reasons: first, not only the Russians but our friends, the French, have obstructed unification and would still be reluctant to see it accomplished; and, second, our present program for rearming Western Europe is based upon the assumption of a divided Germany. Under the suggested alternative, we would be in a position where we could sincerely pursue our avowed objectives, where we could allay French fears of German unification (since Germany would be kept demilitarized), and where Russian sincerity in proposing unification would be on trial.

The greatest obstacle to a German settlement in the past has been Russian unwillingness to permit a unified Germany to be democratic, in the Western sense—that is, to have a government based upon free elections and a constitution guaranteeing the political freedoms. Mr. Acheson rightly denounced the Russian proposal for "balanced representation" between East and West and for its implied failure to permit an all-German government based upon free elections. Since then, however, there have been some interesting reports of statements by East German communist leaders which indicate that the Russians might be willing to back down on their "balanced representation" and possibly even accept free all-German elections. This *could* be true, if the Russians have concluded that a demilitarized, "democratic" Germany (in the Western sense) would be less of an evil than a remilitarized Western Germany. If so, this would be a great step forward toward a German settlement. But we shall never find out by just asking, unless the Russians feel that, by making the concession, they have a chance of preventing West German rearmament. The suggested alternative would make it possible to demand a clear answer.

Finally, when the Russians proposed (item 2) "the removal of all hindrances to the development of a peaceful German economy," they were, in effect, offering to give up further reparations out of current German production. *In the past, this has been the second great obstacle to a settlement.* This proposal may have been a bluff or a sincerely offered concession, motivated, perhaps, by the fact that the Russians know they have milked the East German cow fairly dry. Once we get ourselves in a position where we really want unification and a settlement, we shall be able to find out whether this second obstacle has been removed.

V

To summarize:

1. *The writer submits that, by embarking upon the suggested course, we shall not weaken but strengthen the defense of Western Europe.* It should be noted that this proposal does not suggest that the Russians should retire a few miles to the Oder, while our troops come home across the ocean. Under this proposal we and the British would maintain at least twenty full-strength ready divisions no further from the West German frontier than the Russians will be from the East German frontier, and this Anglo-American force would be at least matched by France and the Low Countries.

2. The writer submits that, by modifying our rearmament program as suggested, we shall put ourselves in a position to pursue with sincerity our avowed aim of unifying and permanently demilitarizing Germany, of working out a peace settlement, and of withdrawing all occupation forces under United Nations supervision and control.

Obviously, if this plan is adopted, we shall have to go considerably further in arming ourselves than seems at

present contemplated. It is unlikely that the British could provide more than perhaps five divisions for a West European garrison. This means that we should have to provide fifteen—perhaps more. The writer believes that the American people would not balk at the additional sacrifice and effort, if they were given an opportunity to study and understand the facts.

The writer is fully aware of the dangers involved in moving nearer to the condition of being a full garrison state. He would accept this evil until, by determined creative effort along political and economic lines, we can at last create those conditions in which universal enforceable disarmament becomes a practicable possibility.

If the present acute crisis in Asia can be surmounted, here is our great opportunity to strike at the heart of the cold war, which lies in Europe. To seize this opportunity will require both skill and courage. In foregoing German rearmament, we should not be making a concession designed to appease Russia. We should be making a concession demanded by a clear understanding of our own vital self-interest. Were we to change our course with regard to German rearmament, we should bring about, here and throughout the world, a feeling of relief, of renewed confidence in the justice of our cause, and of hope for the future.

"There are two major reasons why the Russians might prefer to wait a while.

"One is that it will take at least a year before Atlantic Pact blueprints start getting translated into actual armies. It will take time to reconvene the war-industries of the Ruhr. It will take time to win over the still bargaining west-German leaders, and even more to win over a German people who don't want to fight for either side. The Russians may prefer to wait until an attack can be timed to a sharp crisis of disunity in the West.

"Which leads to the other reason. Every step we take to arm Germany means bringing back the former Nazi generals and the military caste, which in turns means placing Germany under a blacker reaction. This is a risk which even Gen. MacArthur has all along been unwilling to take in Japan. If we do it in Germany, we weaken further our ties to our allies in Britain and France, who still have reason to remember the German military caste. The Russians, I suspect, may not be adverse to allowing us some time in which thus to undermine our own moral strength in Europe.

"I wonder whether either side can stop on this road to a common suicide. The trouble with time-tables is that they become ends in themselves, and take on a motion and volition of their own. This is the most terrifying element in the whole world crisis."

(Max Lerner in the New York Post)

CHARGE BONN REGIME RECRUITS NAZI POLICE

Bonn, Jan. 24 (AP)—"The West German Social Democrats today charged that the Bonn regime has recruited former Nazis and S.S. (Elite Corps) officers for the Federal Emergency Mobile Police. . . ."

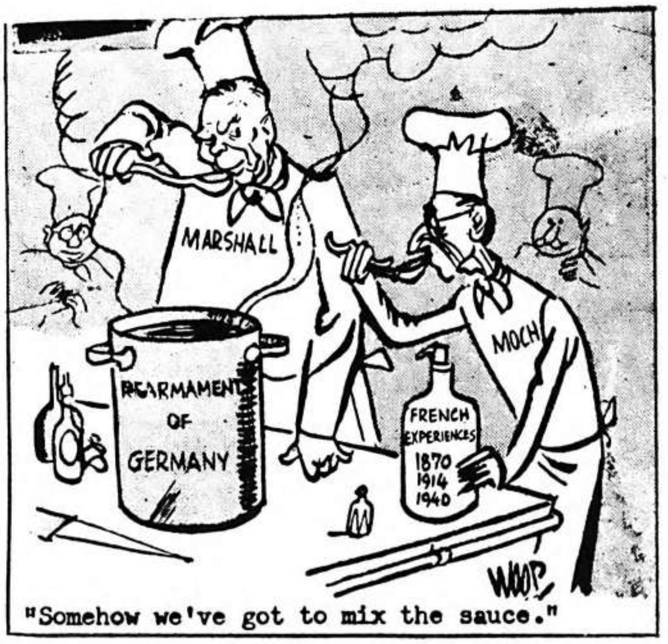
COMMON SENSE

"Another reason why sizeable military assistance from the United States is essential and why production of military equipment in Continental Western Europe cannot be pushed beyond certain limits ties in with the problem of Western Germany. It is not in the interest of our long-range security that the Ruhr should once again become one of the world's major producers of military equipment. There is, of course, always the dreadful possibility of a successful Soviet invasion of Western Europe, in which case the Ruhr would fall under Soviet control. But even leaving this possibility aside, we must be wary of developing in Germany a powerful arms production center which might some day be used for the sake of dominating Western Europe or for the basis of a German-Russian deal. It is better for our own security and for that of our Western European allies in two world wars that industry in the Ruhr should concentrate on the production of necessary civilian goods for the Allies rather than munitions. Western Germany can and must be integrated with the rest of Western Europe, but under circumstances where she would not become the single dominating element in that part of the world."

(From a Statement on European Recovery Program by the Board of Directors, National Association of Manufacturers)

"The Allied High Commission has agreed on a new plan for the break-up of the I. G. Farben empire into three big and six smaller companies. This preserves the Allied record of drafting at least one plan for the break-up of Farben every year since V-E Day."

(Editorial comment in the New York Post)



"Somehow we've got to mix the sauce."

Woop in L'Aurore, Paris

Who Should Distrust Whom?

"Germany has been besmirched . . ."

Over a tri-zonal radio hook-up some weeks ago Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Bonn Republic, bitterly complained to his fellow Germans that they were still distrusted by some of the Allies. As though he were shaking a warning finger at the Allies, he said that this attitude must be corrected because, "Distrust never breeds trust on the other side, but only infects with distrust again."

Dr. Adenauer's complaint should cause surprise among the Allied High Commissioners, French, British and American alike, for they, of all people, have devoted a good part of their energies toward establishing mutual understanding and friendship with the former enemy. The record is clear on that score. Seldom have the Allied High Commissioners failed to concede to Dr. Adenauer whatever he has desired. As a matter of fact, the whole history of the Allied occupation is one of accommodating the Germans at every turn, so that today it is no longer a case of the Germans waiting on the Allies, but rather the Allied High Commissioners anxiously wooing the Germans.

Only recently Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, British High Commissioner, speaking before the Senate of the City of Bremen, pleaded with the Germans to accept partnership with the West. To the Germans he said: "We can save our Western inheritance. The people of the West have the numbers, the resources, the technical ability and the courage with which to overcome all perils." Thus Sir Ivone made short shrift of the other kind of German—the destroyer of the great cultural landmarks of the West. His colleagues, the American High Commissioner, John J. McCloy, and the French High Commissioner, Francois Poncet, are by no means playing second fiddle in this race for the hand of the Germans. Surely Dr. Adenauer has no cause for complaint insofar as they are concerned.

Then why does Dr. Adenauer continually berate the West for their mistrust of German intentions? Can it be that he believes that the Allied High Commissioners do not reflect the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the West? Can it be that he fears that the peoples of the West refuse to be duped by German stratagems?

Certainly a casual reading of the remarks made by Germany's leading politicians, including Dr. Adenauer, would give sufficient justification for the peoples of the West to continue to keep the Germans at arm's length. Dr. Adenauer, himself, in one of his rare off-moments, let loose a torrent of abuse which in itself is an answer to the reason why the Germans have failed thus far to ingratiate themselves with their former victims. Here is what he said: *"Germany has been besmirched, insulted and degraded too long. For five years we have been demilitarized and dismantled. For five years we have had war crimes trials and the German soldier has been maligned and insulted."*

Dr. Adenauer's outburst is not exceptional among German politicians. For example, the German newspaper, *Der Kurier*, reported on September 29, 1950, part of a statement made by Dr. Seebohm, Adenauer's Minister of Trade. Seebohm demanded that: "The honor be restored to the German soldiers." He demanded an end to the defamation of the German Wehrmacht as well as an end to denazification. Concluding his remarks, Seebohm said: *"We would regret the shedding of one drop of blood for foreign interests."* But significantly, he added: *"When the fatherland calls, then we will know what our duty is."*

In a recent debate on foreign policy which took place in the Bonn Parliament, Dr. Adenauer's "line" was reiterated by other leading German politicians. As the debate opened up, Dr. Schumacher, the leader of the German Social Democrat Party, thundered against the Allied occupation and demanded complete equality for Germany. *"The spirit of unconditional surrender,"* he declared, *"is not the spirit which is required for political and military collaboration with the Western powers."* As for Germany's contribution to Western defense, Schumacher said: *"We are not an instrument for the defense of somebody else. Germany cannot be used as a territory to defend other countries. Germany must have complete equality in fact. . . ."* However, in his harangue against the Allies, Schumacher let something slip which perhaps was a good thing for those of us who want to be at all times up to date on German thinking: *"We,"* he boasted, *"were alone to fight Communism while the Allies negotiated with the Russians."* Could this perchance be reference to Hitler's "glorious war for the fatherland?"

Schumacher's remarks were seconded by the leaders of other German parties in the Bonn Parliament. Dr. Seelos of the Bavarian Party demanded the end of the war status, demanded abolition of the occupation statute, demanded that all the trials of former generals be ended, demanded the liberation of all war criminal industrialists who were still in jail, demanded that the honor of the German soldier be restored, demanded Germany's admission to the North Atlantic Pact and the United Nations, demanded a reduction of the occupation costs. Not to be outdone by these demands, other German politicians arose and spoke in a similar vein.

And so the debate went on until it was more or less climaxed by Dr. von Thadden, who spoke for the German Reichs Party. Von Thadden declared that only those states which have clean hands have a right to count on the German people. He referred to press statements that former Nazis would not be able to participate in the defense corps. To this he said: *"Should these former Nazis be included in the army? If not, who else? In this case the West German Republic will be hardly in a position to set up any force at all."*

Here is a typical collection of German politicians and their statements are typical. Yet Dr. Adenauer pretends to be hurt by the sad fact that the Germans are still mistrusted. His sensitivity and that of his colleagues is just a thin veneer which covers their contempt for the very peoples whom the Allied High Commissioners are supposed to represent in Germany.

"Deutschland Ueber Alles"

The pro-German apologist is a curious fellow. He speaks to Americans in the English vernacular, but his heart belongs to the "Fatherland."

Few publications have gone into as much detail as PREVENT WORLD WAR III in exposing these loyal sons of Germany, their publications and their groups. Our readers are familiar with our factual exposes of the writings and harangues of such characters as E. J. Reichenberger, Austin J. App, Kurt Mertig and others. It has been said that these individuals, for the most part, are crackpots whose diatribes against democracy and defiant defense of Nazi war crimes are of little consequence in the long run, and that it is best, therefore, to ignore their rantings.

PREVENT WORLD WAR III does not share this opinion. It has always maintained that these individuals and the groups they represent are real dangers, and a policy of ignoring their activities affords them the opportunity to dupe scores of patriotic Americans. Many of them do not only echo the defunct German-American Bund, but they also spread distrust, suspicion and disunity among our people. It is significant, we believe, that the very campaigns which the pro-German crowd has conducted since the end of the war to place the burden of guilt on the Allies and whitewash the Herrenvolk, are beginning to show marked success.

Of course, it would be an over-simplification to attribute the growing resurgence of the Germans and the Allied capitulation to German demands solely to the work of the pro-German forces here and elsewhere. But nevertheless, many of the things which these pro-German groups have demanded from the very beginning of the occupation have been conceded, and one can legitimately ask the question as to the extent to which these pro-German groups have influenced American policy in Germany.

In this connection, we are in possession of a document which contains a wire sent on December 12, 1950 by *E. A. Fleckenstein*, President of the *"Voters Alliance for Americans of German Ancestry,"* to the representatives of the German Bonn Government in Washington. In this wire Fleckenstein appeals to the Bonn Government to blackmail the defense of Western Europe until the Allies admit their "crimes" against the Germans and submit to every German demand.

At this point it is appropriate to mention some basic facts concerning the Voters Alliance. Like many so-called German-American outfits in the United States, the Voters Alliance is fanatically pan-German in its outlook. *The New York Post Home News* in April, 1949, ran a series of articles on the Voters Alliance and indicated that this organization was considered a successor to Fritz Kuhn's defunct American Bund.

On June 4, 1946, Supreme Court Justice Hammer denied the Voters Alliance permission to become a membership corporation on the grounds that *"the name in connection with the purposes set forth . . . appeared provocative of the notion that an attitude was indicated to organize for domestic political action persons who might be resentful over the victory of the United States of America over Germany."*

Among the directors of the Voters Alliance for Germans of American Ancestry is Eugene Brand. Brand is the owner of a newspaper store in New York's Yorkville section, and he is the main distributor in New York City of the hate sheet, *The Broom.*

The former President of the Voters Alliance was A. O. Tittmann. It is reported that he is now Vice President of the Voters Alliance. Tittman is a violent Jew-baiter. He has denounced Presidents Roosevelt and Truman and has defended the German war criminals. In his pamphlet, "The Planned Famine," he denounced the internment of German enemy aliens during the war and stated: *"The whole is an outrageous violation of international law and human decency and shows into what depths of iniquity and depravity the Roosevelt-Truman dictatorships have cast the country."* (Page 11)

On page 14 of this pamphlet Tittman wrote: *"Since Germany was Britain's principal competitor, Roosevelt, the Jewish Pan-Briton, saw to it that Britain was to get the richest, the industrial part of Germany."*

In his pamphlet, "The Nuremberg Trial," he wrote: *"One might truthfully say that with the end of this war the Christian era has also come to an end. All previous tenets of conduct have been discarded and in their place established the vindictiveness of Mosaic Law. Hence, it is not surprising that the idea of 'trying' the leaders of the vanquished nations should have stemmed from a Jew, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman. . . ."*

Returning to the Fleckenstein wire, we are quoting the following choice statements which will be found therein:

". . . The long fearless dedication of my organization to the cause of an absolute and unconditional rehabilitation of Germany entitles me in this hour of decision to call the following facts to the attention of his Excellency, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

"We urge the German government not to rearm the Reich, unless it is granted the right to possess full-fledged armed forces, officered by Germans and equipped with all kinds of modern weapons, instead of the proposed police force which could only fight a delaying action. . . . It is clear to us German Americans that if Germany welcomes these Greeks bearing gifts, the Truman-Acheson-Marshall triumvirate, and accepts their proposal to hire out a few Hessians to them, it will lead to the certain extinction of Germany. . . .

". . . In view of this dismal background the greatest precaution is advisable for the government of his Excellency, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, not to fall into a trap of the Truman Administration, since very recently Marshall, the co-assassin of China, has been brought into the Truman cabinet as Secretary of Defense and adviser. . . .

"German General von Manstein received a severe prison sentence from the western Allies for dealing sternly with red guerillas and snipers behind the German lines in Russia, and now, paradoxically, the Americans are confronted with the same question, as they see their own men brutally murdered by Communist

guerillas in Korea.

"All considered, I want to warn his Excellency that any agreement which his government enters into with the Truman Administration is at its peril. The German Federal government should, therefore, break off all further negotiations concerning the question of rearmament, UNLESS AN IRON-CLAD GUARANTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF ALL WESTERN GERMANY IS GIVEN.

"We also urge your government, as a condition precedent on which to base its dealings on this subject, to insist that the United States give certain guarantees beforehand to undo the rape of the trans-Oder-Neisse lands and that it recognize the validity of the Munich agreement of October 1938 *and the rights of Sudeten Germans and other expellees to their lands. . . . Hence it should be your government's policy, before it continues to deal with the Allies any further, to force them to repudiate for all time their stand at Potsdam. A German government which does not seize this opportunity is guilty of a grave dereliction of duty.*

"We also urge your government to insist on the immediate restoration to Germany of the merchant ships stolen by the allies, inasmuch as reparations imposed before a peace treaty is concluded are illegal and inasmuch as possession of these ships is necessary to the full restoration of Germany's foreign trade.

"It would be unthinkable for a German government to enter into further negotiations with the Truman Administration until the latter changes its apparent policy of not allowing Americans of German ancestry to become members of the U. S. military government in Germany.

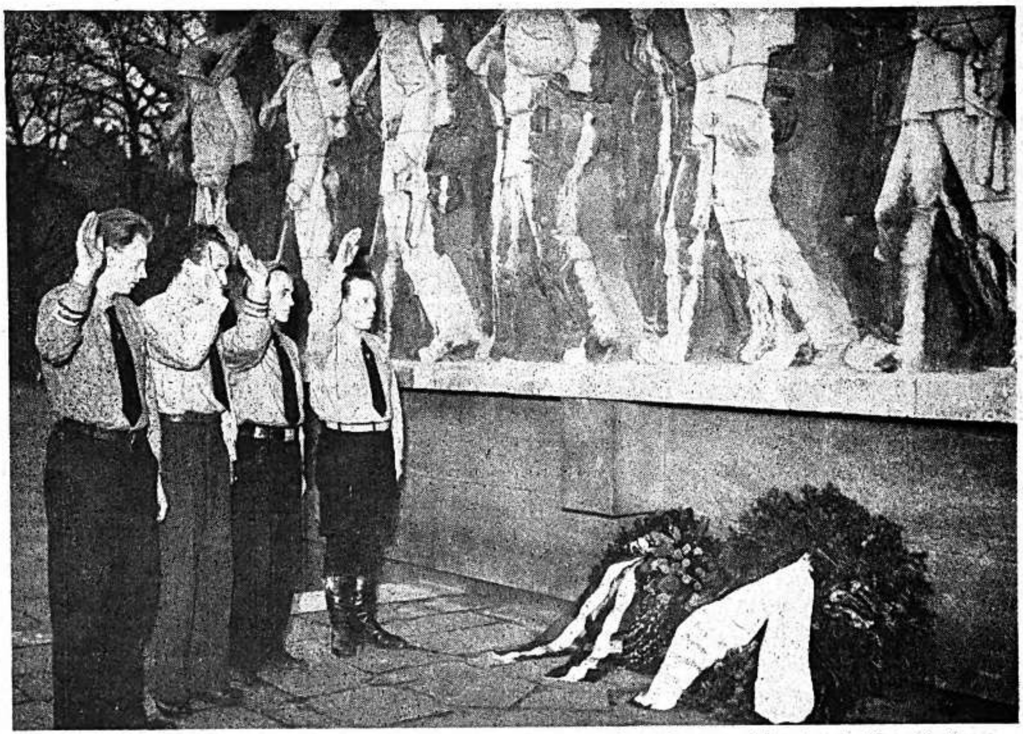
". . . In the White House there still reigns a psychopathic antagonism to everything German.

"The entire subject of German rearmament and steps which are contemplated to be taken in that direction are extremely serious for the reason that the German people is not being consulted in this question any more than it was in the matter of the Occupation Statute, the rape of the Ruhr territory, the Acheson gift of the Saar territory to France and many other matters. The German people cannot be heard because no real freedom of speech and of the press exists in Germany. This telegram represents the prevailing sentiments of Americans of German origin and like so many other statements, this telegram will not be published in the German press because of the western allied commissars or because the German press will not dare publish these words out of fear of these commissars.

"One of the greatest crimes committed by the Nazi regime was its signing of the unconditional surrender agreement. The signing of same has given the color of legality to the violence, rape, looting, larceny and murder which all of the allies have visited on the German people. . . ."

It will be seen from the above "gems" from the Fleckenstein wire that a so-called iron-clad guarantee for the defense of Western Germany is tantamount to an Allied acceptance of the Germans' objective to regain the Eastern territories ceded at Potsdam, and to uphold the infamous Munich agreement of October, 1938 in all its aspects. This is a tall order, as it would turn the clock back to the days of Hitler. It would vindicate everything that Hitler stood for and make a mockery of the sacrifices of World War II. More than that, it would compel the Allies to pull Germany's chestnuts out of the fire and would probably lead to war.

In our opinion, however, the real significance of this wire lies in the fact that its contents, no doubt, bespeak the minds of many of Germany's leading politicians today. They are biding their time until the favorable opportunity arises when they can speak as boldly as Mr. Fleckenstein and the "Voters Alliance."



NAZI SALUTE AT HAMBURG—*Four Germans, wearing brown shirts and identified as members of the Fatherland Union, a right-wing political group, give the Nazi salute, Nov. 26, at memorial to German dead of World War One.* (Courtesy Wide World Photos)

German Question — Atlantic Answer

by
Livingston Hartley

(The Society asked Mr. Hartley, who is associated with the Atlantic Union Committee, to present the views of the AUC on the crucial aspects of the German problem.)

MOST Americans are now so concerned with the growing menace of Communist Russia that they tend to forget the serious threat to peace and security inherent in a fully independent Germany. Yet the German question, which has already brought two world wars, remains with us, though in a new form. If it cannot be solved successfully and permanently, it will compound our danger and may precipitate a third world war.

The German question brought war twice because Germany was the most powerful nation in Europe; because she occupied a strategic central position; because she maintained the most efficient and strongest army in the world; and because she was committed to policies of militarism and conquest. None of these conditions now applies except geographic position. But new conditions have arisen which make the modern German question potentially as dangerous as was the old—conditions which are connected directly with the rise and expansion of Communist Russia.

More than two generations ago, Bismarck made friendship with Imperial Russia a central feature of his foreign policy. In 1922, the Weimar Republic made a deal at Rapallo with Communist Russia, which led to Russian assistance in training the German army. In 1939, Hitler made another deal with Communist Russia, creating a temporary partnership which permitted him to unleash World War II. Over the best part of a century, regardless of forms of government, the Germans have turned periodically to Russia and worked with Russia when so doing was to their advantage.

Western Germany now occupies a middle position between Russia and the Atlantic democracies. The greater the degree of independence which the Western Germans gain, the more effectively they can take advantage of their middle position between the West and Russia. At the same time, the nationalists among them, rapidly growing in influence, will become better able to bid for power by advocating another deal with Russia.

Russia possesses some exceedingly valuable trump cards to use in such a diplomatic game. She can offer to restore German unity, anticipating that her stooges from the Eastern zone will eventually gain influence over the entire country. She can offer the Western Germans guarantees against invasion by the Red Army. She can offer to restore the lost provinces of Germany at the expense of Poland. She can even offer the Germans dominion over most of Western Europe if her expansion policies prove successful. When the potential value of these trump cards are weighed, it appears possible, if not probable, that the continuance of our present policies toward Germany may result eventually in the creation of a Russo-German alliance which could marry Russian manpower to German technical skills and productive capacity and immeasurably increase the war potential at the Kremlin's command.

How such a disastrous outcome can be prevented by our present policies is not clear. The German leaders have made it apparent that even limited German forces will be raised for defense only in exchange for greater independence. As progress towards such independence takes place, Western Germany can be kept on our side only if she is tied into the Atlantic Community by bonds which will endure. Whether or not these can be forged by means of diplomacy and agreements between governments is a 64 dollar question laden with atomic explosives. The past record of the Atlantic democracies in dealing with an independent Germany by diplomatic means gives little basis for expecting their continuing success under conditions which are incomparably more difficult than those which existed 20 years ago.

Certainly there is no hope of preventing a Russo-German partnership by the surrender and withdrawal policy which has been advocated by some Americans on the basis of Mr. Hoover's broadcast address of December 20. Such a policy would give the Kremlin far more than it has ever asked. Based upon invalid strategic conclusions, it would amount to the most gigantic act of appeasement in history. The American people, in exchange for a short period of peace, would allow the Communists to add the industrial plants of Germany and all Western Europe to their own, to turn our advance bases into their advanced bases for atomic attacks on our cities, and to create a war capacity which North America could not long withstand. As for South America, to consider the militarily weak and ideologically vulnerable republics of the continent as components of any kind of "Gibraltar" is to be more imaginative than realistic.

A future Russo-German partnership might in theory be averted by the integration of Western Germany in a Western European Union. From a practical point of view, however, this solution of the German question contains some dangerous flaws. Since the British have made it clear that they will not participate in a European Union, Western Germany would be its most powerful member in industrial power, productive capacity and population. Due to the importance of these factors under modern conditions, such a European Union would be likely soon to become dominated by the Germans.

A European Union dominated even partially by Germans could hardly be regarded as a reliable ally of the United States in the developing conflict with Russia. There would be no assurance that it would continue to maintain democratic institutions. There would be no assurance that it would not eventually seek security by a deal with Russia.

The flaws in a solution of the German question by a Continental Union disappear if that solution is broadened to a Union including both Britain and the United States. There could be no fear of German domination of an Atlantic Union since the Germans would be dwarfed both in numbers and in productive capacity by the peoples of North America alone. Neither could there be any fear of another relapse of the Germans into dictatorship, since their free institutions could be guaranteed by the Union.

This solution would also furnish a permanent answer to Germany's economic problems by providing a vast and expanding market for German products. It would make Germany economically viable and lift her off the American taxpayer's neck. It would permanently divert into peaceful economic channels the deep-seated German urge for expansion.

At the same time, German productive capacity could contribute powerfully to the economic, political and military strength of the Union. It would make the European part of the Union better able to bear its share of the burdens of defense. It would become possible to enlist German manpower and military skills in Union, not German, defense forces. And this could be done safely on a scale many times greater than that now contemplated by our political and military leaders.

Inclusion of the Western Germans in an Atlantic Union, moreover, would constitute a major move toward victory in the conflict with Communism. This development would insure that German unity could be found only inside the Atlantic Union. The Eastern Germans would not be slow to see the writing on the wall. Spurred by the desire for unity with the more fortunate two-thirds of their fellow-Germans, as well as by the contrast between the Union's rising living standards and their own, their resistance to their Communist rulers would build up progressively. This situation, however, could be dangerous only locally, because the men in the Kremlin would not risk war with an Atlantic Union possessing 80 per cent of the world's industrial capacity and most of its resources and able to apply its vast potentialities by means of a unified foreign policy and a fully unified military policy and defense.

In the long run it would seem likely that the resistance of the Eastern Germans to Soviet rule would prove successful. Even the Russian dictatorship could not then expect to maintain its grip indefinitely there solely by force.

The question arises, however, whether it would be practicable to include the Western Germans in an Atlantic Union. Since it would be a Union of peoples, not of governments, and since their inclusion could so effectively further the interests of both the Germans and the Union's peoples, the answer appears to be "yes." The Union would be designed to expand by inclusion of additional peoples who possessed adequate free institutions. Considerable progress has already been made in establishing free institutions in Western Germany, which would border directly upon the European part of the Union. Taking these factors into account and also the urgent need for a solution of the problem of Germany, it appears likely that the Western Germans could be included in an Atlantic Union relatively soon after it was formed.

Creation of an Atlantic Union would provide not only an adequate "situation of strength" but a sturdy bulwark of peace based upon an enduring world predominance of power which was destined to increase progressively through inclusion of additional free peoples. It would furnish also a permanent solution of the dangerous German question which has brought about two world wars and may set off a third. But a question may be asked at once by those who fear that such a war may engulf the Atlantic democracies in 1952 or even 1951. Is there time to achieve peace and security by Atlantic Union? There are good reasons to believe that there still remains time if we do not delay the initial steps too long.

In the first place, an Atlantic Union could be established relatively quickly under the pressure of crisis if it were streamlined for that purpose. Its primary essentials for security and prevention of war would be unified foreign policy and defense. If these essentials were provided through a limited political and military Union, a more comprehensive Union could be developed later when the more complex problems involved in its creation had been solved. Steps already taken by the Atlantic democracies toward integrated defense are steps towards military Union. The most urgently necessary step to make that defense fully effective is establishment of one Union Government able to bring the military and foreign policy of the Atlantic democracies under a fully unified control.

In the second place, the initial steps towards Atlantic Union will go far to solidify the Atlantic democracies, give their peoples new faith in the future and in victory in the conflict with Communism, contribute powerfully to their existing collaboration and convince the Western Germans that their hopes of peace and future prosperity depend upon cooperation with the western democracies.

Passage of the Atlantic Union Resolution, backed by one-fourth of the Senate and about 70 members of the House and re-introduced into the new Congress in January would electrify free people everywhere and contribute directly to all these results. This Resolution requests the President to invite Canada, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg to join with us in sending delegates to a Convention to explore the possibilities of forming, within the framework of the United Nations, a free federal Union. The delegates, representing the principal political parties of these democracies, may invite other democracies from any part of the world to participate in the Convention.

The meeting of this Convention, hailed by free peoples everywhere as the opening of a new era for mankind and a decisive step towards an eventual free world, would contribute further and much more powerfully to all these results. And it would seem likely to decrease at once the growing threat of another world war, since the rulers of Russia could not fail to recognize that democracies actively engaged in exploring Union would stand together under attack.

This step alone would sweep away much of the fear and lack of confidence which are among the salient weaknesses of the democracies, providing their peoples with a positive goal and a broad, new road to its attainment.

Illusions and Realities In World Affairs

by

T. H. Tetens

(This analysis of the world crisis in its relationship to American foreign policy is part of a forthcoming publication by Mr. Tetens entitled: "Peace Through Capitalism.")

A GERMAN WEHRMACHT AGAIN?

The failure of the containment policy in Asia and Europe has caused great nervousness among American policy shapers. Secretary of State Acheson, and high military planners who, a month ago, denied in solemn statements any intention of rearming Germany, are discussing today the necessity for a new German Wehrmacht, disguised as a "police force."

The architects of the containment policy favored from the beginning a tacit plan for the resurrection of a strong Germany, destined to become some day again the "bulwark against the East." This plan had not only the backing of a group of policy planners and diplomats in the State Department, but the plan was especially boosted by big brass in the Pentagon who dreamed of a German army of 20, 50 or even 100 elite divisions. This scheme turned out to be the most disruptive feature in our cold war strategy. It made the Germans bold and cocky in their shrewd maneuvers to wrangle bigger and bigger concessions from the Americans and the British. It made the French bitter to see the Western allies falling for the same booby trap that proved so disastrous during the twenties. It gave Russia the golden opportunity to join the race for the re-establishment of a united German Reich. The Soviets, having the better trump card in hand, and knowing intimately the German mentality, could easily outbid us in this poker game.

The big question is whether the Germans are really willing to fight for the Western powers. Experts on German affairs generally agree that the Germans, due to strategic economic and psychological reasons, will not line up with the West, but will side with the East against the Anglo-American bloc. Men with experience and calm judgment like Walter Lippman, Sumner Welles, William Shirer, James Warburg, Telford Taylor, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Delbert Clark and Drew Middleton have often pointed to the dangers of a possible alliance between Western Germany and the Soviet Union.

The lofty miscalculations of our policy planners have brought our cold war strategy in Europe on the rocks and have opened the way for a new German comeback. The Germans would like to have a new Wehrmacht but they are not anxious to become "Kenonnenfutter" for the U. S. A. Uncle Sam can pay for the rearmament but the final bargaining offer will go to the East. American correspondents in Western Germany have frequently reported that all Germans show unwillingness to fight for the Western powers and that "the memory of the Russian campaign still haunts like a nightmare all those who took part in it." Among former German soldiers the most popular argument for siding with Russia runs like this: "If we fight for the Americans, Stalin will ship us by the millions as prisoners to Siberia; that means misery, slave labor and death. But if we fight with the Russians and the Americans win, we will go as prisoners to the United States which means good food, good treatment and nothing to fear. Thus, it is better we go with the Russians."

The thesis that in the event of a third world war the German people must side with Russia against the West has been expressed since Summer, 1948, in nearly every issue of the influential geopolitical journal *Der Weg*. According to American newspapermen, this attitude is prevalent among most of the Germans. *Herald Tribune* correspondent Joseph Neuman in a dispatch from Frankfurt of August 27, 1950, warned that those who have the "impression abroad that the German people would jump at the chance to get in uniform again . . . are sadly mistaken." *Times* correspondent Jack Raymond reported from Bonn on August 29, 1950, that Chancellor Adenauer is willing to share in common defense with the Western allies, "but the German people, cynical and fatalistic, are not so ready." On the same day, the *Times* correspondent Lansing Warren reported from Paris that Dr. Adenauer's request for rearming Germany "raises the greatest fears in every section of France, where the arming of Germany is considered premature and fears are held that the West Germans might be tempted to use their arms against the Western allies."

The Russians know they have nothing to fear from Western Germany. They have secret and open assurances from the industrialists in the Ruhr for close cooperation with the East. On Stalin's birthday, according to a report by Karl von Wiegand, chief foreign correspondent for the Hearst papers, leading industrialists in Western Germany sent carloads of gifts to the Red Czar in Moscow. Every informed newspaperman in Europe knows that Western Germany would be no reliable ally but rather a powerful satellite of Russia. In spite of all this evidence, our policy planners in the State Department and in the Pentagon still live in a fool's paradise and are willing to gamble on German rearmament.

A THIRD POWER BLOC IN THE MAKING

An essential part of our containment policy was to facilitate a quick comeback of a powerful German Reich. What the U. S. is doing at present in Europe is "Realpolitik" in favor of Germany. We rescued Germany from the consequences of defeat, we have built up again her gigantic industries and the plans under consideration in Washington will make Germany the strongest power in Europe. Germany is today far better off than France and England. We have sunk into Western Germany billions of dollars for her economic revival. It is the only part of our containment policy that has turned out a great success—for the Germans! Although the loser of the war, Germany is free of debts, and the Germans pay only comparatively low taxes, whereas the French and the British have to carry heavy tax burdens. On October 25, 1950, a United Press report from Frankfort stated that Jean Cattier, Marshall Plan chief for Germany, had warned the Adenauer government against the low tax system of better income groups. "No German in business, no matter how much he earns, pays more than 50% of his income in taxes. . . . This was much lower than in the United States, Britain or France."

Having restored Germany's power our policy shapers went a step further. It is a well-known fact that Washington put heavy pressure on France to come forward with a plan for European economic and political "integration." According to the Alsop brothers, the E. C. A. head, Paul Hoffman, was instructed to force France into a "shotgun wedding" with West Germany. The result was the world-stirring Schuman proposal for the creation of an European steel and coal cartel.

John Foster Dulles, one of our leading policy shapers, suggested that America create an European Union by "friendly but firm outside pressure," and he added "the United States can and should take that opportunity and exert that pressure."

The U. S. instigated Schuman proposal was enthusiastically supported by the Chancellor of the West German Republic, Konrad Adenauer. In several speeches and articles Herr Adenauer expressed his wholehearted sympathy with the Schuman plan, because it is "the first step for the unification of Europe." Europe, he said, will "become a third force (Dritte Macht) in the world, not as strong as Russia or the United States, but powerful enough to intervene successfully—in a decisive moment—to safeguard the peace." There was not a word about fighting Communism. On the contrary, Herr Adenauer stated that he does not fear that Germany would arouse Russia's anger, if the Western Federal Republic joins the Council of Europe. Germany, he said, "has again become a political factor with whom others will have to reckon in international affairs." The Third Force idea was received by the German people with great applause. According to *Times* correspondent Drew Middleton, the idea of a Third Force in world politics "powerful enough to make war between the Soviet Union and the United States impossible, brought a favorable reaction among the general public and from German political and industrial leaders." Middleton quoted the statement of a Ruhr industrialist that Western Germany's economy could not prosper "unless there were extensive trade with the Soviet Union and its European and Asiatic satellites."

In addition to the political goal of a federated Europe, Herr Adenauer pictured the aspects of a gigantic economic venture: "There is, first of all, a long-range economic goal, the colonization of Africa. . . . If we Europeans colonize Africa, we create at the same time a supplier of raw materials for Europe which will be of the greatest importance."

It is significant that Herr Adenauer's interpretation of the Schuman proposal rests on two main points: Firstly, that a federated Europe, dominated by Germany, will gain a neutralizing position between Russia and the United States and, secondly, that such a Europe will become a "Third Force" in the world, powerful enough to develop Africa as it own hinterland.

Germany's idea is to make the best of the present tension between the U. S. A. and Russia. It is to exploit American fear and milk American resources as much as possible in order to hasten the resurrection of a strong Germany. The old idea cultivated from Bismarck to Hitler, is that only a *strong* Germany can be a factor in world politics and thus be able to make alliances. And alliances are important because only a strong state will attract other powers for this purpose. Therefore, Herr Adenauer sees the easiest way for a German comeback to power in the setup of an European Union in which Germany will play the leading role in economics and politics.

An "integrated" Europe will automatically come under the domination of Germany's industrial octopus. There is even a far greater danger. If an European Union is established, its driving motor will be German nationalism and political intrigue. The German tentacles will spread into every nook and cranny of Europe and in all countries the old groups of economic and political collaborationists will immediately come to the fore again. In such a Union, Germany together with Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Greece and Belgium, can easily form a solid block against France.

The French feel clearly that an "integrated" Europe will fall under the dynamic German leadership. What the Kaiser and Hitler could not accomplish with their military steamrollers in two world wars, will now be served to Germany on a silver platter by High Commissioner McCloy and ECA head Paul Hoffman.

An European Union will turn out to be the greatest blunder in our cold war blueprint. Germany's industry will not only dominate the markets in Europe, in stiff competition with the British and the U. S. A., but it will also conquer additional markets in Latin-America, Africa and Asia. The logic of events would bring inevitably political rapprochement between a German-dominated Europe and the Soviet Union. Thus, we would have just accomplished what we are trying feverishly to prevent: namely, that Europe will line up with the East, against the Anglo-American bloc.

Plans for a Third Power bloc have been discussed in German geopolitical journals and in secret German memoranda during the last three years. It is significant that the idea of a Third Power bloc was also supported in public speeches by Franco and Peron. In fact, the Third Force slogan has become the rallying cry of the remnants of the defeated Axis nations.

The clever German scheme of changing defeat into victory runs the following time table: After the establishment of a German-dominated Europe, a close tieup will follow with a Peron-dominated Latin-America. At the same time, the big German industrial combines will start with an ambitious plan for the economic exploitation of Africa for which they expect great financial support from the United States. Having gained a foothold in Africa, Germany will create close relations with the nationalistic

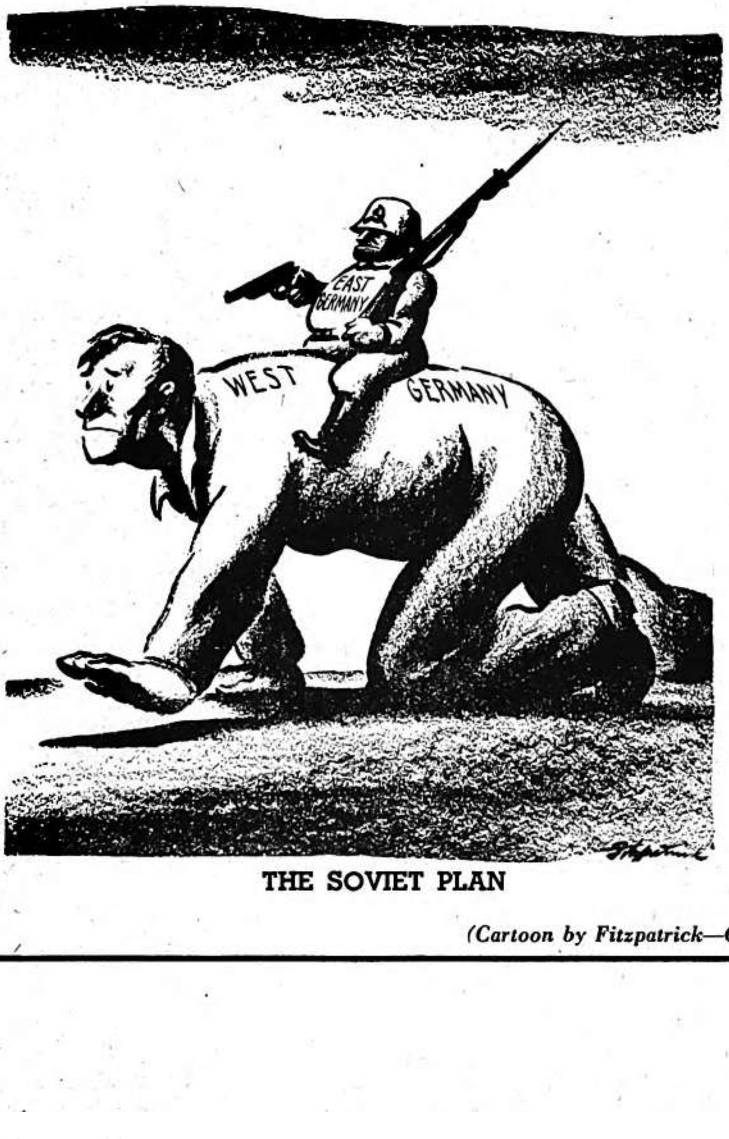
Union of South Africa and at the same time she will buttress her friendship with the whole Pan-Arabic world. Of course, that scheme can only be carried out after having established friendly political and economic relations with Russia. The agreement with Russia will also open the door to a very profitable trade with China and Southeast Asia.

German statesmen and geopoliticians are aware that a Third Power Bloc under German leadership will quickly gain freedom of action. German industry will gain access to vital resources in America, Latin-America and the Near and Middle East, and Germany will gain command over 700 to 800 million people in the world. Such a Third Power Bloc can play the East against the West and vice versa.

The Germans believe that during the next five to ten years, they will gain such tremendous economic strength and will make such great strides in scientific accomplishments that in a not too far distant future they will be ready for a knock-out blow against the Anglo-Saxon world. According to a dispatch by Karl von Wiegand, a British General in occupied Germany ventured his opinion as follows: "Given the opportunity and necessary credits, Germany, with its extraordinary stockpile of brains, energy and working capacity would within ten years become the most modern country in Europe, if not in the world."

German planners expect a severe economic crisis in England and in the U. S. A. within the next few years. If such an economic slump comes, it will have a terrific impact on the Anglo-Saxon position in the world. The British Empire will begin to disintegrate and the United States will be torn to pieces in a turbulent domestic crisis. In such a moment a German dominated Third Power Bloc might have a chance to make another bid for world mastery.

Germany's Third Power idea should be seriously pondered in Washington for it may easily play topsy turvy with the whole concept of the containment policy. The creation of a United Europe, dominated by Germany—the most formidable political, economic and racial bloc—is an old German dream. The United States went to war twice within a generation to stop that German venture. Now, our policy shapers in Washington are hell bent on "exercising friendly but firm outside pressure" in order to create a platform for which the Pan-German master minds have been longing for seventy years. If this suicidal plan ever materializes it will spell the doom not only of a free Europe, but of the Anglo-American world too. Such an European Union would automatically become the stepping stone towards German world rule.



THE SOVIET PLAN

(Cartoon by Fitzpatrick—Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

Which Is the Truth?

"There is no room for military cliques or societies, or for reactionary doctrines. The democratic political leaders of Germany are aware, I believe, of the necessity of avoiding any such tendencies." (From a speech by John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner, October 6, 1950)

"In favoring German participation in European defense, the United States emphatically opposes so-called 're-militarization' in Germany. . . . Nobody in the West wants a restoration of the Wehrmacht. The American people know of the overwhelming current of public opinion within Germany against such a restoration. . . . The U. S. is not willing to sacrifice basic democratic objectives in Germany to temporary expedience, and these objectives include an unalterable aversion to the *Kasernenhoften*, the *Rekrutenschinderei*, and the dominant role of militarists in the public life of Germany." *(Die Neue Zeitung*, Nov. 4, 1950, U. S. sponsored German-language newspaper)

"Brunswick, Germany. Veteran Nazis here have formed the most openly neo-Nazi organization yet—the 'Fighting Group of German Socialists.'

"The meeting held November 9 was called by Wolfgang Muller, who recently made an appeal over a public address system at the Brunswick fair for German pilots to join 'a South American air force.'" *(Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 11, 1950)

". . . The Bruderschaft, organization of former German officers, finally came into the open in Bielefeld, November 5 and announced its formal organization. Since its start . . . the Bruderschaft . . . has changed . . . from a group of former professional soldiers into an organization led by former SS men. . . ." *(New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1950)

"Former German officers may use their military titles in public, the Hessian Ministry of Interior said today." (AP, Dec. 18, 1950)

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"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer said that the relationship between West Germany and the free nations of the West was 'on the way to developing into a real partnership.'" (AP, Dec. 28, 1950)

"Now here again our task is easier than the German. We are accustomed to the idea of partnership. He is not. He has never been a partner. We are accustomed to compromise. The German is not. He expects 100% concessions and thanks, and the German Government which fails to secure this is deemed a failure." (Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, UK High Commissioner, *Information Bulletin*, Nov., 1950)

★ ★ ★

"Although most West Germans were opposed to the resurrection of a German national army, a majority appeared to favor active participation in a European defense force under unified Allied command." (From a letter of John J. McCloy to Dean G. Acheson, Secretary of State, Sept. 30, 1950, *Fourth Quarterly Report)*

While on the heights of the Petersberg at Koenigswinter, the generals and diplomats conferred about Germany's rearmament, indications were growing on the grass roots level that Western Germany does not want to be rearmed." *(New York Times*, Jan. 10, 1951)

★ ★ ★

"In some quarters it has been suggested that our recent actions are prompted by the desire to 'buy' German military help in a time of danger. In all earnestness, I urge the German people not to be misled by such suggestions. The fact is that the United States and the Western nations are not bargaining for German help, and they do not intend to do so." (American High Commissioner, John J. McCloy, *U. S. Information Bulletin*, Nov., 1950)

"The United States High Commissioner, McCloy, and West German Chancellor Adenauer, met in a bargaining session today to discuss Germany's demand for more sovereignty in exchange for German troops. . . ." (UP, Jan. 2, 1951)

". . . As the military committee begins its sittings, the Western powers already have virtually promised the Germans almost all political concessions presented by the latter as the price of rearmament." *(New York Times*, Jan. 10, 1951)

German-Russian "Bruderschaft"

Readers of PREVENT WORLD WAR III know that this magazine has never lent itself to the dangerous game of wishful thinking on questions pertaining to Germany. It has never subscribed to the theory (which, incidentally, has become policy) that a few kind words plus billions of dollars from American taxpayers would convert the Germans to democratic ideals. Nor has this magazine ever succumbed to the belief that the Germans would rise to the occasion in a crisis and prove their dependability as an ally against the rising tide of Communism.

The evidence of Russian-German collaboration in the past is too compelling—it cannot—it must not be ignored. For example, the Russian-German pact signed at Rapallo in 1922 was followed by secret cooperation between the German General Staff and the Red Army. This bond of common interest vis-a-vis the West was a precursor to the Nazi-Soviet alliance in August, 1939. Yet, throughout those fateful years Western diplomats preferred to hear nothing and see nothing. Indeed, there was an influential school of thought in the West which pinned its hope on eventual war between Russia and Germany. This partly explains, of course, the reason why the Germans received generous loans from the West to rebuild her war potential.

But when the terrible drama unfolded in 1940, the Germans struck their first devastating blow against the West. For a while it seemed as though the expensive pastime of daydreaming about the reliability of the Germans had passed into limbo. This is not the case today. Once again eminent statesmen and diplomats talk about the Germans as the great bulwark of democracy. Yet an increasing number of facts are available to them which show that "their" great "bulwark" may turn out to be a gigantic booby-trap.

Since the end of the war PREVENT WORLD WAR III has repeatedly published reliable data showing how, in spite of public assurances to the contrary, the West Germans are flirting with the East. In the last issue of the magazine (No. 36), we printed a full length study by Dr. Jean Pajus, which cited ample documentary evidence proving that the barons of the Ruhr were doing a lively business with the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Nor is this an isolated case. On the contrary, there is a developing cooperation between the Western Germans and the East in many other fields including, significantly enough, the military. In view of the current campaign to rearm the Germans for the sake of Western democracy, this seems to be an appropriate moment to report some new facts concerning the growing tieups between German militarists in the West and the Russian bloc.

Under the title "Germany Looks to the East," the September-October 1949 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III published excerpts from a sensational document bearing the initials of the Chief of the High Command of Hitler's Wehrmacht, Field Marshal Keitel, and of Grand Admiral Doenitz. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that a group of Doenitz' naval colleagues are now pressuring for his release from prison though he had been convicted as a war criminal at Nuremberg.

This memorandum was written in 1945, a few weeks before Germany's surrender. It was entitled: "The Overcoming of the Catastrophe" and sought to find ways and means of preserving and revitalizing Germany's power. The conclusion of the document read as follows:

"A colossal bloc of world-dominating greatness, economic power, energy, and numbers of population would be created from ocean to ocean.

"Not only would the danger of future wars for generations be eliminated from Europe but also from the double continent of Eurasia.

"The two great peoples, the Russians and the Germans, have extraordinary possibilities for development without collision of their interests.

"The chief emphasis in this bloc will shift more and more to the racially superior, intellectually more active and more energetic (people), *that means to Europe.*

"Thus, would be formed an alliance between the young Socialist forces against the old rotten entrenched powers of the West."

This plan of a Russian-German alliance has turned out to be more than a paper scheme. It has active supporters in West Germany, among which are powerful groups of officers of the so-called Bruderschaft. We have already published a documentary exposé disclosing the character and purposes of the Bruderschaft. (See issue No. 35, PREVENT WORLD WAR III.) We revealed the fact that at the first meeting of the Bruderschaft on February 11, 1950 a secret memorandum outlining the program of the Bruderschaft, stated in part: *"The goal of the Bruderschaft is the union of the peoples of Europe between the Atlantic and the Urals with the Reich of all Germans in its ethnographic and historic borders as an organic part."*

Thus the idea of linking the Germans and the Russians into a solid mass is a fundamental objective of the Bruderschaft. New light on the activities of the Bruderschaft has recently appeared in *L'Aube*, the most prominent Catholic newspaper in France, which expresses the views of one of France's leading political parties, the MRP. *L'Aube* confirms earlier evidence which underscores the fact that the leadership of the Bruderschaft is ruthless and cunning.

Among the leaders of the Bruderschaft is Kurt Manteuffel, former Commander of the Greater Germany Division. In this connection, Melvin J. Lasky, writing in the *New Leader* of November 6, 1950, states that Manteuffel "was Hitler's favorite military adviser to the end."

Besides Manteuffel the leadership of the Bruderschaft consists of: Major Beck-Broichsitter, a former Chief of the SS Division, "Gross Deutschland," Dr. Franke-Greicksch, who was a close friend and assistant to one of Nazism's early leaders, Gregor Strasser, and one Dr. Achenbach, representing powerful industrial interests.

According to *L'Aube*, Franke-Greicksch is considered to be one of the main advocates of a closer collaboration with the Soviets. He is convinced that only on the basis of a firm understanding between Germany and

Russia can the Fourth Reich become a power in Europe again. In the month of July, 1950, Franke-Greicksch declared at Frankfurt: "I have succeeded in entering into good relations with the Soviets." Shortly thereafter, Franke-Greicksch followed up his words with deeds. He went to Munich and from there to Prague where he had extensive conversations with administrative officers of the Eastern zone and generals of the so-called People's Police, as well as with Russian diplomats.

Prior to his trip to Prague, Greicksch had a long conversation with General Vincenz Muller, Chief of the General Staff of the People's Police of Eastern Germany. *L'Aube* discloses that at the conclusion of their discussions, they reached an agreement under the terms of which all former German officers who cannot be placed in the West German army, to be created, would be accepted by the Eastern People's Police in the Soviet zone. It was also agreed that the Bruderschaft would undertake to organize para-military organizations among the Volksdeutsche refugees in the Western zones. These para-military formations, according to *L'Aube*, would be used to harass the Western Allies in the event of a new war in Europe.

L'Aube further states that there is evidence indicating that the Bruderschaft is supported by the Soviet Government. Both Greicksch and Muller agreed that the Bruderschaft must work on the closest terms with the Soviet sponsored National Front of Germany. This is in keeping with the oath formulated by the Bruderschaft which all German officers must take when and if they join a West German army: "*I pledge to work for the re-establishment of Germany's unity with the weapons in my possession, and in case of necessity, by force.*"

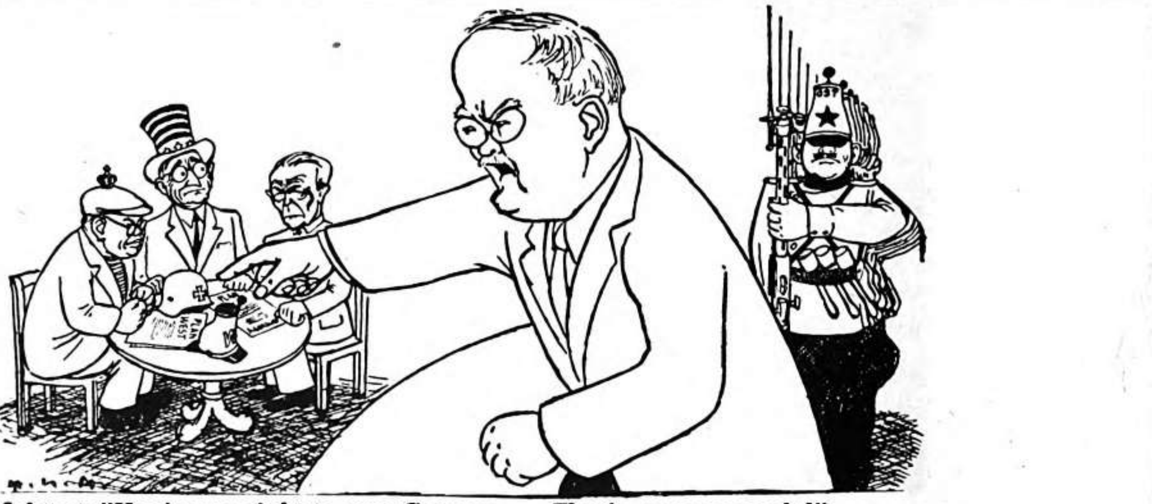
Leo Lania, writing in a recent issue of *United Nations World*, reported the following statement by Franke-Greicksch on a Russian-German alliance: "*The Latins and Anglo-Saxons after the French Revolution ceased to mold European history. The Slavs and the Germans are destined to create a new revolutionary order. The Prussian Eagle and the Russian Bear are the symbols of a new Europe. Dialectical materialism in its modern form is a synthesis of idealism* (German) *and materialism* (Russian)." This statement seems to confirm *L'Aube's* contention that the real philosophy of the Bruderschaft bends toward some sort of National Bolshevism. It is interesting to note that in his article on German militarists, Mr. Lania states that extremist rightist parties headed by several neo-Nazis such as the notorious Major General Otto Remer, Fritz Dorls of the Socialist Reichs Party, and Alfred Loritz, "the new Hitler," are not only enthusiastic supporters of the Bruderschaft, but "*they agree more with the East than with the Western orientation.*"

Some writers contend that while Franke-Greicksch is an ardent exponent of a Russian-German tieup, there are other powerful leaders in the Bruderschaft who seek a Western orientation. This remains to be seen. True, Franke-Greicksch is more outspoken, but even Beck-Broichsitter, who is alleged to be of the Western school, has been reported toying with the idea of closer relations with the East.

According to *L'Aube*, even the Russians suspect the Bruderschaft's intentions. Thus, to avoid any "mishaps," the Soviets have selected a certain Captain Boldt, former Aide to General Guderian, to oversee the activities of the leading figures of the Bruderschaft. Captain Boldt is head of a bureau called "*Office for Germany's Unified Affairs*," with headquarters at Lubeck. This town, which is situated close to the Russian zone, serves as the liaison center for the Soviet sponsored "National Front of Eastern Germany." In this strategic position, Boldt plays an important role in the expansion of the activities of the Bruderschaft and seems to have at his disposal considerable funds to expedite his work.

Unfortunately, the exposes of *L'Aube* are unknown to most Americans, who have been given to understand that of all the peoples of the West, the Germans are the most dependable and the most resourceful. We have no doubt that as time goes on more light will be shed on the roots of Russian-German collaboration, and how deep they go.

Our readers can be assured that PREVENT WORLD WAR III will continue to provide them with the facts concerning this great danger which presses on, while the statesmen of the West construct grandiose schemes involving Germany's participation in a common defense against aggression.



Molotov: "You've no right to arm Germany. That's our monopoly!"

(Die Weltwoche, Zurich)

Was the Decartelization Program Sabotaged?

PART II

The Robert Bosch Combine and General Arthur Wilson

As part of its educational activities, the Society for the Prevention of World War III has held conferences with former decartelization employees and has made a study of their findings, most of which have been published in books and magazine articles. The article following represents the collective viewpoint and expression of these experts.

The spectre of a militaristic, re-Nazified and anti-democratic Germany is again making its appearance. Former Nazi industrialists now occupy the leading positions in industry and in the political and economic administration of the Bonn government. Rightist parties are expanding their influence among the populace. German cartels are being reconstituted. These are facts of great portent to everyone who remembers Germany's potential capacity to wage war, her unceasing efforts to become and remain the dominant power in Europe.

What contributed to these new developments? Certainly, one factor was the failure of American Military Government to carry out the decartelization program for Germany which originally constituted a fundamental objective of American occupation policy for Germany. This failure opened the way for a return of the old Nazi forces; it strengthened their hand vis-a-vis the democratic nations, and it has enabled them to conduct a policy of blackmail of the democracies for economic and political concessions in return for their "support" of the West against the East. The approval of a Franco-German steel pool must be paid for, in the eyes of the resurgent German Nazi industrialists, by permitting them to make Germany the major industrial power in Europe. Can we afford to pay such a price?

How the failure of the decartelization policy in Germany contributed to these developments will be illustrated by the fiasco of the efforts to deconcentrate the biggest automotive equipment combine in Germany—Bosch. The Bosch combine was not only the biggest monopoly in its field and therefore an excessive concentration of economic power, but it was also a company which had devotedly contributed to the building up of the Nazi war machine. It had utilized its facilities and foreign affiliates to conduct espionage in the interests of the German government. Its espionage in the United States during the first world war, and its activities on behalf of the Nazi regime prior to U. S. entry into the second world war, are a matter of record.

In March, 1948, General Clay ordered the Decartelization Branch to cease all action against Germany's major combines, with the possible exception of Bosch, which became the only major industrial combine against which the staff of Decartelization Branch was permitted to prepare an order for deconcentrating its excessive economic power. Yet, although Clay gave his reluctant assent to the action against Bosch, the Decartelization Branch had arrayed against it a coalition of forces within Military Government and outside of it, which rushed to the defense of Bosch and made every effort to nullify any effective execution of an order against Bosch. These individuals included the head of Decartelization Branch, Richardson Bronson, and the top economic advisers of General Clay, Wilkinson and Hawkins. They also included Leland Spencer, chief of the Bipartite Industry and Commerce Committee.

Bosch, located in Stuttgart, had the support of George Erion, chief of the economic division, who fed Bosch information on the planned deconcentration order. General Wilson, whose connections in the United States and Germany came from the highest levels, also played a most prominent part in restoring Bosch's international position. With all these forces operating to upset the proposed order against Bosch, it was a foregone conclusion that the endeavors of the Decartelization Branch were doomed to failure. How this took place and who was responsible will be shown in the following paragraphs.

I. The Bosch Combine as an Excessive Concentration of Economic Power

Under Military Government Law 56, passed in 1947, together with amendments and regulations, it was the mandatory obligation of Military Government, through its Decartelization Branch, to carry out deconcentration of German enterprises and combines or monopolies which constituted an excessive concentration of economic power. The Bosch combine not only conformed with this definition but it had made tremendous contributions to the expansion of the Nazi war machine and the building up of the Nazi war potential. The Bosch combine, in every sense of the word, was an enterprise the deconcentration of which was in accordance with U. S. policy directives on denazification, demilitarization and decartelization. The Bosch combine, domestically and in foreign countries, was an essential element in the war plans of the German government in the first world war and of the Nazis in the second world war. In both wars, Bosch interests in the United States had been seized by the Alien Property Custodian Office.

The core of the Bosch combine is its three plants located in Stuttgart and its environs, in the American zone of occupation. These plants produced finished products as well as assembled parts manufactured in various Bosch subsidiaries. In these plants, also, all research and scientific developments were concentrated. The Bosch parent company kept a tight hold on all technical advances, and its research work, as was the case of all German combines, was highly centralized.

Bosch owned, in addition, 11 other companies, a controlling interest in 4 companies and minority participations in 5 other firms. Bosch directors occupied a total of 38 directorships in other industrial and banking enterprises.

Bosch's patent holdings were an important weapon in subduing its competitors. Bosch owned approximately 1,100 German patents and 4,000 foreign patents in addition to 7 or 8 hundred trade marks. This ownership of essential patents and trade marks provided the wily and shrewd officials of Bosch with the means for removing undesirable competitors and for restraining international trade in those areas where Bosch influence was strong. One of the devices in connection with patents was the Bosch system of licensing, under which Bosch could dictate prices and conditions of sale. The Bosch cartel policy is well expressed by a letter of the Bosch director, E. C. Rassbach, to its American affiliate, dated October 13, 1933:

". . . our attitude is not one of antagonism to your interest, but follows the lines of a well defined policy which is applied to all comers. We do not oppose your patents because they are your patents, *but we oppose all patents which, of any origin whatsoever, can affect our interest, unless we are conceded an inside position.* In other words we will always oppose the erection of fences by *anybody* on our possible territory, unless we can get inside of the fence, and in that case we will render every assistance to make it as high as possible."

While the historical evidence on the ruthlessness with which Bosch carried out its monopolistic and cartel policies is conclusive, it is an interesting contribution to the post-war mentality of former Nazi industrialists that the Bosch officials officially and unofficially proclaimed their innocence of all charges of unfair trade practices, or of any anti-democratic action, or anything except the purest motives to serve their customers and to further the welfare of its workers. Bosch officials went so far, indeed, as to claim that their activities *increased* competition.

The truth, of course, is the very opposite. Decartelization Branch analysts were able to show that Bosch used every financial and technical contrivance ever invented to eliminate, or paralyze, the competitors of the company. These devices included buying secretly into selected companies, exerting pressure through the banks on which Bosch directors sat, refusing to license its patents to firms which refused to toe the line, charging exorbitant royalty fees to drive competitors into bankruptcy, or where necessary, start price wars. During the last war, Bosch, in addition to being the recipient of many Nazi honors for its contribution to the German war effort, also employed many slave workers.

No wonder then that Theodore Heuss, venerable president of the Bonn republic and life-long friend of the Bosch family, felt compelled to write a post-war biography of old man Bosch, endeavoring to exculpate him from the verdict of history. In this biography, numerous copies of which were appropriately dispatched to the Decartelization Branch, Bosch is pictured as a devoted and unswerving anti-Nazi, a life-long democrat and, above all, a friend of the United States (see the following section on this category of affection). The company was depicted as passionately devoted to free enterprise, and it was alleged that whatever steps Bosch undertook in the direction of amalgamation (the word "cartel" was never used) were really in the best interests of the company about to be amalgamated. Wherever Bosch swallowed up another company, it was done only in the interests of providing Bosch workers with steady employment. Nowhere does Theodore Heuss speak of the medals bestowed upon Bosch by the Nazi regime, nor, for that matter, about the activities of Bosch in the United States.

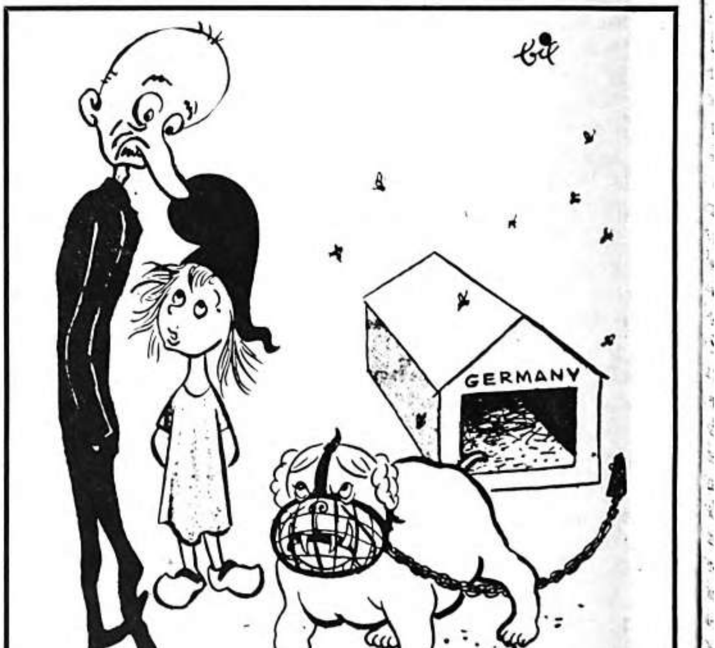
Compare this with the statement made on October 17, 1941, by the Nazi Minister of Economics, Funk (hanged at Nuremberg as war criminal) when he bestowed the highest Nazi award to the father of the German steel cartel, Dr. E. Poensgen. "On my suggestion, the Fuehrer

". . . Dr. Schumacher has declared that Germany has suffered much more in the last war than other countries, so should be spared in the next; that Germans must not contribute to Western defense until the Western powers can undertake to win the first battle on the Vistula; and that not a German soldier will defend foreign national interests on German soil. This is the voice of the average German."

(*London Economist*, Nov. 25, 1950)

"For what has happened in Germany since the war the occupying powers have themselves a considerable responsibility. Russia is seeking to create Eastern Germany in her own image. America is seeking to do the same in the West. Perhaps the greatest short-coming of Western policy has been our failure to alter the structure of German society during the years when we had absolute power to control Germany. . . . The most reactionary bureaucracy is once more dominating German administration."

(F. Elwyn Jones, British MP, Oct., 1950)



Schuman: "I would take his muzzle off, but I remember how he bit us!"

(Ici Paris, Paris)

awarded you, Dr. Poensgen, the rare distinction of the Eagle Shield of the German Reich. This distinction brings you into the same rank as men like *Robert Bosch, Karl Duisburg, Emil Kirdorff, Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach.*"

The international strength of Bosch was derived from its ownership or control of 45 foreign affiliates. Through these affiliates, Bosch was able to fix the prices of its products in world markets. Some of these companies in turn owned subsidiaries on which Bosch could exercise influence through cartel agreements. Bosch's international connections were useful for conducting espionage in the interests of the German government.

As a major producer of Diesel engine components and fuel injection equipment, its economic power extended far beyond the limits of its own sphere of distribution and sales. Diesel and gasoline engine producers, automobile manufacturers and radio and television producers were to a greater or lesser degree dependent on Bosch for essential components. Bosch was able, therefore, to exert broad influence on a large segment of the total German economy.

At the beginning of World War II, there were no serious threats to Bosch's dominant position in the production of automotive equipment. The biggest German company in this field, the *Eisemann firm,* had already been swallowed up as early as 1923, although this deal was not made public until 1937. By 1939 Bosch had considerably expanded his activities into other fields including the manufacture of television sets, refrigerators, movie projectors and radios.

Bosch's productive capacity in the post-war period was not materially affected by military action. Although the Stuttgart plants suffered somewhat from bombing (the damage being exaggerated by Bosch officials), its subsidiaries remained largely untouched. Decartelization Branch investigators found that in relation to over-all German production, Bosch accounted for 75% of all generators, starters and ignition units; 65% of ignition distributors and contact breakers; 50% of coils for gasoline engines; 60% of electrical equipment for motorcycles; 70% of magnetos for stationary engines; 60% of forced feed lubricators; 60% of fuel injection pumps and accessories; and even 40% of all radio sets notwithstanding the relatively large number of radio set manufacturers. It also produced lesser amounts of other items of automotive and engine equipment.

There is reason to believe, moreover, that the above figures are understated. A former director of Bosch stated in conversations with Decartelization investigators that the percentage of total German production of some items of automotive equipment was as high as 90%.

II. Bosch Espionage Activities in the United States

Robert Bosch, Stuttgart, founded his American affiliate in the United States in 1906. All of the directors of the American company were German nationals, but a majority of the stock in the new company was personally held by Robert Bosch.

The Bosch Magneto Company was very successful and in a few years after its incorporation it had already managed to purchase the controlling interest in a number of American companies in allied lines of production. Among the companies in which Bosch acquired a controlling interest, was the American branch of Bosch's biggest German competitor, the Eisemann firm.

The Bosch interests in the United States were transformed into an important center of German espionage in the U. S. At the outbreak of the first world war, Bosch productive capacity for ignition equipment was large enough to satisfy the entire demand in the U. S. The Allies fighting Germany were desperately in need of this equipment. The Bosch interests in the U. S. were thus in a strategic position to sabotage the war efforts of the Allies. Bosch activities were directly under the supervision of Germany's top spy in the United States, Captain Boy-Ed, military attache to the German embassy. It was Boy-Ed who issued instructions to the directors of Bosch in the U. S. on the proper policies to be pursued on behalf of Germany's war effort. In a letter to Boy-Ed, Otto Heins, a director of Bosch, informed the former that the efforts of American Bosch company to prevent the Allies from obtaining essential war equipment were proving successful. Wrote Heins:

"Proceeding on the principle that interest in business profit was to be put wholly in the background and interest in defense of the country was singly and alone to be followed, the part of the business policy I was to take presented itself — everything must be tried to make difficult and slow in every way the acquirement by the enemy of the necessary special apparatus before referred to and to do this partly by seeing that the special war apparatus was not delivered by us and partly by the delivery of normal trade apparatus making the enemy believe that they could cover their requirements through us and would not hasten the production of special war apparatus themselves. . . ."

Heins went on to say that his efforts at sabotage were proving highly successful and that the Allies were experiencing great difficulties in producing the equipment which Bosch had promised to deliver, but failed to do so.

With American entry into the war in 1917, the espionage activities of the Bosch company were stopped. The American company was swathed, through various financial cloaking devices, in the garment of financial respectability. Notwithstanding these actions, American Bosch was seized as an enemy firm by the Alien Property Custodian and the Department of Justice proved, after an investigation, that the various cloaking devices and transfer of ownership to American hands, did not actually affect the ownership of the company, since Robert Bosch, Stuttgart, remained the real owner of his U. S. interests through the physical retention of the stock certificates. Up to that time, the German company and Robert Bosch, in particular, had withdrawn huge sums in payment as salary, royalties on patents and licensing fees. The financial cloaking devices were also useful, notwithstanding seizure, in order to facilitate the eventual returning of the ownership of American Bosch interests to the Germans after the cessation of the war. Although American Bosch went through a number of reorganizations, the company was again in a position to serve its German masters, which they did with no less vigor after the war than before.

With the advent of the Nazis to power, the espionage activities were intensified and expanded to include economic warfare. The Bosch combine became a willing and important link of Nazi plans for world domination. Its international policies were subordinated to the Nazi program for rebuilding the German war machine. The cooperation of Bosch with the Nazis was expressly stated in a letter by E. C. Rassbach, German director of Bosch, shortly after the Nazi accession to power. In this letter Rassbach wrote:

"... . all forces of administrative endeavor, such as the different cartels, etc., are to be brought into one definite line of endeavor coinciding, of course, with the policy of the ruling party. . . ."

This policy directive was faithfully observed by the American Bosch company. Thus, prior to the last war, American Bosch impeded the national defense efforts of the U. S. American affiliates of Bosch also succeeded, prior to World War II, in obtaining specifications on certain Army and Navy developments in the field of radar and short wave transmission. American Bosch also obtained engineering data on American producers in the field of fuel injection and ignition equipment for transmission to the Nazi government. American Bosch officials were ordered to retard or refuse to sell equipment to countries at war with Germany. Bosch also fixed royalty fees on its patents at such a level that the development of Diesel engines in the U. S. was retarded. It became necessary, in the interest of national defense, to obtain a court decree against Bosch nullifying certain agreements between American Bosch and the German company and forcing American Bosch to provide its patents on a royalty free basis. In the course of this action, the American Bosch Corporation was fined $50,000.

In 1942, American Bosch Corporation was for the second time seized by the Alien Property Custodian, but who knows if cloaking devices will not again lead to a restoration of the company to the parent concern at some time in the future?

At any rate, it is clear that the international activities of Bosch have been extremely inimical to the interests of the U. S. Can the effort by Military Government to restore Bosch to its former position of power be considered a contribution to democracy or a patriotic endeavor?

III. The Bosch "Deconcentration" Fiasco

From the foregoing, it was clear that Bosch ranked high on the list of major German industrial combines against which decartelization and deconcentration action was imperative.

Members of the Decartelization staff were occupied for a considerable period of time in gathering and analyzing the data on Bosch's internal and foreign economic power. By February, 1948, two drafts of an order directing Bosch to comply with the findings of the Decartelization staff had been prepared and submitted to Richardson Bronson, chief of Decartelization. (See his profile in our issue No. 36.) Bronson tabled these drafts and neither he nor General Clay's top economic advisers gave any hint as to whether the orders would be served on Bosch, or whether any action whatever was contemplated to implement them.

Then, in March, 1948, Bronson held the well-known staff meeting at which he informed all the members of the staff that General Clay had ordered all action against the major German combines to stop. Henceforth, only consumer industries would be subject to deconcentration and then only in accord with the so-called "rule of reason" which General Clay substituted for the mandatory provisions of Law 56.

In the beginning, Decartelization staff members working on the Bosch order were not aware of the combination of forces set in motion to thwart their loyal endeavors to carry out U. S. policy. They were not aware that a General Wilson had already undertaken various steps to undermine the Decartelization Branch and that Bosch officials were being advised by their friends in Military Government.

On the other hand, a deconcentration order against Bosch, to be effective, would have to include specific measures of implementation, measures which should provide for the severance of Eisemann, Bosch's major competitor prior to 1923, before it was absorbed by Bosch.

The order would also have to break Bosch's hold on his future competitors by removing his control over patents and licenses so that it could not again swallow the divested companies. In addition, it was essential to break up Bosch's international cartel agreements.

Decartelization lawyers, after examining Bosch's international connections, found that the combine could escape the controls set up by the Allied Control Council on German and Nazi external assets through the various loopholes and financial cloaking devices which Bosch employed to conceal its foreign ownership rights.

On direct instructions of Bronson, the provision against severing Eisemann was thrown out, as well as reference to Bosch's ownership of international companies which did not fall under specific prohibitions of Military Government laws. Moreover, Bronson instructed the drafters of the order to water down the section on patents and licenses in accordance with the wishes of Hawkins.

In the judgment of the experts on the staff such a change in the original deconcentration order would nullify any genuine action against the combine, now that Bronson had ordered all the essential sections of the draft changed or thrown out. Among the most important was the section severing Eisemann from the parent company. Bosch was permitted to retain this firm. The loopholes which the lawyers for Decartelization had plugged up in the sphere of Bosch's international connections were thrown out of the original draft, thus leaving Bosch free to re-acquire or re-establish its international position. Last, but not least, the section on licenses and patents was watered down in accordance with direct instructions of Philip Hawkins.

When the new draft finally emerged, it became apparent to the staff that the action against Bosch was meaningless, since the fundamental purpose of the deconcentration order nullified the specific prohibitions of the original draft. Moreover, under complicated machinery set up by Clay's lieutenants, a German company could employ a variety of appeals procedures to delay final action for a long time.

The order by Bronson to revise the Bosch directive, the long delays in approving the revised order, the maneuver employed by Bronson of shifting the work on Bosch from one member of the staff to another and then back again, all had their telling effects. One year after the original drafts on Bosch had been prepared, in March, 1949, Bronson stated that the "finalized" version of the Bosch order was now ready and would be forwarded to Bipartite Decartelization Board for consideration. From here on, action against Bosch passes into the limbo of dead silence, since no trace whatever appears as to what happened to this order subsequently.

IV. Bosch Friends in High Places— General Wilson

While the Decartelization Branch was preparing its order against Bosch, company officials were not laggard in defending their interests. They established close relationships with such people as George Erion, economics chief of the Military Government in Stuttgart. Through Erion, the Bosch people were able to learn the details of the order planned against them. They were also intimately associated with Leland Spencer, chief of the Bipartite Industry and Commerce Group. Spencer, an influential person in the determination of the steps taken by Military Government to revive German industry, declared that the Bosch directive would have to pass through his hands before it would be approved.

Spencer was in touch with U. S. businessmen who gathered material for use by the pro-Bosch officials in Military Government to defeat the decartelization program and in particular to water down and emasculate the Bosch order. Among the statements gathered, for instance, was one from Charles E. Wilson, former chairman of General Electric, opposing action against Bosch as detrimental to German industrial recovery. This material, gathered by Kenneth L. Meyers in the U. S., was forwarded to George Erion, Wurttemberg-Baden economics chief, and thus became available to Bosch for use in prosecuting its case before the various appeal boards. Other individuals on behalf of Bosch included Major General Hayes, Deputy Military Governor, who "inquired" into the nature of the impending action against Bosch and lent encouragement to those who were engaged in whittling down the Bosch directive. Among the most important of these individuals was an ex-general of the U. S. Army, Arthur Wilson.

As early as 1947, Wilson undertook an offensive against the decartelization program and the Bosch order. Ex-General Wilson, a private individual, and in no way associated with the Military Government, received the support for his activities from every Military Government official opposing the Decartelization Branch. They included the already well known Bronson, Hawkins, Wilkinson, Spencer and others, as well as officials in JEIA (Joint Export-Import Agency) such as George Santry, John French and other top officers of that agency.

Wilson's actions in the interest of Bosch deserve the closest scrutiny. General Wilson had met Bronson while the latter was in the service. He came to Germany on his own, armed with an introduction to General Clay. Although Wilson did not talk to Clay about Bosch directly, he nevertheless voiced his opposition to the entire decartelization program. He stated that his efforts on behalf of Bosch had the full support of all of Clay's top lieutenants, but did not indicate whether General Clay, himself, had directly encouraged his efforts.

Wilson was vitriolic against the staff of the Decartelization branch. He denounced their efforts to deconcentrate German industry as a reflection of their belief in the "Morgenthau Plan." He argued that Bosch had already been deconcentrated as a result of war action. He disputed the findings of the Decartelization staff on the cartel and monopoly position of Bosch within Germany and justified exclusive trade and distribution practices in the name of efficiency and normal business practice. He demanded that the order against Bosch be rescinded and that the company be permitted to remain intact in the Western zones with all of its subsidiaries. He declared that American taxpayers would be burdened if action against Bosch took place and stated that even the Bosch employees would suffer a decline in their standard of living. In all of these arguments, Wilson was echoing the Bosch position which Bosch officials had prepared in their reply to the order to comply with the already emasculated directive signed by Bronson.

However, Wilson's intervention in the affairs of Bosch was not the result of his deep concern for the American taxpayer. As a matter of fact, as early as April, 1947, Wilson had entered into business negotiations with the Bosch firm for the exclusive distribution of Bosch products throughout the entire world. The nature of the

GERMAN STEEL TO PEIPING

"Thousands of tons of steel, iron and other war-essential materials were shipped from Western Germany to Communist China in 1950 . . .

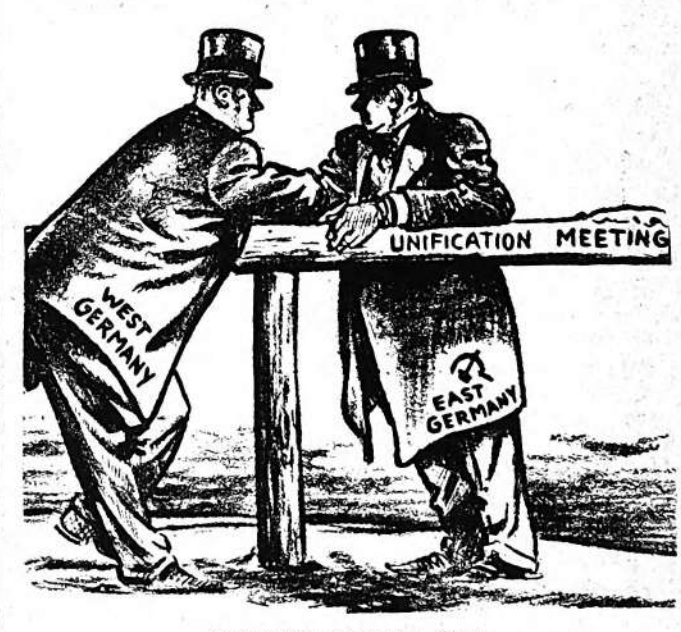
". . . Official figures showed that about 70 per cent of German deliveries consist of steel and iron products and various mechanical equipment, vital to Peiping's war-battered economy and arms production.

"Practically all German goods were shipped to Communist China via Hong Kong, foreign trade officials said.

"Official figures showed that in the first eleven months of 1950 West German exports to Communist China totaled $8,953,000, against imports worth $10,499,000.

"Despite the Korean war, both import and export figures showed a big increase in trade in October and November."

(Dispatch January 24th from Frankfort to UP)



WHAT'S GOING ON?

(Cartoon by Filip Uzanas—Courtesy The Hartford Courant)

contract between Wilson and associates and the Bosch combine will be examined in the following section. It is necessary, however, to look at the various intermediary steps undertaken by Wilson prior to the final signing of the Bosch deconcentration order, to grasp the full importance of Wilson's activities on behalf of the Bosch cartel.

General Wilson engaged in numerous conversations with the Bosch officials in the course of 1947. Through Erion and the Industry and Commerce Group under Leland Spencer, Wilson was informed of the pending action against Bosch. Wilson started his operations by appearing in Berlin and soliciting the support of General Hayes, Deputy Military Governor. He was supplied with an official car, an office and a secretary. He expressed alarm at the consequences of deconcentrating Bosch to all of the top administrators of Military Government. He obtained the help of General Hayes with particular reference to the patent provisions of the pending Bosch order, and through General Hayes, he requested that they be changed. He engaged in numerous conferences with Bronson, Hawkins and Wilkinson on these matters. He also spoke to a number of staff members about the Bosch order, but decried their motives and the purposes of the entire procedure. These conferences between Wilson and the Bronson-Hawkins team occurred periodically over the course of months. It will be recalled that during this period, a draft of the deconcentration order had already been prepared and submitted to Bronson without any action and that the final version accepted by Bronson had been depleted of its vital provisions.

Is it a matter of coincidence that the vital parts of the Bosch order were thrown out on Bronson's instructions at the time when Wilson was conferring with Bronson and Hawkins? As we shall show in the next section, all of these provisions were of paramount importance in Wilson's business deal with the Bosch company.

The real motives behind Wilson's activities were made apparent when he presented Bronson and Hawkins, during one of his periodical visits to Berlin, with a copy of a draft of a contract between the so-called "International Products Trading Company" of Zurich, Switzerland, and the Bosch firm, giving the former exclusive rights to sell and distribute Bosch products on the international market. Wilson requested Bronson and Hawkins to give approval of the contract which had already been, in principle, accepted by JEIA (the Joint Export-Import Agency). These conversations concerning the contract also took place *before* Bronson instructed staff members of Decartelization to delete or change portions of the original draft of the Bosch order and before Bronson signed the revised draft of this order.

At no time was any member of the Decartelization staff informed by Bronson that such a contract was in existence or being considered by him and Hawkins, or that an agreement had been entered into by a foreign company and a German firm which was subject to deconcentration action. At no time prior to the issuance of the approved draft on Bosch did Bronson consult the legal members of his staff as to the validity of such a contract. Its existence was in effect kept secret by Bronson and Hawkins.

Hawkins and Bronson, after making a number of minor revisions in the contract, gave their approval to the deal and the contract was forwarded to JEIA which gave its final approval in July, 1948.

Asked to account for his relations with Wilson, Bronson subsequently grew very hazy about his conversations with him. Bronson never questioned the impropriety of a private individual, a citizen of the U. S., a former General, representing the interests of a German company before an official agency of the U. S. government. In any case, he never informed the staff about Wilson's deal with Bosch until the contract was accidentally discovered by a member of his staff who raised the entire issue of the legality of Wilson's actions and the legality of the contract itself.

V. Background of the IPTC (International Products Trading Co.)

It is clear, as Wilson subsequently admitted himself, that his intervention on behalf of Bosch was only motivated by his personal interest. It is also evident that Wilson's activities on behalf of Bosch bore fruit in the revisions in the Bosch order and the Hawkins-Bronson approval of his private deal with Bosch. It may explain the long delay in taking action against Bosch and the lukewarm attitude towards the contemplated action by General Clay.

We can examine, therefore, at this point, the International Products Trading Co. itself and the kind of arrangement it made with Bosch.

The IPTC is stated to have been established as a result of the initiative of two Greek businessmen by the name of the Ghertsos brothers. For over 20 years they operated an agency in Greece and other countries for the distribution and sale of Bosch products. After World War II, the Ghertsos brothers undertook to re-establish their international connections with Bosch. For that purpose they first approached a certain Colonel Colcaire, assistant military attache of the U. S. embassy in Berne, Switzerland. They proposed to Colcaire the re-establishment of an international agency for the distribution and sale of Bosch products throughout the entire world through the formation of a company under Swiss laws. Colcaire avidly accepted the proposal in which he would have a substantial participation without investing any money, since the Ghertsos brothers agreed to supply all the capital.

During these negotiations, General Wilson, at that time vice-president of the Trans-World Airlines, made his appearance. It is not clear whether he already knew the Ghertsos brothers or was introduced to them by Colcaire. In any case, he agreed to participate in the establishment of the proposed company under the same conditions. Subsequently, Colcaire was eased out of the deal and Wilson became an equal partner in the new company, owning one-third of its capital stock *with the money put up by the Greek businessmen*. Wilson's share was to be repaid by him out of the future earnings of the new firm.

Wilson immediately took over the assignment of setting up the company and entered into negotiations with Bosch on details of the contract for the exclusive distribution and sale of their products. Wilson, as we already have seen, undertook the job of obtaining Military Government approval for the deal and sought to interfere in the pending deconcentration action against Bosch.

As a private individual, Wilson was clearly engaged in activities which violated Military Government regulations. On the other hand, is it not evident that Bronson and Hawkins, in encouraging a private business venture on the part of an American citizen, did not live up to their oath of office?

VI. The Meaning of the Bosch-IPTC Contract

The contract signed by Bosch and the IPTC, and approved by JEIA in July, 1948, conveyed on the IPTC exclusive rights to sell and distribute Bosch products in the international market. When its existence was finally brought out into the open through the accidental discovery by a Decartelization staff member, it was characterized as illegal and in violation of British and American laws on decartelization. In addition, staff members declared the new Swiss company to be a front for Bosch and a method *whereby Bosch hoped to evade Military Government laws on the accumulation of foreign assets by a German company and thus pile up foreign assets outside the jurisdiction of the occupational authorities.*

The evidence that Bosch and Wilson had engaged in an attempt to outwit Military Government came from a former director of the Bosch firm who had been connected with the operations of Bosch for many years. This individual stated that, in reality, the IPTC was not a private "baby" of Wilson as Bronson continually asserted, but a company established after a conference between Wilson and Bosch officials in Switzerland, held in the summer of 1947. The purpose of this company was to build up Bosch's foreign assets and the capital for the enterprise came through Bosch. Its directors also were declared to be in the employ of the German firm. We have already seen that Bosch was adept in the utilization of various cloaking devices to hide its ownership of domestic or foreign companies. It is a charge which cannot, therefore, be lightly ignored. The IPTC, moreover, employed as its chief agent, a Swiss national who had been the liaison for Bosch during World War II. This person now became the general manager of the IPTC. Among his activities was the re-establishment of Bosch affiliates in Spain and Portugal, two countries with which German firms were expressly forbidden to do business under existing U. S. laws. While these charges that IPTC was a dummy for Bosch were expressly denied by Wilson, it is a fact that top officials of Military Government never endeavored to find out whether they were true or not.

But aside from these aspects of Wilson's activities and the actual ownership of IPTC, lawyers for the Decartelization staff declared the contract itself to be a violation of Law 56. The contract provided for the maintenance of international cartel agreements by requiring the IPTC to protect Bosch from any limitation on the sales of its products in any country, whether that country was within or outside the agreement. The contract further bound IPTC not to deal in any competitive products, as such products would compete with Bosch regardless of price, performance or method of manufacture. IPTC was obligated to compel its sub-contractors to adhere to this principle. The contract was declared to be exclusive geographically since it covered the entire world and all inclusive since it pertained only to Bosch products.

Decartelization staff lawyers declared the contract was made and the IPTC established for the purpose of providing Bosch with an ostensibly independent company for the re-establishment of Bosch's international network of sales and distribution outlets under the control of Bosch, and intended to build up reserves of foreign exchange outside the combined zones of occupation. Under Military Government laws, a German company was prohibited from making and entering into such an agreement. This would be true even if the IPTC were not a front for Bosch. In substance, then, Wilson, with the support of Military Government officials, had sought to evade Military Government regulations, and his actions were therefore clearly in violation of occupation laws.

It is certainly strange, therefore, to realize that neither Bronson nor Hawkins made any effort whatever to inquire into the nature of Wilson's activities nor to demand any information on the individuals associated with the IPTC. The casualness with which they approved an agreement clearly in violation of laws they were pledged to uphold, throws a revealing light on the whole attitude towards decartelization and on the nature of the behind-the-scenes efforts to bury decartelization, and the sabotage of their solemn obligation to carry out the laws of the U. S.

We need only refer to Bronson's behavior after the discovery of the contract and the nature of Wilson's activities. Afraid of the repercussions from his high-handed manipulations in favor of Wilson and Bosch, Bronson made a gesture towards ascertaining the opinion of his legal staff. Without exception, all of the members of the staff consulted declared the contract to be a violation of Law 56 and British ordinance 78.

To add to Bronson's discomfiture, Brigadier Oxborrow, British chief of decartelization, officially denounced the contract as illegal and protested Bronson's unilateral action which Bronson explained as due to difficulties of communication between himself and the British. Subjected to such pressure, Bronson stated that perhaps he had gone "out on a limb" in this matter and had made a mistake.

In any case, Bronson agreed to have the whole case reviewed and requested staff members, in conjunction with the British, to prepare a memorandum outlining why the Bosch-IPTC contract should be nullified for dispatch to JEIA. Such a memorandum was prepared for the signature of Bronson and Oxborrow. Bronson accepted the memorandum but never signed it. Instead he hurried to Berlin for consultation with Hawkins, telling the latter that maybe they had both stuck their necks out too far. Hawkins recommended that the Legal Division of OMGUS be asked for an opinion. After due deliberation, Colonel Raymond, chief of the Legal Division of OMGUS, came forth with the answer. Raymond's advice was a masterpiece of non-commitment. After outlining the relevant sections of Military Government law which would prohibit Bosch from making such a contract with a foreign company, he declared that no facts had been presented by which a conclusive judgment could be made. Without approving or disapproving, the Legal Division, in effect, declared the deal to be a fait accompli.

The final nail was thus driven into the fiasco of the Bosch case. Whether action against Bosch will ever be taken remains to be seen. The final draft of the Bosch order, in any case, was so innocuous that Bosch could afford, with Wilson's approval, to submit to a deconcentrating action which, at best, would only be a pious gesture.

Will the U. S. have to seize Bosch for the third time?

Argentina — Fascism's Refuge

By

Robert J. Alexander

When the United States and Argentina were barely on speaking terms, the State Department talked long and eloquently about how the Argentine military regime was harboring Nazis and Fascists. Not so much has been heard about this point recently. An unsophisticated observer would imagine that the recent $125,000,000 loan from Uncle Sam to Juan Domingo Peron was an indication that the Argentine Govt. was no longer providing a haven for Axis exiles.

This is not so. Although Peron did make a few gestures in the direction of rounding up some Nazis and Fascists, numerous war criminals from all over Europe have been given refuge in Argentina, and many of them have received important posts in the Peron government.

The United States Blue Book of January, 1947 called Ludwig Freude and Richard Staudte the No. 1 and 2 Nazis in Argentina. Freude, a well-known organizer of Nazi activities among Argentine Germans before and during the war, is the father of Rudolph Freude, who was Peron's private secretary for a long time. Under U. S. pressure, the *de facto* military government at one time arrested the older Freude, but after Peron became President, Freude was "exonerated" completely.

As for Staudte, all charges against him as a Nazi have been dropped by the Peron regime, and important United States businessmen (including a one-time intimate of President Truman) have been doing business with this big-shot Nazi.

Still in Argentina are such leading Nazi figures as Ante Pavelic, once puppet president of Croatia; Hans Hofer, Nazi gauleiter of Tyrol; Admiral Litzman, erstwhile commander of the German Black Sea Fleet; former Fascist party secretaries Carlo Scorza, Ettore Mutti and Francisco Giunta; Spinelli, Mussolini's ex-Minister of Labor; Dino Grandi, Fascist Italy's Ambassador to London and Foreign Minister; Rafael Cassetano, former Italian minister in Budapest; Tamburini, ex-chief of Rome's police; Piero Parini, ex-prefect of Milan; and ex-Senator Prampolini, ex-Deputy Moretti, ex-National Councillors Berte and Rocca, and ex-Minister Poverelli, all old Mussolini henchmen.

Many of these Fascists and Nazis are politically active in Argentina. The most notorious of them, Vittorio Mussolini, the ex-Duce's son, conducted, soon after his arrival in 1947, a memorial ceremony on the anniversary of his father's death. Another important Fascist, Commandante Enzo Grossi, has organized a Federation of Republican Ex-Combatants among former fighters for Mussolini's Social Republic of Italy.

Then there is SS General Otto Skorzeny, who makes his headquarters in Argentina, but travels freely and frequently to Europe on mysterious missions. Other Germans include Professor Willy Tank, a leading Nazi airplane designer, Generals Adolph Galland and Baumbach, Aviation Colonel Hans Ulrich Rudel and Karl von Merck, one-time chief of German espionage in Brazil.

Merck—along with Dr. Hochleuten, erstwhile Nazi judge, and Robert Kessler, one-time Sudeten German journalist in Czechoslovakia and later said to be a Gestapo agent—is publishing a Nazi daily, *Freie Presse*, in Buenos Aires.

Smaller-fry Nazis from other countries have also found their way to Argentina. Among the Norwegian Quislings who are there are Johan T. Landmark, Reidar Nilsen and Olaf Haavardsholm. Hans Rothia, Nazi leader in Esthonia, is also there.

The Peron regime has uses for the singular talents of many of these one-time European Fascist leaders. General Mario Roata, once commander in chief of the Italian Army, is reported to be employed in the Casa Rosada, the Argentine "White House." Mussolini's Minister of Agriculture, Eduardo Moroni, is an adviser at the Banco Central.

The Federal Police has employed several Gestapo experts, including Dr. H. Theiss, F. Adam, H. Richner and J. Paecht, all of whom are ranked as "advisers" to the Peronista police force. Another Nazi, Hans Koch, is an adviser to the Argentine Institute for Trade. The Ministry of Agriculture, in Decree No. 1019 of May 21, 1949, announced the appointment of Albert Durigen, Helmut Weekamp and Detlef Kloss, ex-Nazis, to posts carrying salaries of 1,400 pesos a month and expense accounts of 1,200 pesos.

The Military Aviation Factory in Cordoba has at least two dozen ex-Nazis employed and nearly a dozen Italian Fascists. These gentlemen earn salaries ranging from one to four thousand pesos a month.

This great influx of Nazis and Fascists into Argentina, most of which has taken place during the administration of Peron as President, is probably one explanation of the growing totalitarianism of the Peron regime. It hardly explains why we lent money to that regime. (Courtesy *New Leader*, 7 E. 15th St., New York City.)

"All the cold military calculations are dominated by two mastering political questions.

"The first are the Germans. Western Europe can be defended without the Germans but only on the slow schedule outlined in the foregoing. At present, the Germans show no enthusiasm for rearmament. But if the Germans seized the Western invitation to rearm with vigor, if they swiftly organized an initial 150,000 men in brigades as they are asked to do, they could have almost ten divisions in Gen. Eisenhower's army in 1952. German rearmament is, of course, the most perilous defense effort. If the Germans should throw their entire energy into soldiering while the Western powers lag, Gen. Eisenhower's army could in a few years count more German divisions than any other. As such it would be compelled to yield to German national will, and there is no way of satisfying German national will except by war.

"The second are the Russians. The rearming of Western Europe is the greatest test yet made of Russian will and intention. There are only two reasons why the Russians should not pinch off the industrial and technical capacity of the European in these last-chance months. One of these reasons is the atom bomb, the second is the morality of peace. No one knows how the Russians weigh these factors."

(Theo White to the ONA)

Inside Germany

PLAYING THE RUSSIAN GAME

"In Bavaria, erstwhile breeding ground of the Nazi Party, would-be 'Fuehrers' are sprouting anew. . . .

"The two politicians that have the western Allies worried are August Haussleiter, leader of the Deutsche Gemeinschaft, and Alfred Loritz, founder of the Economic Reconstruction Party (WAV). Herr Haussleiter is alleged to be receiving Russian money.

"The Communists pale as a threat when compared to fast-rising nationalist parties who espouse an anti-American line. . . .

"'We can't prove that Herr Haussleiter is getting money from the Russians, but he is certainly following the party line and is widely reported to have Russian contacts,' one serious observer, whose job is to follow political developments here for the high commissioner's office said . . .

"The theme of Herr Haussleiter's party is that no German should make the supreme sacrifice for America in Europe—and there is no sense in opposing Russia since it can force the Americans out of West Germany any time it desires. Other planks in his platform include:

1. A dole for all refugees.
2. Pensions for soldiers.
3. Restoration of dignity to the name of the German soldier.

"Such a platform, as could be expected, has garnered a lot of support among the refugees and ex-soldiers."

(By a Special Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor)

★

GERMAN CULTURE

"Glancing at the many illustrated weekly newspapers and magazines prominently displayed on West German news stands, one might almost think Hitler and his associates were still running the country. . . .

"The bookshop just inside the entrance to the Parliament buildings in Bonn showed, besides the Nazi-nostalgic weeklies, 24 new books on the German General Staff, the Tunisian campaign, Stalingrad, the German collapse, Marshal Erwin Rommel, and other personalities of the Nazi regime.

"Goering's is the favorite picture. Few of the magazines seem able to resist the temptation to dig out old photographs showing him in the flamboyant uniforms of which he was so fond. . . .

"One popular weekly featuring Goering sold 450,000 copies. The publishers said that they could have doubled that figure if they had had the newsprint."

(From a dispatch by Reuters)

★

THE INNOCENT WAR CRIMINALS

"Heated appeals for the release of two of Hitler Germany's top war criminals have been received by the three Allied High Commissioners of Germany's Western zones.

"The two prisoners are former Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, head of the Nazi Navy, and onetime Foreign Minister Constantin von Neurath. Both were convicted at the first Nuremberg trial of Hitler's principal aides, and both are serving sentences—Raeder for life and Neurath for 15 years—in the four-power prison of Spandau, in Berlin.

"The appeals represent the newest, boldest point of departure to date in German attacks on the Allied war crimes trials and on their judgments. Formerly, the Germans restricted their demands for clemency to lesser war criminals and, although they have attacked the entire premise of judgment by the victors on the vanquished, they have conceded that the chief assistants of Hitler merited punishment. Now, however, there would appear to be rejection of even that concession.

"It is believed that the present appeals are forerunners of others to seek the release of all seven major war criminals, including Rudolf Hess, in Spandau prison—the 'world's most exclusive jail.'

"Signing the appeal for the release of Raeder is former Admiral Hansen, as chairman of the Association of Former Professional Soldiers. . . .

"Admiral Hansen's letter states, in part, '. . . the judgment which convicted the Grand Admiral to life in prison because of the attack on Norway is an untenable one. He has been convicted—like many Germans—despite his indubitable innocence. . . .

"'If I make this plea for the Grand Admiral, I must also declare that hundreds of other innocent German men are still held in the prisons or in the custody of the Western Allies.

"'The laws of the victors were made in the hour of conquest. They described inevitable measures of war as crime. They led to rigid judgments or will lead to such judgments in the future.

"'How can we achieve true peace and mutual understanding among the Western nations, how can we rebuild the broken wall against the East, if right and true justice are not granted the imprisoned men of Germany?'"

(Excerpts from a dispatch from Ernest Leiser to the ONA)

★

GERMAN COOPERATION

"Western Europe, short of coal and looking to Western Germany to fill her vital defense needs of this raw material, was faced with German unwillingness to fulfill the export quota decided upon by the International Authority for the Ruhr of which the Federal Government is a member. . . .

"Apprised of the Bonn Government's attitude, a United States official lashed out at the German leaders. He charged them with failure to recognize international obligations."

(From a dispatch by Jack Raymond to the New York Times)

PAGING MR. HOOVER

"Communist propaganda chief Gerhart Eisler claimed that former U. S. President Hoover has 'confessed that American imperialism is not strong enough' to prevent the unification of Germany on Soviet terms.

"He asserted Hoover had convincingly shown that 'the American camp is much weaker than the camp of peace, democracy and socialism under the leadership of the Soviet Union.'"

(From a Berlin dispatch to the Associated Press)

★

PROSPERITY IN GERMANY

". . . While the position of nearly everyone has improved, the profits of German entrepreneurs have gone from good to fabulous. Partly to induce saving and strengthen incentives but partly, one supposes, out of dislike of the progressive income tax, the German Government has reduced taxes in the middle- and upper-income brackets. As a result, German owners and managers have a tax liability on their profits and earnings which is nearly negligible by British or American standards. They enjoy standards of personal consumption which are far beyond the reach of an American or an Englishman of equivalent gross income. . . .

"It is also worth noting that the costs of sustaining well-to-do Germans in their present spacious standard of living are not borne entirely by Germans. ECA officials have guessed that Germany's imports of luxury products for consumption by the well-to-do now amount to as much as $100 million a year. Some part of this expenditure could be used for goods now paid for by American aid. During the period July 1 through October 31, 1950, West Germany was allotted $171.6 million."

(J. K. Galbraith in The Reporter)

★

INNOCENTS ABROAD

"Report from Marshall Plan Headquarters in West Germany: A German businessman who has received heavy dollar grants from the Marshall Plan has been found advertising in Communist papers. He was called in and asked why: 'Oh,' he said, 'I didn't know the money was going to communists in the West zone. They promised me the dollars would only appear in the East (Soviet) zone.'"

(Theo. White to the ONA)

★

A SIGN OF OUR TIMES

"Germans and Jewish displaced persons staged a bloody, bare-knuckle 10-minute battle. . . .

"An undisclosed number of persons were injured and police who intervened took several Jewish leaders into custody 'for their own protection.'

"The battle between 3,000 Germans and 300 Jews from a nearby displaced persons camp was waged in Landsberg Square, where the Germans were holding a protest meeting against the imprisonment of German war criminals in Landsberg Prison.

"The Jews charged the demonstration with cries of 'Death to those murderers in Landsberg.' But the Germans shouted 'Jews, get back' and beat them off.

"Many of the war criminals whom the Germans want released were sentenced for atrocities against the Jews. Others included steel baron Alfred Krupp."

(From a dispatch to the New York Post)

INFORMATION PLEASE

"Russia is building a vast spy network inside West Germany to funnel military information to the Kremlin.

"Many of Hitler's former intelligence experts already have been recruited for this secret communist army of informers, West German officials said . . . This organization works entirely for the Russians instead of for the communist government of the Soviet Occupation Zone."

(From a dispatch to the Chicago Daily Tribune)

★

NEW FACES IN BONN

"Herr Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol is Press Chief to Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Marshall Aid Franz Blucher. A member of the Nazi party since 1931, Sonnenhol (reports the Allgemeine Zeitung of Dusseldorf) became a captain in the SS as early as 1933. . . .

"Another of the same stripe is Dr. Kutscher, personal adviser to the Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Ludwig Erhard, in Bonn today. The principal speaker at a Nazi conference in April, 1944, of Judenreferenten, anti-Semitic specialists attached to German legations abroad, Kutscher set forth his views on anti-Semitism with some strength. 'The Jews are the misfortune of all nations,' he remarked: 'A Jewish victory would bring about the end of all civilization. By this war, the Jew has dug his own grave.' . . .

"Then there is Dr. Ernst Rudolph Huber, since the autumn of 1949 a legal adviser to the Ministry of Economic Affairs at Bonn. A leading Nazi jurist and member of the Nazi 'Academy of German Law,' Huber wrote in his book, 'The Constitutional Law of the Greater German Reich,' that: 'The volkisch (racial) Reich is neither an absolutist regime nor a dictatorship, but a final and normal political order.'

"There is Dr. Carl Diem, Director of the Department for Physical Training in the Ministry of the Interior, who held a similar post under the Nazis. There is Dr. Rieck, now in the Ministry for Marshall Aid Affairs, who joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and the SS in 1934.' . . .

"Here are a few random names picked from a long list of lesser Globkes who were lately appointed to the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs at Bonn; these men took jobs from others who, though for the most part without any political background, had been dismissed:

"On December 1, 1949, Dr. Ing. Pallsch became Referatsleiter. Dr. Pallsch belonged to the Nazi Party (card No. 1,585,363) from 1933-45 and had been Oberscharfuhrer in the SA (Sturmabteilungen).

"On the same day Dr. Hans Grotjan became Referent. His membership in the Nazi Party was also from 1933-45, though he joined the SA only in 1938, five years after Dr. Pallsch.

"On October 17, 1949, Herr Carl-Herbert Jansen became Sachbearbeiter. Also a Party member from 1933-45 and a member of the SA throughout the same period.

"On December 16, 1949, Herr Hans Koelfen became Hauptabteilungsleiter. He joined the Party only in 1937, but made up for this by serving in the SS (latterly as Unterscharfuhrer) from 1934-45."

(Excerpts from pamphlet "Once Again" by Basil Davidson)

"But the progress is offset somewhat by the appearance of increasing German resistance to western rearmament plans—a resistance obviously calculated to make the most for Germany out of the crisis in which the West now finds itself.

"The western Allies must move cautiously in this area of defense building. There can be little doubt that the greater the need they have of West Germany, the higher will be the German price for meeting it, and the more the West German leaders can exact from the western Allies the stronger the German position for yet more bargaining becomes.

"Even to grant West Germany full equality, military as well as political, will not solve that problem. The question will always remain as to what the Germans will do with that equality. If they have no stake in the survival of the western world, then to arm them may involve questionable risks."

(From an editorial in The Christian Science Monitor)

DENAZIFICATION UNDER MR. McCLOY

"West German authorities plan to ignore a letter from American High Commissioner John J. McCloy charging that German courts whitewashed an ex-Nazi industrialist in Stuttgart.

"The German officials said they had 'full faith' in the German courts that cleared the industrialist, the leather goods manufacturer Karl Kaess, of bribing a denazification court, and therefore would not reopen the affair.

"Defiance of Mr. McCloy's letter was announced in the Wuerttemberg-Baden state legislature at Stuttgart by Minister-President Reinhold Maier. 'This case is closed,' he said.

"Observers here believe Mr. McCloy will let the issue die, because he said in his letter to Mr. Maier and Wuerttemberg-Baden Minister of Justice Josef Beyerle that it is not his intention to 'intervene' in the case."

(From a United Press dispatch)

★

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH

". . . Explains one German: 'Frankly, we have always resented the Americans. Korea has probably increased this resentment.' Even gratitude for American assistance is tinged with bitterness. 'We thank you for Marshall aid,' says a Frankfurt barber, 'but we're not going to spend our lives thanking you for it. Nor will we bind ourselves to you in the future merely because of it.'

"Knowing that the West needs them, the Germans are also resentful of every delay in removing occupation shackles. Comments Hermann Singer, a Heidelberg lawyer: "We'll use every trick we can to get as much as we can—and there may be angry feelings along the way but we feel we are an intelligent people and need independence to make our own policies.' . . ."

(From a dispatch to The Wall Street Journal)

OF THINGS TO COME . . .

"Probably Moscow will rely on the political maneuvering of the East German Communist regime, plus a group of former Nazis and German army officers. These two groups have a common aim—the unification of Germany under Russian control.

"It's the former Nazis who have the job of penetrating the Western zones. There, they can count on the support of many thousands of disgruntled Nazis and a few army generals. Horst Dressel-Anders, former assistant to Goebbels, is one of their key figures. These men have established connections with the secret 'Brotherhood of Former German Army Officers' in West Germany. Their aim is twofold: first, to sabotage plans for raising a West German army; second, to prepare underground support for an eventual invasion from the East.

"Moscow has another link with West Germany—West German industrialists who look to the East for big markets. In 1950 the legal trade between East and West Germany went up 300% over the 1949 figure. But this legal trade is probably small compared with the illegal traffic between the Ruhr and the Soviet zone. This traffic includes steel and machinery of all sorts for the East Germany Five-Year Plan."

(From a report to Business Week)

"It is, of course, the most shameless hypocrisy for the remilitarized East German Communist state to shout threats against the rearming of Western Germany, but the violence of those threats gives some indication of how seriously their Russian master looks at this problem.

"The Russians have long known, if the Western powers have not, that the only way to get the Germans rearmed is to offer them something to fight for. On both sides of the Elbe that means the unification of Germany. In Western Germany, filled with nine million pauperized refugees from former German communities occupied by Poles, Russians, and other eastern European peoples, the only remilitarization program which would make sense to those who might be willing to fight would be a program aimed at recovering those lost territories."

(From Landrum Bolling to the ONA)

"A New German Army can only be brought into being by those forces in the Reich which want a war to reconquer the Eastern territories, and these forces will act only if given assurances of support in advance. On this basis, the Atlantic Pact guarantees the new world war it was supposed to prevent . . .

"The U. S. errs badly in thinking that Western European nations may be handled as if they were corps of mercenaries. America conceives of itself as having two main allies on the Continent, but one of these is treacherous and the other is discontented."

(I. F. Stone in The Daily Compass)

The "First Legion"

by Ernest Leiser

A new, apparently Nazi-type political organization, which avowedly aims to "do away with the old, 19th-century forms of parliamentary democracy," has been formed in Western Germany.

It calls itself the "First Legion" and is reported to have achieved already a nucleus of some 10,000 members. According to investigators, it has been deliberately conducting its organizational activities in a "twilight of mystery."

Three "respectable" members of the Bonn Parliament, all enrolled in government coalition parties—Dr. Kurt Kiesinger of the Christian Democratic Union, Erich Mende of the Free Democratic party, and Dr. Hans Merkatz of the German party—have lent their names as prominent supporters of the new group, but investigation has not yet revealed who the actual leaders are.

In its party propaganda, the First Legion has declared that it is looking for a "new form of democracy" which would eliminate the old-fashioned competition and strife of traditional party politics and end the "disastrous class struggle." In this connection, the new group would "circumscribe the activities of trade unions to their original, proper fields" and drive them out of political life. The Legion platform inveighs against "corruption which endangers public life" and calls for the mobilization of the youth behind this "new politics."

The *Frankfurter Rundschau*, independent, liberal newspaper here, has commented wryly that "we experienced once before these 'new forms of democracy.' Such non-party organizations always show signs of neo-fascism."

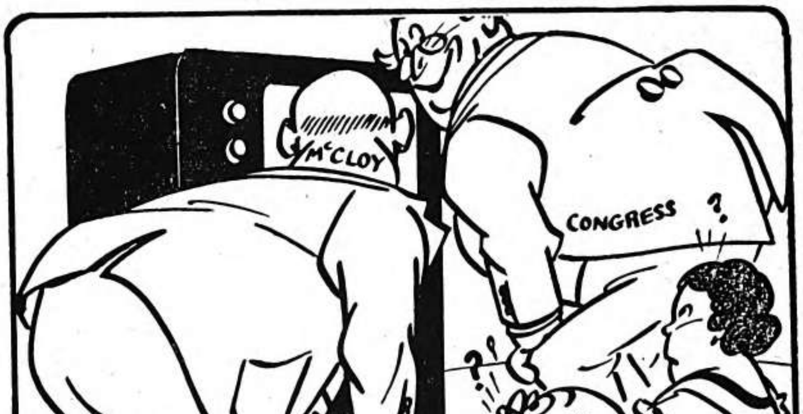
The new group becomes one more minor star in the constellation of radical, right-wing parties which have been struggling—thus far with no conspicuous success—to capitalize on the dissatisfaction of many Germans, and especially the youth, with the present democratic party set-up.

As always, officials on the staff of United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy report that they are keeping the new organization "under scrutiny." However, they indicate that they are not particularly alarmed at its inception and doubt that it will succeed where its predecessors have failed.

Nevertheless, some United States representatives see in the First Legion another confirmation of the facts, contained in a High Commission report, that American efforts to introduce democratic ideas to the Germans in the last five years have been notably unsuccessful, that a vast majority of Germans themselves have seen no effects of those efforts, and that the Germans are therefore vulnerable to the suasions of a demagogue-dictator who may once again offer them the promise of a strong and independent Germany, not bound by the "old forms of parliamentary democracy."

The First Legion may not be such a group, they say. But they add the somber warning that no such organization should be underestimated; one of these days such a body may prove to be what the Allies have always feared, the reincarnation of the Nazi idea dressed up in a 1950 costume which appeals to the still-undemocratized Germans.

(Courtesy Overseas News Agency)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TV PROGRAM TONIGHT THE TRUTH ABOUT DENAZIFICATION IN GERMANY
VEP

"NICE PROGRAM, ISN'T IT?"

(Courtesy Compass)

Recommended Reading

Mr. William L. Shirer is well-known to American radio audiences. For years prior to the outbreak of World War II Mr. Shirer's voice was heard from the key capitals in Europe where he reported the momentous events which finally led to the outbreak of war. He was among the few American correspondents abroad who grasped the meaning of the Nazi march to power in Germany. He witnessed at first hand the rising tide of Nazism and the dark shadow it was casting over Europe. Many of the highlights of his fifteen years of experience in Germany and in other dangerous spots in Europe, were recounted in his "Berlin Diary" which became a best-seller throughout the country.

The sequel to "Berlin Diary" was his second book, "End of a Berlin Diary," which tells the story of Mr. Shirer's return to the land of the Herrenvolk after World War II. "End of a Berlin Diary" is a forthright report of dangerous trends and blunders in the early days of the Allied occupation. It provides many clues which explain the tragic events in Germany today, unfolding before our eyes.

Mr. Shirer's competence as a reporter has been firmly established. Indeed, for his work as a reporter and commentator Mr. Shirer was given one of radio's highest honors—the George Foster Peabody Award for "outstanding interpretation of the news in 1946."

Recently Mr. Shirer has proven that he is not only an outstanding reporter, but a skilled novelist, as amply demonstrated in his first novel, *"The Traitor."*

In this novel Mr. Shirer skillfully dissects the makeup of a potential traitor. The character who is destined to betray his country is one Oliver Knight, an American who is brought up in a typical small town in the Midwest. Knight's early life at home was commonplace, and, like many other young men who were bored with small town gossip and small town affairs, Knight sought the high adventure of Europe. This he was able to achieve by working as a correspondent in Germany, for American newspapers.

Just as at home, Knight's personal life is filled with frustrations. His bride-to-be rejects him for another man. There is constant friction between Knight and the American newspapers who employ him. Suffering from personal bitterness he finds himself drawn into the web of Nazi intrigue, spurred on by an affair with a ruthless and loose woman of German cafe life. Welcomed by Nazi circles and bearing personal grudges against Americans who had spurned him in one way or another. Knight becomes a potential tool of the Nazi Party.

But more than personal experiences explain Knight's degeneration. As Mr. Shirer so clearly points out, Knight is enamored with the America First movement, which, during the late 30's, was echoing Goebbels' propaganda. Therefore it was not merely his personal contacts with the Nazis and their hanger-ons, but his political vulnerability, which finally marked the stamp of traitor on his forehead.

Knight became a mouthpiece for Nazi propaganda. His radio broadcasts to the United States during World War II were designed to demoralize American unity and glorify the Nazi cause.

While Knight is the main character in "The Traitor," Mr. Shirer's characterizations of Hans Oldendorff, the sadistic SS ape-man, his portrayal of Jack Goodman, the American journalist who was not politically vulnerable, and who thoroughly understood the meaning of the Nazi drive for world conquest, show once again Mr. Shirer's ability as a novelist.

"The Traitor" is replete with incidents which fully expose Nazi treachery. In that sense "The Traitor" can be called an historical novel, for it is grounded in historical fact.

Mr. Shirer's presentation of the typical German militarist is made most clear in his description of Freddy von Langsdorff, an officer in the German army. Freddy, Mr. Shirer tells the reader, was no friend of the Nazis: *"But today Jack could see Freddy was in a different mood. The contempt was no longer there, in his face or voice. Indeed, there was an exhilaration in his whole being. After all, this was what Freddy and his class had been trained for over the generations, no matter who ruled Germany. For war."*

There are many other vivid passages dealing with German militarism and culture. For example, the statement by Whitney Wentworth, Knight's friend and university instructor: *"The Germans are different. Their civilization, despite the heights they have reached in music with Bach and Beethoven, in literature with Schiller and Goethe, in philosophy with Kant, not to mention their attainment in science, seems most of the time to be a mere veneer so thin that their barbarism—the pagan barbarism of the German forests— is continually threatening to break through and engulf them."*

"The Traitor" deserves a wide circulation, as its message has much meaning, even today. We strongly recommend it to our readers for their enjoyment and edification.

* * *

In 1946 an unusual book was published in Germany by an unusual German. The book, "Der SS Staat," was written by Eugen Kogon. It had an electrifying effect, so that while the first edition sold only 35,000 copies, the second edition published in 1947 reached the figure of 100,000. Unfortunately, the English speaking world was deprived of this important work until it was translated and recently published in the United States, under the title: *"The Theory and Practice of Hell."*

Mr. Kogon should know about "The Theory and Practice of Hell," for he was in hell—the hell of the Nazi concentration camp, Buchenwald, from 1938 to the day of liberation. Kogon was a student of sociology and as early as 1927 was a member of the editorial board of the German publication, *The Catholic Weekly*. Despite his "aryan" status, his firm opposition to the Nazis finally placed him behind the barbed wire of Buchenwald. Undoubtedly Kogon had the opportunity to go along with the Nazis, but his convictions and principles remained firm within him. The price he paid was a living death for seven years.

"The Theory and Practice of Hell" is not so much an account of his personal experiences but rather a stark report on the internal makeup and organization of a German concentration camp. He shows that the camps were not only utilized to destroy hundreds of thousands of human beings, but also provided a pool of manpower for the modern slave drivers of the Ruhr and other war arsenals in Germany.

What was the aim of Hitler's elite, the SS? In answer to this question Mr. Kogon relates a conversation that he had in the fall of 1937 with an SS officer: *"Within 10 years,"* this SS officer boasted to Kogon, *"at the latest, it will be possible for us in this way to dictate the law of Adolf Hitler to Europe, put a halt to the otherwise inevitable decay of the continent, and build up a true community of nations, with Germany as the leading power keeping order."*

The new "German order" is described in Kogon's book. It is the concentration camp. Kogon does not only describe in detail the sadistic practices and the tortures inflicted upon concentration camp inmates by the SS, but he also shows the utter corruption which existed among Hitler's elite. They did not hesitate to feather their own nests, although the world was given to believe that Hitler's followers were dedicated solely to the unselfish cause of greater Germany. One example of this corruption is the case of the hereditary Prince of Waldeck—Pyrmont, an SS Lieutenant General. Taking advantage of his high position, the Prince was able to put through an urgent high priority order *"for an installation by way of the Institute of Hygiene of the Waffen SS, Division of Typhus and Virus Research (Building 50 at Buchenwald). This was to enable the Prince to store the deer he shot. The military priority certificate listed as the purpose of the installation: 'Production of serum for combat troops!'"*

Space does not permit us to go into a fuller description of the life of a concentration camp as portrayed by Mr. Kogon, but the message of "The Theory and Practice of Hell" is quite clear and needs little elaboration. It is a message to all peoples who place a value on human life, to defend that value and to stand firm against those who perpetrate crimes against humanity.

Like "The Traitor" it is our considered judgment that "The Theory and Practice of Hell" deserves to be read and pondered.

(*"The Traitor," by William L. Shirer, Farrar, Straus & Co., New York City,* 1950)

(*"The Theory and Practice of Hell," by Eugen Kogon, Farrar, Straus & Co., New York City,* 1950)

"The Western German bourgeoisie is, for the most part, anxious to appease the Communists. Many German firms are placing advertisements in the puny Communist press, hoping that these advertisements will prove to be a kind of gilt-edged security if ever the Communists become masters. No German industrialist wishes to expose himself to possible reprisals by attacking the Communists in word or deed."

(F. A. Voigt in The New Leader)

"Although the average German is against another war and German industrialists would rather do business with Stalin than fight him, former German officers favor rearming Western Germany. The Russians have offered the officers better terms."

(Report of a speech by Saul K. Padover at a meeting of the American Jewish Committee)

"There is the third possibility of a 'protected' Germany that will not be asked to provide troops as long as officers would have to be drawn from circles still strongly attached to Prussian militarism and convinced that Hitler could have triumphed if he only had listened to them.

"A German army now, however tightly integrated into Atlantic Pact forces, could never be a democratic army because its officers would inevitably steer it in the opposite direction. Before we rearm the Germans, we have to strengthen the foundations of democracy in their public life and in their hearts."

(By Ernest S. Pisko in the Christian Science Monitor)

"Western policy on Western German rearmament should be flexible. It is a dubious policy at best, a reversal of the war aims of World War II, a propaganda godsend to the Russians. The Germans don't want it, the French don't want it and everyone is uncomfortable about it."

(From an editorial in the Wall Street Journal)

"The Schuman Plan . . . is one of the great developments in contemporary history . . .

"(But) those of us from America who had some familiarity with it at once said, 'Is this the beginning of the new cartel? Is all Europe to be united by restrictive price covenants? Are price policies to be determined by one man or one group of men?'

"It seemed to me clear that there was a problem for the American steel industry. There are 50 million tons of ingot production and it seemed to me that if the 50 million tons should be wrapped up in one package by a snug European cartel, the ultimate impact of that upon our industry and upon the economy of a free America might be staggering . . .

"A few weeks ago I had the great privilege of meeting Jean Monnet, the man who actually wrote the Schuman Plan . . . I expressed to him my doubts that perhaps he was to be the architect of the most pernicious cartel the world had ever seen, but he swept my doubts away . . .

"The difficulty is that Jean Monnet is surrounded in Europe by people who believe the opposite. European businessmen have the cartel way of life. They are government-control minded by tradition. They are restrictive-covenant minded by habit, and they are writing their impress on the Schuman Plan . . .

"It seems to me that the challenge to America is clear. We must in forthright language demand that the basic charter of the Schuman Plan have written into it the principle of free and honest competition and empower the higher authority to destroy and control monopolistic practices . . ."

(From a speech by Clarence B. Randall, president of the Inland Steel Co.)

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

THEY DON'T LIKE "GENERAL IKE"

From a cable by Karl H. von Wiegand to the New York Journal American:

"Whatever may be said for it militarily, the naming of Gen. Eisenhower as a commander-in-chief of a West European army and defense is against the best interest of wise American political and diplomatic strategy. . . .

"American Gen. Eisenhower was commander-in-chief of the Allied armies in World War II. Now the British should take that heavy responsibility, and Britain has two or three very good generals and strategists.

"If Germany should in some form acceptable to the German people be included in the West European coalition army, it is doubtful whether German troops would fight their best under Gen. Eisenhower.

"They feel, I am told by sources that should know, that he dislikes them, distrusts them, regards them as inferiors, and they recall that he was reported to have said: 'The Germans are a nation of paranoiacs and I see no reason why they should be treated gently.' "

JUSTICE IN REVERSE

From a special dispatch to the New York Times:

"Fourteen German war criminals, nine of whom were serving life sentences, have received grants of clemency from Gen. Thomas T. Handy, commander of the United States forces in Europe.

"On the recommendation of the Army's War Crimes Modification Board, the prisoners will be released from Landsberg prison in Bavaria.

"The nine serving life sentences had been convicted of crimes committed as guards at the Mauthausen concentration camp during the Hitler regime. The others, serving sentences ranging from twelve to twenty years, have been convicted of war crimes in and around the Dachau concentration camp.

"An announcement at Army Headquarters said that the beneficiaries of a clemency in connection with the crimes at the Mauthausen camp had been members of the former German Army and Air Force units assigned to perimeter guard duty at the camp."

THOSE PEACEFUL RUSSIANS

From a Berlin dispatch to the New York Post:

"The official American newspaper, Neue Zeitung, claimed that an East German steel works was manufacturing artillery parts for the Soviet army.

"Neue Zeitung said artillery production began a few weeks ago at the Ver plant in Crossen, Saxony, under strict secrecy. Communist propagandists have claimed for more than a year that West German factories were producing armaments for the Western Powers."

PROGRESS IN GERMAN SCIENCE

From an Associated Press dispatch:

"A group of German scientists, including several Nobel Prize winners, proposed the erection of a small German atomic plant for peaceful purposes and demanded the lifting of all Allied restrictions on German scientific work.

"The Group was founded by Karl Arnold, Christian Democratic head of the British zone state of North Rhine-Westphalia."

JUST A MISUNDERSTANDING

From a Reuters dispatch to the Chicago Daily Tribune:

"Gen. Ernst von Falkenhausen, war time governor of Belgium and northern France, was answering to Jewish aspects of his indictment. He is charged with deporting 25,000 Jews and 250,000 Belgians to Germany, and with the execution of 240 civilian hostages.

"Co-defendant with him is Gen. Egel Reeder, head of the German civilian administration in the area. . . .

"Leaning forward across the bench Marechal asked von Falkenhausen: 'Don't you think these deportations were contrary to human rights?'

"Pale and weary, the general replied: 'I was a soldier. I had to execute the orders I received. I had not the right to discuss an order. All I could do from time to time was to give advice.'

"Reeder, asked whether 'the German population was against the persecution of Jews,' replied: 'No, not as far as the great masses were concerned.' "

JUST A GOOD MOTHER

From a dispatch to the New York Times:

"Ilse Koch denied in court today that she had ever seen any one ill treated in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, where her husband, Karl, had been commandant before he was executed by the Nazis for murder and corruption.

"She never owned a riding whip, so she could not have hit any inmates with it, she said. All she did, she asserted, was to take care of her children like any good mother should."

ECHO OF DR. SCHACHT

From Theo. White to the ONA:

"For a decade, economists have been analyzing Hitler economics and decided it was free trade in reverse. The trick that Dr. Schacht, Nazi financial wizard, learned was that Germany should get itself in debt to its neighbors. Then, holding billions of blocked marks, they would have to buy German exports at German terms in order to use their marks. In November, 1950, the newborn European Payments Union, chief creation of the Marshall Plan, ran into its first trouble. Germany had suddenly—in three months—gotten into debt with practically everybody. In what the London Economist calls 'rake's progress' it had used up $175,000,000 of credits from the Payments Union in the worst spate of buying and hoarding on the war-scared Continent. To prevent the Germans from too much preclusive buying, the French have slapped on export controls, directly contrary to Marshall Plan objectives."

MEMORIES, LONG AND SHORT

From Theo. White to the ONA:

"Le Figaro, one of the most powerful of Paris dailies, front-pages the story of a current war-crimes trial in Lille. It concerns a Major Kolrep, a German commander infuriated by the last-ditch resistance of French units in the collapse of June 1940. Kolrep decided to take reprisals on the little towns of Courrieres and Oignies. Le Figaro reports:

"At Courrieres, more than 600 houses, 100 farm buildings, the city hall, the church, the schools, the stores, were put to the torch. At Oignies, by the same means, the Germans set fire to 500 houses and shot—as at Courrieres—every man they met.

"A British officer was burned alive bound in an armchair. A young man of 17, sick, was hauled from his bed and forced to dig his own grave. Finally, to end French resistance, the Germans pushed in front of them women and children. One hundred and ten civilians perished on that tragic day."

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THAT ELUSIVE BORMANN

From Terence Robertson to the Reynolds News:

"Martin Bormann, Deputy Fuehrer of Hitler's Germany and only topranking Nazi to survive the Allied intelligence net, lives today in a small monastery in southern Spain where monks call him the 'Grey Eminence.'

"From this secluded hide-out, Bormann, master-mind of the vast, international Die Spinne organization, plans the revival of German military might under a 'New Deal' German government.

"These startling disclosures are made by Captain Jacques Kaminski, former Free French officer and British agent, who won the Military Cross for his liaison work with the Maquis and espionage work in the Low Countries during the last war.

"Captain Kaminski posed as an ex-Nazi to join Die Spinne (The Spider) organization two years ago. In June this year he disappeared after receiving a warning that the Nazis were aware of his true identity....

" 'Bormann is without doubt the brain behind Die Spinne,' said Captain Kaminski. 'He is known, rather ironically, as the Grey Eminence because of the robes worn by the monks at his monastery hide-out in Spain. He stays there because it is the one place where he is safe. . . .

" 'Skorzeny moves about Europe at will, especially in the American and French Zones of Germany.'

"This allegation is supported by a photograph of Skorzeny taken in 1947 shaking hands with an American army colonel in the American Zone of Germany."

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FOR HEALTH REASONS

From a Frankfort dispatch to the Associated Press:

"Four Germans convicted as war criminals by the Nuremberg tribunal have been released from Landsberg prison under medical parole because of bad health, the United States High Commission announced today.

"They were Dr. Franz Schlegelberger, former Secretary of State in the Nazi Ministry of Justice; Wilhelm Keppler, a former economic adviser to Adolf Hitler and Minister to Czechoslovakia; and two executive officials of the Krupp armament concern, Max Ihn and Eduard Houdremont.

"Schlegelberger was serving a life sentence. The other three were sentenced to terms ranging from nine to ten years."

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FARBEN AGAIN

From a Bonn dispatch to the Associated Press:

"West Germany's chemical industry appealed to the Allied High Commission to transfer the job of breaking up the powerful I. G. Farben chemical combine to German hands.

"W. A. Menne, president of West Germany's Chemical Industry Working Group, told a news conference:

" 'We do not oppose the breaking up of the Farben concern . . . But we definitely oppose the way the Allies issued such a law without even consulting German authorities and experts,' Menne declared. . . .

" 'It will be very hard for us to attain our previous position as exporter,' Menne said, 'unless our chemical industry is allowed a sufficient working and research capacity to keep abreast of foreign developments.' "

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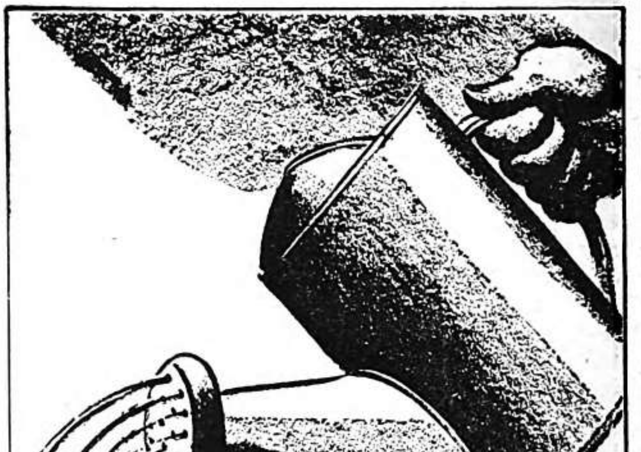
THE VOICE OF THE REICHSWEHR

From the Belgian newspaper Soir General Dittmar is quoted as saying:

" 'The first step in the rearmament of Germany must be the moral rehabilitation. The sentences of the military courts pronounced against the German military chiefs and above all the sentence imposed upon Marshal von Mannstein for alleged crimes against the partisans must be revised.'

"General Dittmar was the chief radio spokesman for the German Wehrmacht during the war."



Remember What It Grew Into Last Time
(Cartoon by Fitzpatrick—Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

Press Items

WILHELM VOCKE, who was a character witness for Hitler's economic expert on armaments, Hjalmar Schacht, at the Nuremberg war crimes trial, is at present German representative on the Board of the Bank for International Settlements, which protected Nazi loot during World War II.

THE ANTI-ALLIED DEMONSTRATIONS on the Island of Helgoland, which was a major submarine base for the Nazis during the war, was supported by many Nationalist and Neo-Nazi elements, including the Pan-German Prince Karl Hubertus zu Loewenstein, who has dared to whitewash Nazi war crimes. (Prince Loewenstein enjoyed the hospitality of the United States during the war and was welcomed as a lecturer by many American universities.)

THE BROTHER OF THE GERMAN GENERAL HANS SPEIDEL, who is taking part in negotiations with Allied officials on German rearmament, was a General in the German Airforce and was sentenced as a war criminal for atrocities committed in the Balkans.

SOVIET SPONSORED EAST GERMANY is launching an ambitious program to strengthen the war potential of the East Zone, particularly in the Steel Industry, while British High Commissioner Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, on January 16, declined to answer the question as to whether the Allies would approve West German Steel exports to the Eastern Zone.

THE BONN GOVERNMENT has appointed Arno Schieck, former Air-raid Chief for the German General Staff, to draft a new Air-raid law and make plans for its implementation along with its Allied authorities.

IN THE "NATIONAL FRONT," a Soviet sponsored movement in Germany, Generals Vincenz Muller and Korfes are in touch with several high ranking Nazis, including one Beust, former head of the Training department of the Nazi Party.

DR. WILLIAM HASS, head of the West German Government's new foreign office, admits that 14 out of the 31 senior members of his staff were members of the Nazi Party.

OTTO SKORZENY, former Hitler strong-arm man, now in Spain where he sees members of the British Embassy on a social footing, warned that if the 6 German SS officers, convicted of responsibility for the Malmedy massacre of U. S. prisoners, were executed, all former German officers would turn against the Western Allies.

THE CHIEF EDITOR of the German newspaper Der Fortschritt, Erich Schneider, who was formerly of Hermann Goering's National Zeitung in Essen, is reported to be on intimate terms with the Karlshorst Soviet headquarters in Eastern Berlin.

LEADING GERMAN GENERALS, including Blumentritt and Manteufel, have contributed a series of articles in the Irish defense journal, The Defender, which is publishes under the auspices of the Irish army.

MR. JOUETT SHOUSE, whose wife is chairman of the Clay Fund for German Youth Activities, has been elected to the Board of General Aniline & Film Corp. which, according to Government documents, is owned largely by I. G. Chemie, a dummy corporation acting on behalf of I. G. Farben.

THE RECENT TRADE TREATY between Eastern Germany and Communist China contemplates substantial deliveries of electrical equipment, precision instruments, iron and steel products from Western Germany.

HERMAN ABS, one of Hitler's leading financiers and whose Deutsche Bank ruthlessly looted German-occupied Europe, is endeavoring to sabotage the Allied program to smash the power of the German banking monopoly.

Never Again

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism . . . break up for all time the German General Staff. (Yalta Conference Communique.)

"Never shall Germans rearm!" they said,
"Never recall the High Command,
Never forge weapons for total war.
Never again shall Europe dread
The iron heel and the ruthless hand—
Hitler's Wehrmacht shall march no more.

"Never again while time shall last,
Never again shall that warlike race
Loose invasion or peace dictate;
Never, till many an age is past,
With neighbour nations resume its place—
Never again build a martial State."

Never again? Things are altered now:
They stand in fear of another foe.
Arm West Germans to meet the threat!
Who remembers the victors' vow,
Sworn and witnessed five years ago?
The dead are dead. Let the living forget!

Never shall Germans lead again?
But only Germans can Germans lead—
The Generals' honour must be restored;
Loyal servants of wicked men,
They shared no part of an evil creed—
The Wehrmacht offers a stainless sword.

Never again! And the stricken heard.
But what's more light than a statesman's
oath?
On a million graves the grass is green,
And the dead rise not for a broken word.
Even though Germans themselves are loth,
Germans must man the war machine.

Germany rises, a sovereign Power,
Called to action and armed to fight,
From medalled Marshal to conscript clod.
"Never again shall Europe cower—
Under the menace of German might,
Never again, so help us, God!"

Sagittarius.

(Courtesy The New Statesman and Nation)

Opinions from France

"Clearly, all the efforts of the Kremlin are designed to secure a rapprochement with Germany, which it needs if it is to remain undisturbed in the West (while trying to expand in Asia). This inevitable rapprochement, dictated by geographic, demographic and economic conditions and by historical experience, does not imply any friendship between the Russian and German peoples. . . .

"All the Allied Governments agree that it would be folly to ask Germany to put forward the maximum effort of which she is capable, for they remember quite well what a powerful German army can lead to. According to the American proposal at the New York conference, the German contribution would be limited to ten divisions—a fraction of the total forces that must be organized in face of Russia's 150 divisions, but a dangerous embryo whose development nothing could stop if it dedicated itself to the cause of the German nation. More, this intended rampart would even serve as a filter if the attacking army were that of East Germany, for the West Germans consider their East German compatriots as victims rather than enemies. . . ."

(General Adolphe Aumeran, Republican Liberty Party of France.)

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"Is the deepseated French opposition to German rearmament really justified?

"In the attempt to answer this question it will be helpful to review the figures of what the last three German invasions have cost France. . . .

"In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, in which France was invaded and defeated, the nation lost 58,000 men killed. Paris underwent a 10-month siege. At the end of the war, France lost two of its richest provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, and had to pay to the new German Empire an indemnity of a billion gold dollars.

"In the first World War, France whose northeast quarter bore the brunt of the German invasion, lost 1,250,000 men killed. This represented for a nation of 40,000,000 a terrible toll. At the end of the war, France's claim to reparations was evaluated at 50 billion gold dollars.

"In World War II, France lost 560,000 men killed. As to material damage, the French reparations claims, as published by the semi-official *Le Monde* on Aug. 4, 1945, are illuminating indeed. Direct damages to France are estimated at 13.8 billion gold dollars.

This figure includes: 40.7 billion francs damage to French agriculture; 41.8 billion to industry and commerce; 96.5 billion to transportation and communications; 17.4 billion to war materiel; 249.6 billion to real estate and personal property, of which almost two-thirds is in private dwellings; 30.6 billion in preliminary and accessory reconstruction charges, and 49.6 billion to special regions such as the east boundary departments and Tunisia."

(From D'Artagnan III [Paris] to *The Daily Compass.*)

". . . The unilateral rearmament of Germany is difficult to realize, certainly dangerous and would probably be ineffectual. . . . Germany is unanimous in refusing to be the mercenary of Europe which, after having prevented her from winning her war against Russia, now means to make her endure, in the name of liberty and democracy, a war in which she is not interested. . . . Those who (in Germany) accept or desire, without saying it publicly, the idea of rearmament, the military for example, propose unacceptable conditions. . . .

"Let us now consider the political dangers. . . . Is it in order to defend Europe that Germany desires to regain immediately a major portion of her military potential? In reality, she aspires to regain her lost unity, and that is the great danger of unilateral German rearmament. . . . Will we have to repay Germany's cooperation by promising to help her reconquer her lost territories? . . . Finally, is it not a constant factor in German policy to seek in the East a counterbalance to the strength of the West? So it was in 1813, 1814, 1815, 1863, 1873, 1881, 1887, 1918 with Brest-Litovsk, 1922 and 1926 with Rapallo, 1939 with the German-Soviet agreement.

"Are we so sure that by favoring German rearmament without integrating it in a real European organization, we will not supply Germany with the means of changing sides effectively?"

(Edouard Bonnefous, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly.)

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"In 1951, more than half a million young Germans who once belonged to the old Hitler Youth and were indoctrinated in early adolescence in the cult of racism, of a fierce will to power and of the most primitive kind of militarism, will reach voting age. . . . Are you not afraid that to give arms back to them in any form whatsoever will awaken in the entire German nation an aggressive spirit, dangerous for the peace of the world?"

(Charles Serre of the French Democratic Union of Independents.)

"Substantial elements of West Germany's press are conducting a vigorous campaign to treat the emergency measures of destruction taken by the United Nations forces in their retreat in Korea as substantially identical to the atrocities against civilian populations committed by the Nazis during World War II. The campaign is part of a broader effort, intensified since the West indicated its intention to seek German military manpower for European defenses, to repudiate the war guilt for which German leadership was tried and convicted by the war crimes tribunals at Nuremberg."

(From Ernest Leiser to the ONA)

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

"In common with most Americans, I have sat on the side lines during these past five years, believing that the complicated problems relating to America's foreign relations should be in the hands of professional diplomats.

"The bungling of our occupation in Germany, however, convinces me that the plain common sense of the average American and his strong attachment to moral principle would be far more effective guides in the conduct of foreign relations than the sleight of hand maneuvers of our leading officials in Germany.

"There is a great to-do today about appeasing Red China and, of course, the overwhelming majority of the American people would resent any actions that would compromise the basic principles of the United Nations and American security. Yet appeasement is the very 'policy' which is pursued by our leading officials in Germany with the apparent blessings of Washington.

"Mr. McCloy has gone so far as to assure the Germans that the Allies will make every effort to prove our good faith to the former enemy. In other words, the German tactic of maneuvering us into a position where we ask for forgiveness is making alarming headway, thanks to our own 'experts' in Germany.

"In effect, this so-called policy of accommodating the Germans is strengthening their plan to rewrite the history of the past ten years. The Allies become the culprits and are accused of besmirching the 'honor' of the German militarists. General Eisenhower is viciously attacked as a leader of the 'hard peace' school. The Allies are charged with strengthening the hands of communism in Europe, because they defeated the Nazi aggressors.

"This rewrite job of recent history has its willing hands in the United States. One only needs to refer to 'The High Cost of Vengeance' written by the ex-communist, Freda Utley, and to William Henry Chamberlain's new book, 'America's Second Crusade.' The Utley book is a clumsy defense of German war criminals and a vicious attack against the principles of the Nuremberg Charter. Chamberlain's book is a bit more refined. As far as Mr. Chamberlain is concerned, the 'arch villain' who dragged us into war against those peaceful Germans, was President Roosevelt.

"In addition to these 'masterpieces,' the country is being flooded with books glorifying Nazi generals. Only recently, the 'romantic' memoirs of Otto Skorzeny were published in this country. Skorzeny was Hitler's strong-arm gangster.

"This new outburst of the German 'version' of the history of the past ten years is directly connected with the tendency, to say the least, of our policy makers in Germany to bend over backwards. If some of our policy makers are aghast at the resurgence of neo-Nazi and militaristic trends in Germany, they have only themselves to blame. It all goes back to the old saying, that 'he who sows, shall reap the whirlwind'—and the American people will have to pay a heavy price for the 'mistakes' of our policy makers.

"The only consolation in this fantastic picture is the existence of a magazine such as 'PREVENT WORLD WAR III,' which insists on keeping the record straight."

L. K.
New York

Dear Sir:

". . . In the first place we wish to thank you cordially for having placed our name on your regular mailing list. A complete set of your MONTHLY BULLETIN from its inception to No. 34 of March/April, 1950 has now arrived here and will be displayed in our periodicals reading room in a prominent place so as to attract a maximum number of readers.

"We should be glad if we could help you in your efforts so important to mankind. . . .

"Looking forward to the regular receipt of your MONTHLY BULLETIN and with repeated thanks I am."

DR. C. WORMANN, Director
Jewish National Library
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Sir:

"Thanks for fine letter. Enclosed is a contribution to help such a worthy cause, wish it could be more.

"My interest in your literature has continued ever since I received the first copy, some two years ago. You are doing a remarkable piece of work."

HELEN R. MERRY
No. Edgecomb, Maine

Dear Sir:

"Ever since the time of my association with the International Military Tribunal sitting in judgment over the major German War criminals at Nurnberg, Germany, I am called upon to address lodges, civic groups, etc., regarding the 'Problem of Germany.'

"Now I am being asked with increasing frequency to speak on the problem of Renazification and Remilitarization of Germany. While I am trying to keep more or less abreast of the news, I find that I am running out of facts and documented authentic material. The research facilities in Chicago are inadequate and it happens that I find myself embarrassed for want of answers to specific questions put to me by the audience.

"Will you please help me by sending me some of your material? Some years ago, I used to receive your excellent bulletin but I have not seen it in a long time. I would also appreciate receiving occasionally some of your other literature on the subject of Germany to help me get the point across that Germany is still (or better: again) threatening the peace of the world and that the policy of rearming the Germans may be disastrous for the United States."

PETER LESS
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

"Thank you for your letter and the parcel containing the copies and other publications of the Society for the Prevention of World War III.

"How necessary your work is, becomes more evident day by day. One has only to look at the news from Germany. Here is a small collection of items within my own limited reach: . . .

"(a) The German language newspaper 'Aufbau,' in New York, reprints the text of two anti-semitic poems of the Sturmer type, distributed with exposed swastikas to the population in Bonn.

"(b) 'The United Nations World' published an article entitled 'New Watch on the Rhine.' This most informative report (after yours) should be reprinted widely. It reveals once again Germany's 'double soul.' The world, in spite of all, seems not to understand that Germany is the tinderbox of Europe. Democracy is offered to a people, who, since 1848, openly despised and spit on democracy.

"(c) The magazine 'Reporter' of New York, devoted one of its issues to Germany. It was entitled 'The New Germany.' Nevertheless, the picture on the cover of the magazine still symbolizes the old Germany. Who will understand that the German soldier is waiting for his time?

"As a reader, I have sent a contribution to the editor of the 'Reporter.' But there is something wrong in principle with all these publications. They explain Germany and make her popular again, while they should condemn her for her crimes and tear off the mask from her sanctimonious face, as it is done in PREVENT WORLD WAR III."

JOSEPH J. BASCHINSKI
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Sir:

"Your publication is of very great interest to our library, and I am taking this opportunity of asking you whether you would be kind enough to present it to us as from January this year.

"As we are most anxious to have as complete a collection as possible of your publication, might I further ask you whether it would be possible to send numbers 1-27, and 29-34 in order to complete our existing collection."

NORMAN S. FIELD
Chief Assistant Librarian
United Nations Library
Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Sir:

"Quite by chance a copy of your excellent publication came to my hands yesterday. I was enthralled. It is the only thing I've read that makes 100% common sense. . . .

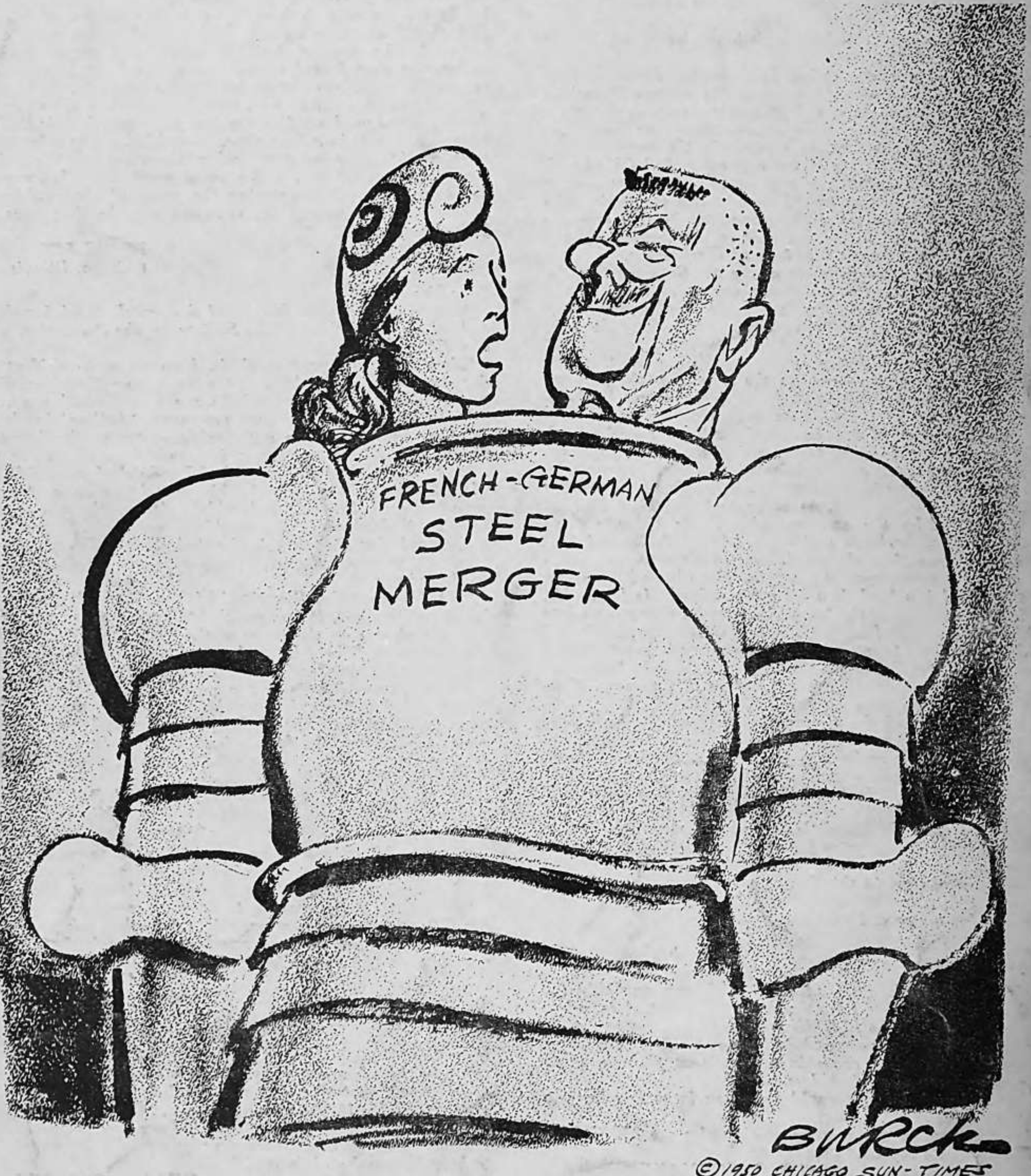
"May I ask if your publication has been brought to the attention of the 'League of Women Voters'; an organization certainly trying to keep its members informed."

JULIE M. GERECKE
Webster Groves, Missouri

Dear Sir:

"It was kind of you to send me the advance copy of the magazine with the chapter from my book. The issue as a whole struck me as exceptionally interesting, and I read with special attention the article on Back-Door Trading Between Ruhr Industrialists and the Iron Curtain Countries—a fine and useful piece of reporting."

A. C.
Washington, D. C.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"FANCY MEETING YOU HERE!"

No. 38
SUMMER ISSUE
1951

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. **Tel.: PLaza 3-4985**

No. 38 **Summer Issue, 1951**

Where Are We Going?

Six years ago Nazi Germany's bid for world conquest was thrown back and defeated. The U. S. A. with its mighty power and prestige possessed the unprecedented opportunity to rid the world of the scourge of German militarism. Indeed, the U. S. A. was the only nation that had the means to enforce that policy.

Did we seize that leadership? Have we blazed new paths to peace for a war-torn world? Have we discarded the discredited formulae which the Allies applied to Germany after World War I? Today the answers are crystal clear. We are forfeiting the unique position we held at the end of the war. The fruits of our victory have been squandered and once again we are turning our backs on the lessons of history.

We pledged that Germany's vast economic power would be reduced to genuine peacetime requirements. We pledged that Germany would never again be permitted to use her economic might to over-lord her neighbors.

> TODAY Germany's industrial production rate is rapidly approaching the level of the armament boom under Hitler, and is outstripping the economic development of her former victims.

We pledged that the Allies would not subsidize the resurgence of Germany's war potential.

> SINCE VE Day the American taxpayers have poured billions into Germany, which are partly subsidizing the tremendous flow of strategic materials from Western Germany to the Soviet Bloc.

We pledged that the Nazi and criminal elements, which had led the conspiracy against the peace would be uprooted.

> TODAY millions of Nazis have regained their former positions. Leading Hitler supporters are back in their key posts in government and in industry. Notorious war criminals like Alfred Krupp, Flick, Von Weiszaecker and the Farben gang are freed.

We pledged that the German trusts and cartels which provided the sinews of Hitler's war-making power would be broken up.

> TODAY the German cartels are flourishing because Military Government advisers sabotaged the decartelization program.

We pledged that German militarism would be stamped out.

> TODAY Hitler's generals are rapidly regaining their former estate and are trying to dictate American policy.

We pledged that an end would be put to German chauvinism and Pan-Germanism.

> TODAY these forces are in the open again. The minions of these pernicious influences have declared their intention to attain that place in the sun which Hitler, the Kaiser, and Bismarck had long promised the Herrenvolk.

We pledged the carying out of a positive program of democratization and education, particularly among the German youth.

> TODAY large sections of the German people, as recent election returns show, are evincing the same conditioning of mind which made them pliable tools of aggression.

The deteriorating situation in Germany is not the product of uncontrollable inanimate forces. It is the result of man-made blunders and vested interests which have neither forgotten nor learned from the lessons of the past.

The original policies of the United States were sound and realistic because they truly corresponded to the needs of our security and the interests of our most reliable friends in Europe. That is why the Society for the Prevention of World War III gave unstinting support to that program.

The Society supported measures to exact stern punishment against those Germans who were responsible for the devastations which had engulfed mankind. We were not guided by motives of vindictiveness. We believed and we still do that this was necessary so as to bring home to the German youth the supreme lesson that "crime does not pay."

The carrying out of this objective was a basic prerequisite in preparing German youth for education in democracy, thereby creating a generation which could be trusted.

The Society supported measures to break up the huge landed estates. The creation of family-sized farms in the democratic tradition of the West would have reduced the present burden of American taxpayers. But the German officials defied these measures and the occupation authorities allowed them "to wither on the vine."

The Society supported a program to develop the potential of German light industries and to de-emphasize German heavy industries. We foresaw that the re-emergence of German industrial might would create one of two dangers to the free world. Either German heavy industry would once again upset normal commercial relations through cartel and undercutting practices which were its hallmarks—or that German heavy industry would turn its face to its Eastern hinterland and thereby build up the war potential of the Iron Curtain countries.

But influential men in Military Government with close ties to German cartelists took the "easy way out," and launched a plan to revive Germany's heavy industrial power. The result: hundreds of millions of dollars worth of strategic materials are being shipped to the East with the connivance of the German authorities.

As we build up Germany's power more and more, what will be the end result? As all political parties in Germany are clamoring for the return of their lost Eastern provinces, will Germany make a deal with the Soviets at the expense of Poland and Czechoslovakia, or will Germany drag the Western world into a new catastrophe for her own ends—the recreation of a new German Reich?

THERE ARE HONEST GERMANS . . .

"To the Editor of The Saturday Evening Post
"Philadelphia, Pa.

"Dear Sir:

"Having read the article 'The Germans are Allies now' I can only warn you not to fool yourselves! We Germans have not the slightest intention to fight for anything else but our own country and our own national interests. We will fight for Danzig and Koenigsberg, for Stettin and Breslau, but we will not fight for Brussels and Paris, not for Churchill's London and for Morgenthau's Washington!

"You may fool yourselves in thinking that a few job-hungry generals and the Quislings in Bonn represent the will of the German people; you will soon be awakened of this dream, if you dare to make a plebiscite in Western Germany. As long as we are still refused our liberty and national unity, we patriotic Germans have only one answer: 'Ohne uns!' *(Without us!)*

"Sincerely yours,

"Dr. Otto Strasser"

(From the "Deutsch-Amerikanische Burger-Zeitung.")

Editorials

TO PRESERVE THE PEACE

In the No. 36 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III the late Secretary of the Society, Mr. C. Monteith Gilpin, discussed the proposals of Secretary of State Acheson to set up a Peace Observation Committee responsible to the General Assembly of the United Nations and whose basic mission is to, "observe and report on the situation in any area where there exists international tension, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." Mr. Gilpin characterized this proposal as one which, *"gives clear expression to the determination of the United States to truly make the United Nations the all-embracing force for peace and security which it was originally intended to be."*

The Peace Observation Commission is a sort of permanent trouble shooting agency covering the entire globe and acting as a preventive rather than as a curative operation. It consists of 14 nations, including the most powerful, namely the United States, Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union. As one experienced observer pointed out, the rest of the member nations were chosen with the greatest care: "Three prominent neutrals were chosen—India, Israel, and Sweden—and rigid geographical representation was observed in the other selections."

The Commission, which may have the biggest assignment in U. N. history, is one of the best rounded the Assembly has ever set up. It is important to reiterate the mission of this Commission, namely that it endeavors to prevent rather than cure tensions which could explode. Undoubtedly, nations guilty of creating great dangers to world security and peace will look with disfavor on this Commission, for in effect, the P. O. C. becomes the eyes and ears of all of the members of the United Nations, which means the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world. It is not hamstrung by artificial impediments, and if its powers are wisely used, it can do a great deal to alert the world before damage is done.

Mr. Gilpin was not only speaking for himself when he praised the initiative of the Secretary of State in this matter, but he also reflected the general sentiments of the Society. Ever since the German situation became explosive, the Society has endeavored to find ways and means whereby disaster could be averted in that part of the world. With this in mind we communicated with the Secretary General of the United Nations in August, 1950, recommending that the Security Council empower his office, "to form a fact-finding committee to investigate the four zones of Germany on the specific problem of industrial rearmament and remilitarization." We suggested that the report of this committee should then be submitted to the Security Council for further action. This proposal was prompted by the reports that in the Eastern and Western zones of Germany tension was mounting as numerous reports in the press indicated that there are movements afoot to revive Germany's war arsenal and her military power.

We declared that it was our considered view that, "*a race to rearm the Germans by the occupying powers will inevitably increase tensions to a point where the smallest incident could set off a new conflagration.*" (See No. 36 PREVENT WORLD WAR III, p. 17.)

It may or may not be true that the specifics of our proposal are feasible, but certainly the principle deserves the attention of our security-minded peoples. This is where the Peace Observation Commission, established on the initiative of the United States, comes in. It is our firm conviction that one of the great public services this Commission could render to humanity would be in Germany. We think the time is long overdue for an objective report regarding the question of remilitarization in Germany. In view of the impact of such a development on world security and peace, can anyone deny that the P. O. C. would be discharging its proper responsibilities by an on-the-spot investigation of industrial rearmament and remilitarization in the four zones of Germany?

Whatever the substance of P. O. C. observations, we have no doubt that the result will be a salutary one. The peoples of the world are entitled to know the truth, and their opinions, in the long run, are a far more trenchant corrective than is generally realized. The P. O. C., therefore, should receive the warmest support in all of its endeavors, and as it starts its work, we hope that one of the first items of business will be Germany.

NEW GENERATION—SAME METHODS

On March 6, 1924 Chancellor Gustav Stresemann told the German Reichstag, "*International debt does not merely mean debt slavery; it also means an interest on the part of the creditor nation in the well-being of the debtor nation.*" This cynical view was to govern Germany's tactics in dealing with the Allies who were in the process of doling out huge sums to the Germans, ostensibly for German rehabilitation. Herr Stresemann, however, seized this opportunity to exploit politically the interests of the creditor nations to Germany's advantage and to the disadvantage of the peaceable development of Europe. But the advantage of maintaining the slogan, "debt slavery," to whip up the fires of German nationalism, was never surrendered by Stresemann and company. It worked.

Stresemann's line was pursued with great success by Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's rearmament wizard. And now it seems that the present lot of German politicians, including Chancellor Adenauer, a close friend of the late Stresemann, are attempting a repeat performance. Ever since the end of the war the Germans were given to understand that their rehabilitation came first and that such a policy would have the full support of the Allied powers, come what may. This provided the Germans with ample room to conduct economic policies at home that were not so much designed to effect a rapid recovery and thereby reduce Allied expenditures to a minimum, but on the contrary, to place the greater burden of "rehabilitation" on the Allies. It is true that the Allies have made some claims on the Germans for services rendered. But they become insignificant when compared to what the former enemy has managed to extract from the occupying powers to date. (See p. 8 Editorial, "They Dine—and Whine!") Thus the West German government is not at all adverse to going into debt, since it feels that the Allies will do everything to guarantee ultimate repayment.

A hint of things to come in this connection may be seen in the current situation with respect to the operations of the European Payments Union Plan. This Plan is an extension of the Marshall Plan concept of encouraging inter-European trade, establishing salutary export-import relations among the countries of Western Europe, and relaxing trade controls with the ultimate purpose of developing free convertibility of European currencies.

The United States has strongly supported the objectives of this Plan because it was our government's hope that the ultimate result would be to reduce the economic dependence of Western Europe on the United States. Indeed, the United States went so far as to agree to put up 600 million dollars as a reserve fund for the stimulation of the functioning of the Plan. Western Germany was invited to participate on the alleged grounds that European recovery cannot be achieved without that much talked-about German "efficiency," etc. Each country pledged to do everything in its power to make the Plan work.

Unfortunately it appears that Allied economic experts have not read up on the Stresemann tactics during the days of the Weimar Republic. Western Germany entered the Plan with a great deal of publicity and fanfare, and the German politicos announced to the world that they would "carry the ball" toward reviving European trade and reducing the burdens of the American taxpayers. The deeds of the Germans, however, are in sharp contrast to their professions of cooperation.

It wasn't long before the Germans began to utilize the E. P. U. Plan for their own selfish purposes. In the first place, Western Germany began to import a flood of luxury goods which had little to do with "rehabilitation." Secondly, German importers conducted an orgy of speculation on raw materials hoping to corner huge amounts in the face of the rearmament programs of Western Europe. Germany's debts began to snowball, thanks to these reckless activities. Thus, by November of last year, after only five months of the E. P. U.'s existence, Western Germany ran through its initial credit quota of 320 million dollars. The question then arose as to whether Germany should pay for future purchases in gold, which she is supposed to be without. It soon became clear that German trade during the past few years had been built up for the most part on I. O. U.'s based on the handouts of the occupying powers, in spite of the fact that the West German Economics Minister, Ludwig Erhard, had at one time challenged other countries of Western Europe to join the Germans in making their currencies convertible. The fact of the matter is that this crisis proved conclusively that Erhard was bluffing and was merely trying to ingratiate himself with Allied officials, particularly with the Americans.

But this debt of 320 million dollars did not phase the Germans, because they were confident that their creditors would take additional measures to keep that debt liquid. Hence the other members of the E. P. U. agreed to provide the Germans with another 120 million dollars which was supposed to last until July 1951. This new credit was given on condition that the Germans would place their financial transactions in good order. However, by the end of February of this year the Germans had ignored these conditions and the credits were wholly committed. Thus, as the *Manchester Guardian,* March 15, 1951 states: "But Germany now had a wealth of raw material stocks in a time of growing shortage, while her creditors had only money on account. Her purchases in this period will take months to liquidate. To be blunt, she has been financing her industrial expansion out of her neighbors' pockets. Her neighbors, who have been caught in this trap before—in the 20's, and by Dr. Schacht—are not pleased."

But this is only part of the story. It is no longer a secret that German exporters are salting away abroad a substantial part of the proceeds of the sales which ordinarily should have been utilized to pay back the approximately 500 million dollar debt. One authority claims that about 120 million dollars has been illegally exported. It wouldn't surprise us if this was a gross understatement. In discussing this matter, the *London Economist* (March 17, 1951) observes that other member nations are "*in effect financing a substantial export of capital from Germany.*" *The New York Times* (February 26, 1951), reporting on French opinion, says: "In France there is some tendency to wonder whether the Bonn Government has been going into debt on purpose, as experience in the pre-war period might indicate."

Supposedly the Germans are now trying to correct the situation, but the measures she has taken have merely intensified the commercial crisis in Western Europe. The Dutch have been particularly hit by the tactics of the Germans who have abruptly cut off agricultural imports from the Netherlands. The worsening of the economic situation in the Netherlands may result in deferring "still further the few remaining hopes of completing the Benelux Union." (*London Economist,* March 17.) In other words, the economic master minds of Germany are not helping to strengthen Western economic solidarity, but on the contrary, they are ruthlessly undermining the economic strength of their neighbors.

In all this it is appropriate to ask, where are the occupying powers—are they going to be fooled all the time—why don't they do something about it? That the most that can be expected from our officials in Germany is merely an expression of a pious wish that the Germans will behave, can be seen from the latest report of Mr. John J. McCloy on this subject. He speaks vaguely about a program to alleviate the economic crisis brought on by the Germans and concludes his remarks with the following gem: "It must be hoped that the Federal Government will pursue the necessary course in a serious and responsible manner."

But why should the Germans take any action in a serious and responsible manner to correct this dangerous and malignant economic development? Time and again they have sabotaged Allied policies, and the end result has always been capitulation on the part of our policy makers.

DOES CO-DETERMINATION MEAN FREE ENTERPRISE?

In his informative study, "German Industry on the Warpath, 1860-1939," Bernhard Menne discusses the growth of German monopolies and cartels on the eve of World War I. In this connection he observes: "*While the Imperial Secretary of State, Count Posadowsky, taking the cue from his imperial master, praised the process of industrial concentration as 'a step in the progress of civilization' the central organ of the German Social Democratic Party, the Berlin Vorwaerts (in 1905), described the same process as 'a great step in the direction of socialism.' During the discussion on the cartel question the attacks and arguments of those hostile to the cartels filled volumes of debate, but there were no socialist arguments among them.*"

As far as the German Social Democrats were concerned, the amalgamation of smaller industrial undertakings into big concerns was regarded as an important move toward socialism. This attitude on the part of the German Social Democrats at the turn of the century was a great influence on the thinking of the German trade union leadership, which in many cases sought to defend Germany's growing industrial concentration and her imperialist bid for world hegemony. During the first world war a leading German trade unionist, W. Jansson wrote: "Our trade union successes are based on the fact that German industry has become an industry working for the world market. The ruin of German industry would be the ruin of the German working class." The Nazis took advantage of this traditional approach to the development of the German economy by an important section of the German trade union leadership, and under the pretext of defending German independence against alleged enemies, they accelerated the development of industrial concentration and cartelization.

This brief summary of the way important elements in the German trade union leadership have dealt with the problem of German monopolies and cartels may help to explain the great desire of the German trade unions today to exercise co-determination in the heavy industries of the Ruhr. The Germans have a name for that policy. It is called "Mitbestimmung." According to this view the trade unions believe it is their duty to participate in the determination of policy in private industry. Therefore, they have insisted on representation on the highest levels in the various industries and made it a paramount issue, even going so far as to threaten a general strike to achieve this objective.

It is undoubtedly true that a vigorous trade union movement in Germany, democratically organized and run, can, together with other elements of society, be of value in fashioning a democratic structure both industrially and politically. Whether this policy of co-determination will accomplish this goal is open to question in view of the past attitude of the German trade union leadership, which has displayed servility to the German monopolies and cartels and has indeed defended them.

The fear lest this policy of co-determination may turn out to be a weapon of the German cartels has been expressed by American trade unionists. Certainly American trade unions at home do not condone monopolies and cartels. The question arises, what about their counterparts in Western Germany? According to the *United States News and World Report,* February 23, 1951, Allied officials are suspicious, "that secret deals were made under which German labor will back the industrialists against American 'trust busters' in the final Ruhr re-organization." The report went on to say that these same officials expressed the fear that, "the plan means the end of real unions in Germany, that the unions will collapse eventually when their strength is most needed as a democratic force." The *U. S. News and*

World Report broached the subject with a leading American trade unionist in Germany. According to the magazine, the American trade unionist contended: *"that experience in the German steel industry shows that labor leaders who have become salaried corporation directors tend to take the management viewpoint . . . they develop a vested interest in their management jobs and in the earnings of their companies. . . ."*

On the basis of the past record of German trade union leadership, this danger cannot be overlooked, especially when it is noted that among those who have been most insistent on obtaining the German "price" for joining the Schuman Plan, have been the German trade unions. *The Manchester Guardian* of March 15, 1951 disclosed that Herr August Schmidt, leader of the Ruhr miners, wrote Chancellor Adenauer insisting that before the Germans agree to the Schuman Plan, four conditions must be met. These conditions are as follows:

1. A decisive portion of Ruhr coal should be kept under control of the German steel industry.
2. The German coal cartel must be preserved.
3. The Germans are to pay but a minimum in the common pool to be established to equalize economic conditions throughout Western Europe when the Schuman Plan comes into operation.
4. The High Authority to be established under the Schuman Plan must be deprived of "excessive powers."

These demands, as a matter of fact, are precisely the same conditions put forth by the Ruhr barons as their price for accepting the Schuman Plan. This striking identification of interests lends further weight to the caution expressed by Allied officials with regard to the policy of co-determination.

> **"A Church of Scotland committee warned against the 'folly' of permitting the formation of a new West German army and general staff.**
>
> **"In a report on international affairs to be presented to the church's national assembly May 22, the committee said:**
>
> **" 'The prospect of anything resembling a reconstituted Wehrmacht and general staff is repugnant, not merely to the emotions, but to the moral sense of those recently devoted to its destruction.**
>
> **" 'We must draw attention to the grave statements of church leaders in both East and West zones as to the folly of allowing a new German army to be created in the west. . . .' "**
>
> ***(From an Associated Press dispatch.)***

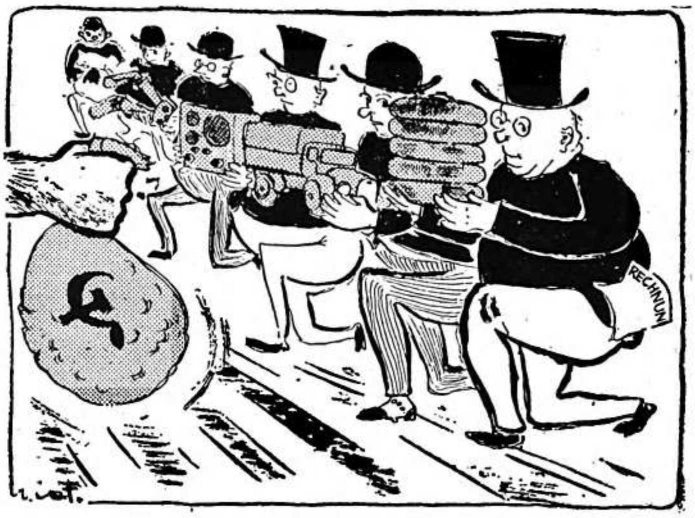
> **"At the same time that the West Germans want more American troops to protect them against the threat of the Red Army, a steady stream of strategic materials is rolling out of Germany to help arm that Red army.**
>
> **"This secret aid to Russia does not represent the real sentiment of the West German people or their new Bonn government. But it does represent the sell-both-sides-down-the-river attitude of the big industrialists. These are the same industrialists who cozied up to Hitler and made his rearmament possible. . . ."**
>
> ***(By Drew Pearson in "The Washington Merry-Go-Round.")***

It should be pointed out that the Ruhr industrialists and the Adenauer Government have not been opposed to this so-called co-determination program, in principle. They are interested, however, in seeing to it that co-determination develops in a way which would guarantee the support of the German trade unions, regardless of the policies the Ruhr industrialists pursue in the future. *The London Economist,* in discussing this question, says outright that: "the union leaders support cartels and vertical trusts in the Ruhr" (February 10, 1951). The letter written by Herr Schmidt seems to support this observation.

It goes without saying that a free enterprise system is at complete variance with the policy of co-determination in industry. In this sense co-determination runs counter to the stated objectives of our government to democratize the German economy. We have always been skeptical about the Germans' pretensions to free enterprise. Many of our leading officials in Germany have tried to convey the impression that the Germans were expiating their past sins and for all intents and purposes were determined to become genuine proponents of free enterprise.

We will not attempt to predict the outcome of this so-called experiment in partnership with the Ruhr barons. Nevertheless, we would remind our readers of the report appearing as early as April 11, 1950 in *The New York Times,* where comment on the principle of co-determination concluded with these words: *"Observers note that both trade unions and employers apparently agreed in principle on the creation of organizations resembling those sanctioned in Mussolini's corporate state."* If co-determination works out that way, the hopes of democracy in Germany will become black indeed.

Money Doesn't Smell for West German Industrialists



Welt der Arbeit, Köln

PAN-GERMANISM VIA ARGENTINA

The announcement of Argentina's President, Juan Peron, that his scientists have unravelled the secrets of atomic energy is a momentous event which should be pondered by all security minded Americans.

To understand the significance of the Peron boast, it is important to grasp the fact that South America and in particular, Argentina, is a decisive link in the German plan for resurgence. This is the view of many astute students of Pan-Germanism, including Professor Frederick Wilhelm Foerster. It is also the judgment of the famous Blue Book prepared by our State Department in February, 1946.

The State Department's Blue Book revealed the close ties ideologically, militarily, politically, and economically, between Nazi Germany and Argentina. The information contained therein was supported by incontrovertible documentation. *"In Argentina,"* the Blue Book states, *"the Germans have constructed a complete duplicate of the economic structure for war which they had in Germany. . . .*

"The industries essential to warfare in which experimentation in the weapons of future wars may take place and in which prototypes may be developed, exist in Argentina and are controlled by Germans."

This charge is amply supported by lists of prominent Nazis who dominate the major industries of Argentina. The Blue Book declares that the Germans not only dominate, but control the electrical machinery and equipment industries in that country. They also dominate and control the metallurgical industries, and the influence of I. G. Farben in the chemical industry is beyond question.

Writing in the *Washington Post* of March 10, 1946, the newspaper correspondent, Sigrid Arne, reports that Nazi domination of Argentine heavy industry "would about tie together the major industries needed to turn out atomic bombs."

During the war the United States was quite aware of the Nazi influence in Argentina and the threat it presented to the Allied cause. The Government had conducted detailed studies of the tactics of the Germans in preserving their scientific knowhow after World War I. These were valuable studies, because they were intended to serve as guides for the future policies of the United States in coping with whatever plans the Germans had to evade the consequences of their aggressions.

Among the government agencies which pioneered in these investigations, was the Enemy Branch of the United States Foreign Economic Administration. In its definitive report on a program for German economic and industrial disarmament, the FEA revealed how the Germans fooled the Allies after World War I. When the Germans, according to the FEA, realized that their scientific research would be supervised by the Allies, they immediately developed cunning methods by which they could thwart Allied supervision. "Appeals abroad for help led to a flow of funds, food packages, laboratory equipment, and scientific publications. I. G. Farben and other German firms contributed equipment and materials . . . although these humanitarian activities ostensibly were for the purpose of preserving learning in a disrupted society, it may be noted that the organizers were five prominent scientists known in Germany for their Pan-German views or their long collaboration with the General Staff. Military research in the post-war period (after World War I) appears to have been started with the support of these funds." In other words, the Allies, by grabbing the German bait on the alleged grounds of humanitarianism, started the ball rolling for German science which was dedicated to their destruction.

Another ruse employed by the Pan-German scientists consisted in establishing research centers in other countries. In this connection the FEA report disclosed that: "In the post-war period the active planning to rebuild the German war machine extended outside Germany. Some plants and many German scientists moved to foreign countries beyond the jurisdiction of the Allied Military Control Commission to experiment with and produce military products." In this way German scientists and technicians were able to experiment in agreement with the Russians on Russian territory while similar activities went on in Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain. In Spain, for example, the Germans constructed submarines which had been prohibited under the terms of the treaty of peace. Thus, through subterfuge at home and in covert agreement with other countries, German science and technology dedicated to destruction were able to keep abreast of new military techniques and indeed to surpass the Allied powers.

The FEA, cognizant of these past activities, and alert to the dangers of the atomic bomb in the post-war period, pointed out the imperativeness of controlling German scientific research, particularly with regard to atomic energy. It recommended that the Allies and the United Nations *"control the disposition and use of German industrial properties and the activities of German technical personnel beyond the borders of the Reich."* It urged that the United States insist that all neutrals and former neutrals cooperate with the Allies toward accomplishing this objective. *"Surely in the sharp glare of the atomic bomb,"* the FEA stated, *"the spectre of German technicians free to utilize their material resources and industrial facilities as they will outside Germany, cannot be viewed without the greatest concern by the Allies, the United Nations or the neutrals themselves."*

We have quoted extensively from the FEA report so as to anticipate excuses by our leading Government officials that they were not properly advised regarding the problem of controlling German scientific research, particularly in the atomic field. Yet the bitter fact is that practically nothing has been done during the past five years to halt the influx of German Nazi scientists to Argentina and to its Axis partner in Europe, Franco-Spain. It is a matter of public record that Spain and Argentina have served as safe havens for Nazi war criminals, including Hitler's leading scientists, ever since the end of the war. Indeed, while our Government has remained silent since the publication of the Blue Book, some courageous Argentinians have dared to expose the Nazi nest in Argentina.

We recall, for example, the courageous voice of Silvano Santander who delivered a devastating exposé in the Argentine Congress in July, 1949 on the infiltration of key Nazis. He named 40 odd individuals including former High Luftwaffe officers, technicians and scientists who were employed by the Argentine Government in one capacity or another. In the January-February, 1950 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III further revelations concerning "The Case of the Nazi Big-wigs in Argentina" were made public by Juan Acevedo. Acevedo mentions the report of Seften Delmer of the *London News Chronicle*, who estimated that there were at least 300 German technicians "working on atomic energy research and new designs for jet propelled aircraft"—and still the U. S. A. remained silent.

The man whom President Peron introduced to the press as the supervisor of atomic research in Argentina was one Dr. Ronald Richter who allegedly came to Argentina from Austria. Dr. Richter denied that he was a Nazi but he did admit, according to the *New York Times* of March 26, 1951, that, "He had worked on nuclear fission in Germany during the war." Whether Herr Richter carried a Nazi party card is basically irrelevant, because we now know that many Nazis were deliberately kept out of the party for strategic reasons—among which was their possible usefulness in the post-war period. Whether Herr Richter falls in this category is not yet known, but we do know that the shadow of Nazi scientists looms large over scientific research in Argentina.

To understand, however, the future implications of the Peron announcement, whether it be true or plain bluff, it is necessary to comprehend the fact that Pan-Germanism is a driving force which has never given up its dream of world domination. It operates on all levels as can be seen in the case of Argentina. The Germans believe in the future of Argentina. They regard it as the nucleus for the advancement of their Pan-German dream of outflanking the United States from the south. The penetration of German capital in that strategic area reflects the over-all strategy.

In 1918, for example, German capital invested in Argentina was estimated to be around 250 million dollars. In 1926 it reached the figure of 375 million dollars, or an increase of 50% in eight years. Immediately after the end of the war one authority estimated that big business in Germany and in its satellite countries invested and deposited some 1 billion 500 million dollars in Argentina as a safe haven. This huge stake in the destiny of Argentina cannot help but shape the policies of the Peron regime. From the point of view of ideology there is overwhelming evidence, official and unofficial, demonstrating that the leading members of the Argentine military and economic setup have absorbed Nazi indoctrination. Peron himself is a great admirer of the German General Staff and sympathized with the Nazis until he saw the handwriting on the wall. Then, for public consumption, he switched sides.

Argentina, as the future bulwark of Pan-Germanism, was noted by a leading Nazi writer, Dr. Thierfelder. In his booklet published in 1939 he wrote: "It is Germany's decisive advantage over Britain and North America that she can rely on a strong German element in those countries." Dr. Thierfelder looked upon South America and Argentina as "a bulwark of German kultur."

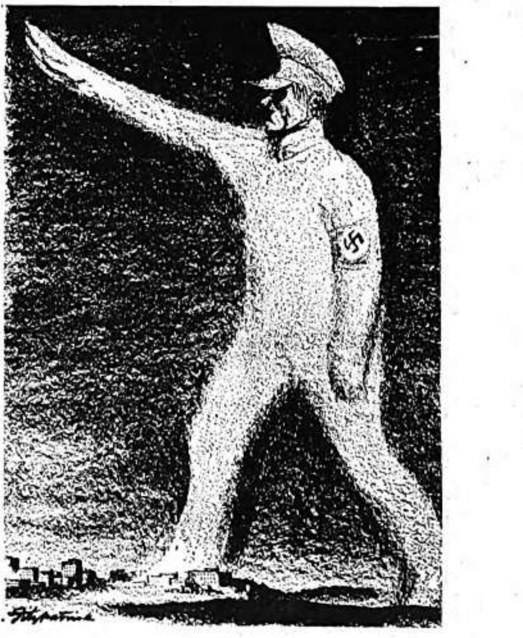
Another German publicist wrote in 1938 about the Nazis in South America, "if they changed their nationality that change had no effect upon their inner attitude toward the German people." *The London Times* of 1938 reported that in Argentina the children of German parentage were taught in private schools to say, "Heil Hitler," but had never heard of San Martin, the liberator of the Argentine and of half of South America. All of these facts go to explain the meaning of the persecution, for example, of independent newspapers in Argentina. The celebrated case of *La Prensa* represents the climax of such persecution—for *La Prensa* dared to remain independent and time and again exposed Nazi influence.

In contrast, the organ of Pan-Germanism in Argentina, *Der Weg*, continues to pour out its spleen against the Allied cause. The magazine openly defends Pan-Germanism, the German officers' cliques, certain features of Nazism, etc.—all under the cover of a pseudo European ideal. It has been authoritatively reported that *Der Weg* is the principal propaganda sheet of powerful Nazi circles in Germany. It speaks for Nazi militarists who have been sheltered by the Peron regime, including Goering's leading flier, Hans Ulrich Rudel, and General Adolf Galland, who headed Goering's Fighter Command. (More detailed information on *Der Weg* will be found in the No. 35 issue, 1950 of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, under the title: "Der Weg—Mouthpiece of Pan-Germanism.")

All these facts should be carefully considered by our diplomats in their efforts to strengthen hemispheric solidarity in the face of totalitarian dangers. They must ponder the fact that in the heart of the Freedom Camp is a new bulwark of Nazism which has or may in the near future split the atom.

The Society for the Prevention of World War III was long aware of the Pan-German plans to rebuild their war potential abroad. In a *New York Post* ad dated February 5, 1946 the Society warned: "At this very moment the secret of producing the atom bomb is being feverishly sought in Spain, Argentina, Portugal, Turkey, Sweden and Switzerland—where banks and industries are infested with Germans. German scientists, German technicians and German industrialists are at work everywhere to rebuild Germany's war potential."

A GHOST WALKS IN ARGENTINA



(Cartoon by Fitzpatrick—Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

We do not take pride in this prophetic statement. We would have much more preferred that we were wrong. Yet, like so many other times when we have been right, our warning has gone unheeded.

THEY DINE—AND WHINE!

The potentialities of television were recently demonstrated during the Kefauver Committee investigations concerning connections between racketeering and political machines. Now millions of Americans have received an education which we are certain they will not forget soon.

It is too bad, indeed, that TV has not yet been employed to spotlight the many debates which go on in the German Bonn Parliament. Yet, if the American people were given the opportunity to witness at first hand the antics of the German politicians, they would raise questions which would embarrass a policy that places the Germans on a special pedestal.

The Bonn Parliament has become the scene of bitter tirades against the occupying powers, which were accused of placing "undue burdens" on the German people. The unanimity among all the politicians regardless of party affiliation was most striking. True, the Bonn Parliamentarians have their own special axes to grind, but they invariably join hands when it comes to sniping at the Allies.

The question of Allied occupation costs, like all other issues, has been skillfully propagandized throughout Western Germany. Far be it from the politicians in Bonn to denounce this propaganda. On the contrary, they surreptitiously encourage the press and private vested interests to whoop it up, and when the fires are well fanned they step out in their august robes and carry on the scurrilous attacks in more refined and dignified language. This is the kind of leadership they give to the German people.

Chancellor Adenauer leads the pack, but he is by no means the only one to express indignation over these American "burdens." His Minister of Finance, Dr. Schaeffer, made a long speech in Parliament in which he took issue with the occupation costs. He questioned whether the funds made available to the occupying powers were utilized in a way which would justify what he termed the heavy burden imposed on the population. And while he expressed some appreciation for what the Allies had done for the Germans, he nevertheless insisted that his people had the right to impugn the motives of the occupying powers with regard to the occupation costs.

His speech was a signal for additional attacks by other politicians. Frau Meyer-Saule deplored the Allied "spirit of conquest." Carlo Schmid joined the attack by demanding: "a reduction of obsolete Allied administrative machinery" and "full respect for international law" (sic) ! The politicians further criticized the Allies for suspending the magazine, *Stern*, which deliberately distorted occupation costs and helped to spur nationalistic sentiment.

All of this makes fine propaganda for the Germans, who are apparently convinced in their own hearts that they are a martyred people. One would think that U. S. officials in Germany would counter this propaganda forcefully and effectively. We hear much criticism of the fact that certain countries which receive Marshall aid have been derelict in their responsibility by failing to let their peoples know where the money came from. Somehow or other these criticisms are never directed against the Germans. Yet, in the face of the latest attacks, it became impossible for the office of the American High Commissioner to remain silent. And so, for the first time our officials set down on record what the Allies have done for the Germans since the end of the war.

These facts appeared in the January issue of *Information Bulletin*. Unfortunately, while the information contained in this article is most enlightening, its general tone is apologetic. It is in effect a plea to the Germans to understand how hard the Allies are trying to please them! Thus the game continues. The Germans attack and the Allies take a defensive position.

Nevertheless, the statistics cited in this article are in themselves sufficient grounds for putting the Germans on the defensive. More than that, they could impel American taxpayers to ask why the United States alone will have handed over to the Germans the sum of three billion 969 million dollars from May 8, 1945 to May 31, 1951. This figure, of course, does not take into account the huge sums expended by the British and French for German "rehabilitation." Included in the American aid are surplus materials turned over to the Germans amounting to 236 million dollars, but the article did not say that the original cost of these materials was over one billion dollars! On that basis the total sum poured into Germany by American taxpayers is close to five billion dollars. But this is not the whole picture, as the article itself points out. For example, large sums of foreign exchange credit are accumulated in West Germany when U. S. occupation personnel shop and travel. It is estimated that their total spending amounts to at least 50 million dollars per year. In addition to this expenditure, many millions are spent by the United States State Department on the so-called exchange program, whereby German scientists, farmers, students, etc., "gain subjective knowledge and understanding by valuable practical experience which can sufficiently be applied in reconstructing the homeland."

There is another sum which the article does not mention but which nevertheless is part of American generosity. We refer to the counterpart funds which the Germans place at the disposal of the United States on the basis of their dollar receipts from the Marshall Plan. According to an ECA press release dated January 16, 1951, the total Marshall Plan counterpart funds "authorized for release is now more than 4 billion DM." Roughly, this figure amounts to one billion dollars. And the reader should bear in mind that these counterpart funds are ever increasing. They are invested in the German economy, by the United States and represent a permanent increase in German capital formation.

The article does not rest on this point. It observes that, "Germany does not by any means forfeit the use of the money she pays out for the occupation. Every penny of these costs remains inside Germany and is channeled right back into the German economy." In support of this contention, the article examines the occupation costs for the fiscal year ending March, 1951, which amounted to 1 billion 300 million dollars. Of this amount 415 million dollars "is going into the pockets of some 471,000 Germans, who are employed by the three Allied powers." Other large sums are invested in capital expenditures in the three zones, i.e., the rehabilitation and building up of the German economy, such as utilities, railroads, buildings, etc. Consequently, 854 million dollars of the total occupation costs are channeled right back into the German economy for productive purposes. In addition, 60 million dollars of the occupation costs have been used to pay for restitution claims and the support of D. P.'s—as though this weren't a German responsibility in the first place! In short, about 900 million dollars out of the occupation costs of the fiscal year 1951 have been plowed back into the German economy.

Since the end of the war the United States alone has expended 4 billion 140 million dollars to support its occupation, exclusive of the German contributions. Thus, it is painfully obvious that the amount of money which has gone into the support of the Germans directly and indirectly is astronomical. The overwhelming portion of these billions accrue to the benefit of the Germans. In this connection, it is well worth noting that the Germans do not have a defense budget as such. They pay an infinitesimal amount to the Allies who are protecting them against possible threats from the East. As a result, the German contribution to their Allied defenders is estimated to be about 25% of the federal and state budgets. But the Allies themselves do not get off that easy. In the United States at least 42% of the federal budget is devoted to defense purposes. In the U. K. it is 25% and in France, 35%.

But the story is by no means complete, because, believe it or not, "Germany ended the war with practically no debt." In contrast, the United States debt was increased to 220 billion dollars during the war years, and this excludes the interest charges which run to more than 5 billion dollars annually. The article concludes with the half apologetic statement none the less true: "With these considerations in mind it can be legitimately pointed out that the most recent U. S. appropriation for defense is 42 billion dollars. This represents 14% of the gross national product of the U. S. Under Hitler's Reich 19% of Germany's gross national product went into rearmament. Germany today pays for the total of Allied occupation costs, about 5.5%. There you have it, Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer!

These dry statistics show how far we have travelled away from our stated objectives. We have not only poured billions into the camp of the former enemy, ostensibly for rehabilitation purposes, but we have in effect provided them with an enormous fund of investments free of charge, but at the expense of the American taxpayer. The enormous sums funnelled into Germany by the United States since the end of the war become all the more fantastic when one ponders over the fact that of the billions of dollars in gifts, grants and loans to Marshall Plan countries, the Germans received roughly one quarter of the total amount.

Yet the Germans complain and whine as though they were being crucified. The German Bundestag has now gone so far as to pass an inter-party motion rejecting German "responsibility" for that part of the federal budget dealing with occupation costs. But no one should be fooled by these antics, for behind these whinings the Germans are laughing up their sleeves, and this can be seen from three facts:

Fact 1—Hundreds of millions of dollars worth of war potential equipment have gone from West Germany into the Soviet Bloc.

Fact 2—German reparation payments have been a drop in the bucket compared to their original obligations.

Fact 3—The Germans are not only accepting our aid for "rehabilitation" but they are sending part of it back to the United States at enormous profits. This was recently revealed by a Congressional committee under the chairmanship of Congressman Bonner of North Carolina. What the Germans have done is to resell back to the United States, surplus equipment which they had originally received for purposes of rehabilitation.

This, in brief, is how the Germans express their gratitude to American taxpayers.

"PRUSSIANS ARE PRUSSIANS"

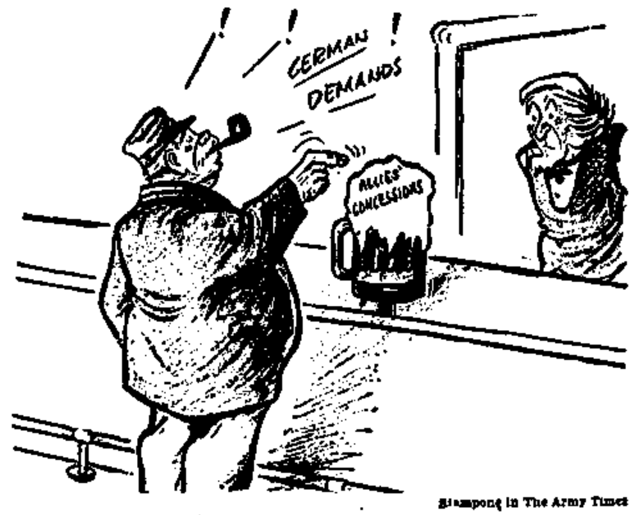
"Former German army officers are trying to give currency to a dangerously smooth misconception. Eberhard Boehm, a former German General Staff colonel who was brought to this country under the auspices of the Moral Rearmament movement, characterized himself at a Washington meeting as a 'soldier who was punished for being a soldier by the same people who now ask me to go back into uniform.'

"The fact of the matter, of course, is that neither Boehm nor any other German officer was punished by the United States for being a soldier. They were punished for committing crimes against humanity under a cloak of military obedience and duty.

"The more German officers indicate by talk of this kind that they still have no conception of what the last world war nor re-education was all about, the more reason there will be for adopting as many of the French-sponsored safeguards against renascent German militarism as are possible in building a West European army. Some Prussians, at least, are still Prussians, and the people of the world should be grateful to Frenchmen for remembering it."

(From the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch.")

"HOW MANY EGGS IN HIS BEER?"



Stampone in The Army Times

A Bold Policy for Peace

by

DEWEY ANDERSON

(Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute)

In doing the two-fold job of preparing adequate defense and negotiating for peaceful solutions of world problems, America needs the guidance of a great declaration of purpose. It must state our aims clearly and challengingly enough to appeal to all people everywhere.

Fundamentally, our purpose should be that of bringing about a necessary and peaceful change in the conditions and hopes of men throughout the world. This is in the great liberating tradition of our country. The peaceful revolution in the American process of liberation is too little known or felt in the world today. It should be given a chance to reshape the character of men and events everywhere as it is doing at home. It is more needed today than ever before.

In order that the constructive and dynamic forces of our American achievement may become effective in the affairs of nations, we call for a new American policy in the world today. We call for a truer and more adequate expression of our deep longing for peace and our belief in freedom and human dignity. We must make it clear that our necessarily great rearmament does not blind us to the need for economic and political aid to others.

Specifically, such a new U. S. policy should make several things clear to the people of the world, and thereby bolster their faith in our sincerity and strengthen their will for cooperation and the peaceful adjustment of differences. These things are:

1. That the American people realize that peace and freedom cannot forever survive want and hunger. We know that men must eat before they can even dream of freedom, and that without food and freedom there can be no good hope for peace among men. We therefore accept the obligation of devoting a considerable part of our daily earnings to help other people start on their march toward freedom from want. We ask only that this contribution be used effectively for those who need it most.

2. That the American people seek no control of other governments or destinies. We repudiate any efforts to use the contribution of the American people for such purposes. In evidence of our good faith we offer all this portion of our daily bread, in whatever form it is given, for distribution through the United Nations, and not through agencies of our own government. In further evidence we offer to share this contribution with people whose governments are antagonistic to our own government.

3. That the American people can always be counted on to help our fellow men achieve political independence. This tradition is evident in our recent efforts on behalf of the people of India, the Philippines and Indonesia. We are aware, too, that independence is not enough; we are interested in helping other people obtain, in addition to political independence, those conditions of security and economic improvement upon which both their national independence and their individual freedom must rest.

4. That the American people believe in the United Nations and want it to be strengthened. We believe the U. N. holds the world's best hope for resisting aggression, obtaining peace, and bringing economic strength and progress to all. So that this world organization may truly represent all the people of the world we ask for a return to the Jeffersonian principle of recognition by the United States of all governments in actual power. We find that the new American doctrine of non-recognition has unnecessarily increased world tension, has aroused improper expectations that American recognition automatically brings financial aid, and has created an incorrect and unfortunate impression that our aim is world control. We believe that all governments which pledge themselves to the U. N. Charter should be admitted to membership in that organization.

5. That our fellow men are dealing at all times with an American people and an American government dedicated to peace. We want them to know this particularly in these times, when great military burdens are being laid upon them and upon us, and when irresponsible individuals in and out of our government are discussing preventive war.

We want them to know that the American people are in control of their own government. That they desire to be friends with all people, including those in Russia and China. That they do not want another world war. That present military preparations were called forth only by the Communist aggression in Korea. That those preparations are, and always will be, solely for resistance to aggression. That the moment our fears of further aggression are ended, if they can ever be, the American people will insist on world disarmament in all types of weapons.

We call for the revision in present policy which will accomplish these five objectives. We deeply believe that there can be unity among the peoples of the world, especially if America is allowed to contribute the human values and dynamic forces it has developed.

BLACKMAILING RUHR BARONS

"France and the United States are being blackmailed blue in the face by Hitler's former friends and money-bags, the steel barons of the Ruhr.

"These hard-eyed gentlemen have been growing noticeably cockier since last September when the Pentagon railroaded the American State Department into asking for the creation of ten German divisions.

". . . They have already compelled the Adenauer government to renege an informal agreement with the High Commission regarding the separation of the German coal and steel industries." *(William H. Stoneman, "St. Louis Post-Dispatch.")*

The Germans Call the Tune

It may well be that April 1951 will turn out to be a fateful month for Europe and, indeed, the world. Its significance was expressed in the word of the *New York Times* correspondent reporting from Bonn, Germany: "Formally wiping out virtually all prohibitions and restrictions on peacetime production in West Germany, the Western occupying powers opened the way for the restoration of Germany as the most powerful industrial nation in Western Europe."

As the *Times* correspondent further observed, this far-reaching decision involves the scrapping of all limitations on German steel production which can, under favorable conditions, easily outstrip the production of steel by her neighbors. But this is not all. The Germans have been granted the right to resurrect key war potential industries ranging from the production of synthetic gasoline and rubber to the manufacture of a variety of electronic tubes. In truth, there is now very little left in the way of limiting Germany's war-making power.

This radical departure from original Allied policy occurs at a moment when the Schuman Plan has received preliminary approval by the participating states and when the decartelization Law No. 27 has undergone significant revisions. One is obliged to raise the question whether the scuttling of the regulations governing the prohibited industries are organically related to the adoption of the Schuman Plan and the further undermining of the decartelization program. We have not seen any official answer to this question. However, the *Wall Street Journal* of April 2, in discussing the breakdown of controls over the prohibited industries, notes: "*The Allies have found it necessary to use their remaining controls to bargain with Germany in the process of getting her cooperation in political developments.*"

Philosophers are constantly debating the question of means versus ends. In our judgment dishonest means can never produce praiseworthy ends. If it is alleged that Germany's cooperation hinges on the Allies' willingness to give her the opportunity to overlord her neighbors again, then there can be no genuine and real cooperation between the Germans and the West in the long run.

As regards the Schuman Plan, the Society has made it clear in previous articles that it does not oppose it in principle. In the face of Communist expansion, Western solidarity is an urgent matter. The strengthening and genuine integration of the economies of Western European countries can operate as an important factor in warding off the Communist challenge. Presumably many sincere supporters of the Schuman Plan believe that it serves this very purpose. On the other hand, should—as we fear—the Schuman Plan turn out to be an instrument enabling the Germans to once again become the dominant force in Western Europe, its primary objective would be defeated.

The possibility that the Plan could be perverted for ulterior ends was expressed by Mr. Walter Lippman as early as May 11, 1950, when he admitted that it "meant the revival of the political and economic influence of Germany in Europe. In any such equal industrial regime as the French are offering, the Germans are bound by their technological and administrative gifts and discipline to play a leading part." The principle of integration is sound providing that the industrial potentials of the countries involved are relatively equal to each other. However, a plan which would enable Germany to become the preponderant factor is not integration, but suicide.

Tied in with the Schuman Plan and therefore with the decision to emasculate the regulations governing the prohibited industries, is the decartelization program. It will be recalled that before the Communist attack in Korea, the Germans were enthusiastic about the Schuman Plan, for they saw in it an opportunity to evade the consequences of their military defeat and to regain their former status in Europe. Jacques Chastenet, in discussing the Schuman Plan (*Harvard Business Review*, March, 1951) says: "As a matter of fact there was perhaps a German idea at the very base of the scheme." The Germans regarded the Plan as a method by which they could gather up juicy political and economic plums at wholesale prices.

Prior to Korea there was a distinct danger that there would be an overproduction in steel. Therefore the cartel interests in Germany looked upon the Schuman Plan as the modern version of the old steel cartel which would be able to regulate production, prices, and markets. After Korea, when the defenses of the West had to be rebuilt, the Germans turned the other way, for they saw in the new crisis an opportunity to get everything for nothing. Thus, to the German tacticians it wasn't a question of joining the Schuman Plan or opposing it, but rather how much they could get out of the Allies. It wasn't long before they began to put the screws on the Schuman Plan. German industrialists began to insist on more "equitable" terms for participation in the Plan. First of all they wanted to take the teeth out of the decartelization law. They insisted on maintaining the vertical trusts in the steel industry which controlled a decisive portion of Ruhr coal. In that way the Ruhr barons would be able to control the industries of other countries as had been done prior to World War II. The Germans opposed the liquidation of the German coal sales organizations which are nothing less than "up-to-date" cartels. They wanted to put a brake on the liquidation of the six major steel and iron combines which had dominated the lives of the European peoples and had provided the sinews for Hitler's war-making power.

But they were not alone in these outrageous demands. Indeed, they were encouraged to take this position by influential circles in the United States who were more interested in developing an entente between the German cartelists and themselves than in the development of a healthy Western European economy which would preclude Germany's resurgence.

This is where the former Secretary of War, Robert P. Patterson came in. In the last week of February he arrived in Frankfurt with a number of other American corporation lawyers announcing that they were representing German interests in opposing the decartelization law. In Mr. Patterson's opinion, the Allied trust-busting program was "arbitrary" and damaging to the rights of the German stockholders. Mr. Patterson and his lawyer colleagues admitted that they represented some of the most powerful German cartels, including I. G. Farben. It turned out that Mr. Patterson had misjudged the mood and temper of the American people. It appears that he was convinced that the American people and their Allies were now so conditioned to appeasing the Germans that they could get away with their brazen activities. We have no doubt that if Mr. Patterson had been able to anticipate the storm of disapproval over his actions, he would have made doubly sure that a minimum of publicity would have been attached to his activities.

Mr. McCloy was embarrassed, as were other American officials. They let it be known through the press that Mr. Patterson's mission would not check their determination to carry on with the decartelization program as originally conceived. The proof, however, is in the pudding, as the saying goes. Two weeks after the Patterson visit, the *New York Herald Tribune,* March 12, reporting on American efforts to obtain German approval for the Schuman Plan, said: "*But in return the Allied trust-busting campaign against German steel and coal combines would have to be modified seriously.*" The *Tribune* reported that compromise proposals had been made which were "American sponsored." The record shows that this is not the case, for actually the so-called compromise worked out was based on a letter written by Chancellor Adenauer March 14, 1951. The so-called compromise involved the following:

(1) The six major iron and steel concerns and the six smaller firms dominating the heavy industries of the Ruhr would be broken down into 24 companies rather than the 29 which were originally scheduled.

(2) The German steel industry with some exceptions would be allowed to control a maximum of 75% of its present coal needs. This is in sharp contrast to the original decartelization policy which seems to have contemplated the divorcing of the ownership of the steel industry from the Ruhr coal mines.

(3) The German sales cartel would remain intact for at least three years before future action could be taken against it, if any.

Dr. Otto Lenz, one of Adenauer's negotiators on the German demands, bluntly stated that unless this was accepted, the Boon Government "*probably would feel it was pointless to go ahead with the Schuman Plan because the decartelization sections of the program would never be implemented in Germany.*" For once the Germans dispensed with the silk glove and showed the mailed fist. The German ultimatum was further confirmed in a report to the *Herald Tribune,* March 30, which disclosed that so-called modification of the decartelization law "was an essential pre-condition of West Germany's acceptance of the Schuman Plan."

The Manchester Guardian of March 22 predicted that the Germans would go further and demand the dissolution of the International Ruhr Authority as a condition for accepting the Schuman Plan. In the past we have criticized the International Ruhr Authority because of its many weaknesss. Yet, it did attempt to allocate equitably Ruhr coal to all the nations of Western Europe. The Germans resented this. Only recently they refused to meet coal allocations fixed by the Ruhr Authority for the second quarter of 1951! If the Germans rejected the decisions of the Ruhr Coal Authority, which by no means were severe as far as German interests were concerned, who can expect the Germans to be more yielding with the establishment of the High Authority as envisaged by the Schuman Plan?

If the German cartelists are permitted to continue control over a decisive portion of Ruhr coal, the organization of the Schuman Plan will inevitably turn out to be a weapon of German hegemony. This is true not only because Ruhr coal is the basic element for the industries of Western Europe, but also by the fact that labor costs in Germany are far cheaper than in the other countries which have consented to join the Plan. One authority estimates that a ton of coal produced in Belgium costs 700 francs, of which labor costs 430 francs. In France the costs are 500 and 295 respectively, but in Germany the cost of producing a ton of coal amounts to only 425 francs, while labor is but 192. This must ultimately result in the shutting down of many Belgian and French coal mines, which will therefore strengthen the position of those in control of the Ruhr coal. Could anybody ask for a better club with which the Communists can beat the democratic cause?

Finally, in connection with this three way victory for the Germans, is the return of that merchant of death, Alfred von Krupp, to power. Here again decartelization Law No. 27 comes in for a licking. It is admitted that Krupp cannot automatically regain his properties under Law 27, which prohibits individuals from ownership or control "who have been found or may have been found to have furthered the designs of the Nazi Party." But the United Press of March 23 reported: "Allied authorities said today a study may be done on whether a change is advisable in the laws (No. 27) barring Alfred Krupp and other Germans from returning to positions of industrial ownership and control."

The concessions already granted and those contemplated in the near future are supposed to convince the Germans that the Schuman Plan defends their basic interests, and that therefore they should give it their wholehearted support. However, there are strong undercurrents on the German political scene, which promise to embarrass Allied strategy no little. Prominent politicians like Kurt Schumacher are boasting that the Schuman Plan will never be ratified by the Bonn Parliament. If this should actually come to pass, then the Germans will have indeed succeeded in duping the Allies once more.

There you have it in its totality. As we mentioned above, unpraiseworthy means invariably produce unpraiseworthy ends. This may all go down as a calculated risk on the part of those who believe that by such means we can "win over" the Germans. But it is doubtful whether the peoples who have been ravaged time and again by the Germans can afford or will be able and willing to withstand the consequences of such a risk.

The Protected and Their Protectors

When U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy granted a series of commutations to 78 of Germany's leading war criminals, and freed that merchant of death, Alfred von Krupp, and his cohorts, decent people the world over expressed their horror. Mr. McCloy not only freed Krupp but also nullified the original order of an American court which confiscated the Krupp properties. Simultaneously with McCloy's decision, General Thomas Handy informed this same horrified world that the six Malmedy war criminals who had been found guilty of murdering Belgian citizens and American G. I.'s taken prisoners during the Battle of the Bulge, would be spared.

The political motives guiding the decisions of Mr. McCloy and General Handy are not beyond question by any means. Indeed, the *New York Times* of February 2, 1951 observed: "There is politics—or, if one likes, diplomacy—in these decisions." But aside from the basic reasons which impelled Mr. McCloy and General Handy to treat these leading war criminals with such shocking leniency, there are a number of questions which remain to be answered with regard to the so-called review of these war criminal cases. The *U. S. Information Bulletin* of February contains the text of the McCloy and Handy decisions together with the recommendations of the Clemency Review Board which had been appointed by Mr. McCloy. A careful study of these documents strengthens our own conviction that these decisions, as set forth in our open letter to John J. McCloy on February 9, 1951, *"undermine the foundations of international law as implemented by the Nuremberg verdicts and run counter to the expressed determination of the President of the United States to punish international lawlessness."*

MR. McCLOY'S RATIONALIZATIONS

We find that in each of the 12 cases wherein Mr. McCloy explains his reasons for the commutations and the freeing of many of these criminals, his justifications are not only vague but dubious in the extreme. For example, in the case of Erhard Milch, Herr Goering's key official in the German Luftwaffe, who had originally been convicted for advocating and exploiting slave labor, Mr. McCloy excuses Milch's heinous crimes in the following words: "His petition for clemency urges instability of temperament due to nervous strain, aggravated by a head injury. The Board has recommended a reduction of sentence from life to 15 years. This is a sharp reduction considering the high responsibility of this man, but I am prepared to follow it." This kind of explanation would strike one as comical, were its implications not so tragic.

Yet Mr. McCloy's reasoning for the leniency in the Milch case is more or less typical of his rationalization for the other cases. The pattern is as follows:

(a) A vague reason for mitigating the original sentence.

(b) Complete acknowledgment by Mr. McCloy of the guilt of the party concerned.

(c) An admission that the Review Board found it difficult to find "room for clemency."

(d) The Review Board's recommendation to grant clemency.

(e) Mr. McCloy's reluctance to carry out the recommendation.

(f) Mr. McCloy's decision to carry it out.

In other words, in each case there appears to be a feigned attempt to give the impression that much thought and perspiration went into the making up of the final decision! Could it be that Mr. McCloy endeavored to find arguments to convince himself that he was right?

Aside from the general method of de-emphasizing the enormity of the crimes perpetrated by these war criminals, the documents are so loosely drawn up that one cannot help but ask a number of pertinent questions. They are questions which have not as yet been answered, and frankly, we doubt whether Mr. McCloy and his colleagues would be willing to do so. Nevertheless, they deserve to be presented herewith, because they will provide food for thought for all Americans who are interested in preserving America's moral leadership during the present international crisis.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

1. How could the Clemency Review Board make a thorough study of the 12 trials and the petitions within a brief period of 40 days?

2. Did this Review Board which claimed to have read some 3000 pages consisting of the judgments of these 12 cases also examine in detail the 330,000 pages of testimony, exclusive of documentary exhibits, on which the judgments were based?

3. Why were the representatives of the prosecution staff in each of these cases ignored by the Review Board in the process of the review?

4. Why did Mr. McCloy, in defending the original sentences in the case of German military officers, declare that such sentences did not reflect "upon the honor of the German military profession"? What "honor" did Mr. McCloy have in mind when he talked about the German military profession?

5. Why did Mr. McCloy commute an additional number of death sentences, "although," he confessed, "the Board in its report found no grounds for clemency"?

Since Mr. McCloy was even more lenient than the Clemency Board, why did he go to the trouble of setting it up in the first place? Could it be that Mr. McCloy had made up his mind in advance of the recommendations of the Board?

6. In discussing the Hostages case where German generals were charged with violating civilized rules of warfare with respect to hostages and civilians, why did Mr. McCloy apologize for the Nazi practice of massacring innocent victims as indicated in the following sentence: "In spite of an effort to give full weight to the harassing character of local partisan and guerilla warfare which these and other officers had to face in this campaign . . ."

7. In the case involving the Ohlendorf criminals who had been guilty of exterminating millions of people, Mr. McCloy said the following: "Though guilt still attaches to them, the directness of their connection with the crimes is substantially lessened by this evidence."

What is this "evidence"?

8. In discussing the Krupp case Mr. McCloy declared: "The judgment does not indicate that several of the defendants were involved with certain of the illegalities, but it is extremely difficult to allocate individual guilt among the respective defendants." Why?

9. In nullifying the confiscation decree involving the properties of Alfred Krupp, Mr. McCloy said: "I am disposed to feel that confiscation in this single case constitutes discrimination against this defendant unjustified by any considerations attaching peculiarly to him." How could Mr. McCloy regard this as "discrimination," when an American court found it to be entirely legal and justified?

10. Commenting on the case of the German High Command, Mr. McCloy remarked: "With every disposition to grant consideration because officers are impelled to take measures calculated to protect their country and their command. . . ." Does Mr. McCloy believe that Hitler's generals were protecting their country?

CLEMENCY BOARD'S LOGIC

1. Why did the Clemency Board say: "We have felt that the authority to review sentences required a differentiation between specific facts found and established in the evidence and the conclusion that may have been drawn therefrom"? Was it the role of the Clemency Board to cast doubt on the wisdom or integrity of the American military courts?

2. On what authority did the Clemency Board take it unto itself to duplicate the work of the American courts?

3. The Clemency Board stated that these individuals were tried as individuals. Is this not in contradiction to the Board's admission that: "All were integrated in a massive design which despite its madness was thoroughly worked out to incorporate every endeavor"?

4. How can one justify these commutations when the Clemency Board itself admits that: *"The main impression given, and one that is most disappointing, is that the majority of the defendants still seem to feel that what they did was right, in that they were doing it under orders. This exaltation of orders is even more disturbing as an attitude than as a defense."*

THE MALMEDY CASE—A LESSON IN HAIR SPLITTING

The report by General Handy on the Malmedy case can best be analyzed by a brief examination of what he said. For the record it should be borne in mind that there had been 13 investigations of the Malmedy case, none of which cast any serious doubt as to the essential guilt of the said criminals. This was admitted by General Handy himself when he said: "The commutation of the death sentences does not mean that there is any doubt whatsoever that each was guilty of the offenses charged." This equivocation is similar in form to the kind of double talk that we find in Mr. McCloy's report. Indeed, in both Mr. McCloy's and General Handy's decisions, there are profuse admissions that the war criminals whose cases they were reviewing were guilty, but there is always the big "but."

Although General Handy was convinced that SS Leader Peiper was the ring leader in the crimes against the American G. I.'s, he nevertheless characterizes Peiper as "a remarkable leader." (sic) General Handy devotes several paragraphs to describing the evil deeds of Peiper, yet he commuted his death sentence because "the offenses are associated with a confused, fluid and desperate combat action, a last attempt to turn the tide of Allied successes and to re-establish a more favorable tactical position for the German army." If this excuse were accepted as the basis for future precedent, then the most barbaric crimes could be committed in wartime. As a matter of fact, however, General Handy's description of the character of the combat conditions during the Battle of the Bulge are at variance with authoritative information on this subject.

The Battle of the Bulge was a desperate move on the part of the Germans, but the cold-blooded crimes committed by the Malmedy war criminals had no organic relationship to the German attack during the Battle of the Bulge.

An added reason for sparing the Malmedy criminals, according to General Handy, was based on the "fact" that "the crimes are definitely distinguishable from the more deliberate killings in concentration camps." It is remarkable how one can play on words. What is meant by more deliberate and how can one distinguish between less deliberate and more deliberate? General Clay himself characterized the Malmedy gang as "cold-blooded killers."

Defending Peiper and the other Malmedy criminals on the basis that they committed crimes in the heat of battle ignores the report of the Baldwin Committee of the Senate which proved that the members of the Peiper SS team had a long and notorious record of rapine and murder both on the Eastern and Western fronts. Indeed, the battalion commanded by Peiper was given the quaint appellation, "Blow-Torch Battalion" because it received a well-earned reputation for German "efficiency" in burning villages and duplicating the infamous massacre of Lidice.

General Handy also commuted the death sentences of three criminals who had been guilty of murdering American and Allied airmen after they had parachuted from disabled planes. As in the Malmedy case, General Handy does not deny the Germans' responsibility "for these murders." However, as in the Malmedy case, General Handy found what he called mitigating circumstances—"such as the excitement resulting from the aerial activity, the offenses being committed after heavy bombing, and the fact that their crimes did not show a pattern of their character. . . ." While we do not condone air bombardment for its own sake, and hope that someday the world will be free from that ordeal, General Handy unwittingly is using the German defense for his own reasons which impelled him to commute these sentences. Significantly, we know of no case where the German bombings of England, for example, resulted in the lynching of any German airmen. Certainly General Handy's rationalizations will not serve as a source of encouragement to our heroic airmen, should they find themselves in distress at any future date in enemy-held territory.

Walter Winchell notes: "Correspondent Drew Middleton reporting John McCloy is the most villified American in Germany. The oh-so-kind Germans are abusing him for not releasing more Nazi war criminals. Middleton adds: 'If this is the way Germans treat their friends, it is not surprising they have so many enemies.' Hmf! . . ."

Policy versus Myth

Myths are stubborn things. They have a way of surviving and spreading even though an avalanche of facts are brought to bear upon them. One of the most carefully cultivated fables of our time is the shibboleth that Germany was and is a bulwark of democracy against Russia and Communism.

When Hitler made his first major thrust against the West it seemed as though that grand illusion had been shattered; but apparently this myth has many lives. Distinguished citizens of our country, who have been in public affairs for many years, are now waving this tattered banner before the American people as though it possessed some occult powers that could disintegrate the threat of Russia and Communism. Mr. Ferdinand Eberstadt, a former leading official in the War Production Board, and prominent banker, told an audience of the World Affairs Council of Seattle in the University of Washington that, "we destroyed Germany and thus opened up that country and its former sphere of influence to Russian infiltration in Western Europe and in the Balkans." Therefore, in order to resurrect this "Bulwark" Mr. Eberstadt advocated bringing Germany back into the family of nations "as a counterweight in the balance against Russian aggression." More recently (Feb. 9, 1951) Mr. Herbert Hoover made a similar suggestion, adding that "during 100 years... Germany was a great dam against these Russian controlled hordes."

From all indications it seems that our Government concurs with this view. About the same time that Mr. Hoover spoke his piece, Adrian Fischer, the legal adviser to the State Department, told the National Farm Institute that, "before World War II Germany and Japan were the bulwarks against Russian expansion." He then proceeded to express the necessity for rebuilding Germany to its former estate; presumably for the purpose of redressing the present disequilibrium in Europe.

The advocates of such a course of action are careful to avoid mentioning one important part of this myth; namely, Germany's "so-called" contribution to the strengthening of democracy and human freedom. It would be difficult indeed to prove this contention in view of the harrowing experiences of German aggressions and brutalities endured by the peoples of Europe in two world wars. Thus, we will only deal with that part of the myth, which according to its believers, rests on solid foundation.

Those who harbor the views expressed by Messrs. Eberstadt, Hoover, Fischer and others have accepted as fact something which they would like to believe and incidentally hope that it will be accepted in toto by the people. Yet it is well known to all objective students of history that the relationship of Germany and Russia cannot be characterized as being that of uncompromising and deadly opponents. The pages of history are replete with significant instances of Russo-German collaboration. This has been acknowledged by the United States Foreign Economic Administration in its exhaustive studies on the German problem following the end of the war. In one of its reports, the F. E. A. states: *"When it is remembered that Ludendorff had not hesitated to send Lenin and Trotsky into Russia in the hope that revolution would paralyze Russia and there is excellent evidence that General Von Seeckt for years collaborated with Russia secretly, probably subsidized them, and certainly provided them with experts"*—Germany's profession as a bulwark against Russia "is *seen for what it was, an empty propaganda device useful both at home and abroad.*"

Several weeks ago the State Department published an interesting pamphlet entitled, *Confuse and Control—Soviet Techniques in Germany,* which pointed out that: *"Hitler made much of Germany's position as the defender of Europe against the barbarians from the East. But ever since Napoleon had conquered Germany and attacked Russia, there had been much in common between the upper military and social classes in Germany and in Russia. The Tsar was closely related to the Kaiser. Bismarck's policy was always to cooperate with Russia. Now that Russia has a new ruling class as dictatorial as the old aristocracy, some of the old feeling of kinship is still to be found among extreme conservatives in Germany, from the Junkers to the ex-Nazis . . .*

"There is some feeling among the aristocrats that they might make terms with the Soviet aristocracy and because of their experience and ability might become indispensable and powerful members of the Soviet ruling class."

There are several facts which should have been added to the above statement to make it more comprehensive. For example, most people have forgotten the Treaty of Rapallo in the early 1920's which strengthened the ties between the Soviets and the much vaunted Weimar Republic; nor are many people familiar with the fact that during those days the Ruhr Barons, including Krupp, received the cooperation of the Soviets in experiments with new techniques connected with war potential industries—a brazen violation of the Versailles Treaty. Furthermore, while it is true that Hitler posed as the "shining Knight" against Bolshevism, he did not hesitate to sign a pact of friendship with the Kremlin when it suited his needs.

It is significant that leading German militarists were planning an alliance with the Soviets at the close of World War II. PREVENT WORLD WAR III in its September-October 1949 issue printed a secret document under the title, "Germany Looks to the East," initialed by Field Marshal Keitel and Grand Admiral Doenitz which called for "an alliance between the Young Socialist forces against the old-rotten entrenched powers of the West."

In the post-war period this collaboration continues, as can be seen by the enormous quantities of war potential materials smuggled into the Soviet bloc from Western Germany. The hard truth of the matter is that there are powerful elements among the various social groupings in Germany who firmly believe that a tie-up between Russia and Germany is of prime importance and would confront the world with an invincible force.

Far be it from us to say that the Germans have a congenital love for the Russians, or vice-versa, but there is no evidence to show that the Germans are falling all over themselves in order to become a faithful and reliable bulwark for the Western democracies. Then what is Germany's preference? The answer to this question, surprisingly, is very simple: DEUTSCHLAND UBER ALLES! This has been the theme song of the foremost German leaders, military and geopolitical, since the days of Bismarck. It was succinctly described by the late Chancellor, Gustave Streseman, who was a close friend of the present Chancellor of the Bonn Government, Herr Adenauer: "The question of a choice between the East and the West does not arise as a result of our joining the League of Nations. Such a choice can only be made when it is backed by a military force. That, alas, we do not possess. We can neither become a continental spearhead for England, as some believe, nor can we involve ourselves in an alliance with Russia. I would utter a warning against any Utopian idea of coquetting with Bolshevism . . . That we are perfectly ready to come to an understanding with the Russian State, in whose evolutionary development I believe, on another basis, and my contention that we are not selling ourselves to the West by joining the League, is a matter on which I would enlarge to your Royal Highness (the former Crown Prince) in a personal talk."

It shouldn't be hard for realists to draw the necessary conclusions from Streseman's views as to what German policy should be at all times. It is a policy which aims to take advantage of all differences between their former and prospective opponents, be they the Russians or the Western democracies. This was clearly understood by the Elder Statesman, Mr. Bernard Baruch, when he testified before the Kilgore Committee in 1945. "*The occupation of Germany,*" Mr. Baruch warned, "*will be difficult enough at best. In the absence of common policy as to the long range fate of Germany, the Soviets are bound to question Allied moves as dictated by a desire to rebuild Germany into a buffer against Russia. In turn, the Western democracies will suspect Russia of seeking to communize Germany. The Germans can be expected to resort to every imaginable trick to foment discord among the four occupying nations. They will play one nation against the other, one zone against the other, hoping to break the common unity of the Allies, so controls will be permitted to lapse, giving her a chance to recoup as after Versailles.*"

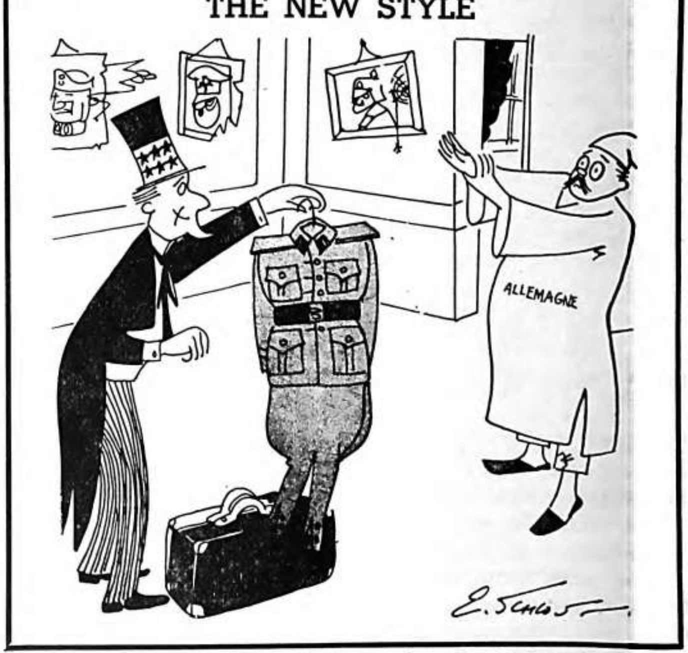
Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State during most of World War II, was among the key officials in the Government who equally understood the Streseman policy. In his brilliant book, *The Time for Decision*, he warned the West of the machinations of the German General Staff which, "*considers the Anglo-Saxon powers the only antagonists that would be permanently and inevitably opposed to it.*" He warned that the German General Staff in driving for the resurgence of Germany after the war would "*try to create doubts among the people of each country as to the ability, integrity, wisdom, or loyalty of their leading statesmen; in critical moments it will attempt to paralyze or to diminish the capacity for cool thinking by the people as a whole; and it will search in each country for men who, through ambition, vanity, or personal interest, will be disposed to serve the causes which the German General Staff desires at that particular moment to further.*"

Mr. Welles knew whereof he spoke, since few men have had access to the information upon which his book was based. He understood the nature of Pan-Germanism, observing that there was "no real deviation for nearly fifty years in German policy which had been consistently directed toward world hegemony."

The realism which helped shape American policy toward Germany during the war has now been substituted for a series of incantations which in truth would be more fitting for primitive people than for an enlightened and powerful nation like ourselves. The real bulwark against Communist expansion is the very reverse of our present program for Germany, which is based on a myth. The more we build up Germany the easier it will be for the Soviets to strengthen their grip over satellite countries and increase the alarm among our Western allies who have a justified fear of a resurgent Germany. This can only redound to the advantage of Soviet Russia.

Only if the Western allies would agree to reverse the present program for Germany, could effective unity be developed in the West, which would be a positive answer to Soviet ambitions. This policy would be based on strict control over Germany's war potential, and a prohibition of the revival of German militarism. It would be based on concrete controls over Germany's economic development visa vis the East, and the prevention of German economic and political domination over the Western Allies. It would be based on the strengthening of the economic and military potentials of the North Atlantic nations, and by the same token, of the United States. It would be based on a firm policy of breaking up the German cartel octopus and would eliminate Nazis and former Nazis and former Hitler supporters from important positions, public and private. Under these conditions much of the tensions in Europe could be relaxed and economic progress for all nations, including Germany, be developed.

Such a positive program would prepare Germany to ultimately enter the family of nations as a peaceful member. One must always bear in mind that the factors which are the sine qua non to the security of the United States are by no means necessarily identical with what the Germans consider as essential to *their* security. If the history of German foreign policy over the past fifty years is any guide to what the Germans consider as *their* security, then we would say, America Beware!



(Cartoon by Schloss—Courtesy France Amerique)

Inside Germany

THE CROWN OF THORNS

"An Austrian Catholic priest testified today that he was forced to wear a crown of thorns made of barbed wire during his imprisonment at Buchenwald concentration camp . . ."

(From an Associated Press dispatch)

★

AN OLD GERMAN CUSTOM

"The West German parliament has received anonymous letters threatening death to American generals and German politicians if the seven German war criminals in Landsberg are hanged . . ."

(From the Washington Evening Star)

★

THE GREEN LIGHT FOR KRUPP

"The Krupp works, backbone of the German arms and munitions industry in two world wars, has obtained authority to start business again.

"British sources confirmed recently that the Combined Steel Board authorized the Krupp works of Essen to build a new foundry and iron works.

"Application also is being made for Allied High Commission authority to construct a new rolling mill and produce super-hardened steel.

"German sources said Krupp had asked $4,500,000 in credits from the West German government for building the dismantled steel works at Salzgitter . . ."

(From a United Press Dispatch)

★

WORKING BOTH SIDES OF THE STREET

"The Free German Youth gave instructions not to attack the 'Bruderschaft' any longer. Franke-Grieksch, leader of the Bruderschaft, had several discussions in order to get contact with Grotewohl and with the Soviet Military Administration, for instance with Burmeister, representative of the Eastern press agency ADN in Hamburg, Scheringer, well-known Bavarian Communist and leading Communists in Duesseldorf. That does not prevent Franke keeping contact too with Priester, right extremist, and with the circle of former Hitler Youth subleaders around Axmann (like Jureck who is in contact with Grotewohl and SMA himself too), and at the same time he has relations with the neo-fascist MSI in Italy and similar movements in other countries . . ."

(From Bulletin on German Questions, published by Gamma Publications)

★

WORKING FOR PEACE?

"The Western Allies authorized German scientists to start 'peaceful' work in the field of atomic energy. A decree by the United States, British and French High Commissioners removed restrictions on German use of a list of radioactive elements and atomic-energy devices . . .

". . . (Last month German scientists were authorized to separate isotopes and experiment with some forms of jet propulsion, The Associated Press noted.) . . ."

(From a United Press dispatch)

THOSE STARVING GERMANS

". . . To land in Munich after having been in London a few months ago is to wonder if the world isn't in the middle of setting an all-time record for topsy-turviness.

"Munich was beaten into a pulp by bombs and is an occupied city. Yet the citizens of Munich are eating food that Englishmen haven't eaten since 1939 . . .

"The Munich restaurants have menus which would make the mouths of Englishmen water for an hour . . .

"Maybe I'm extraordinarily thick-headed, but for the life of me I can't understand why in Dachau, only a few miles from Munich, the people have infinitely more to eat than do the people of Coventry, Liverpool, Manchester, or Oxford . . ."

(Henry McLemore in The Washington Evening Star)

★

CHANGE OF SHIRT

"The panic afflicting the Soviet higher-ups is not confined to Eastern Europe. In the Russian-ruled zone of Germany a new purge is on. The major targets are those Communists and ex-Socialists who bitterly resent the benevolence accorded big and little Nazis. As Drew Middleton cabled The Times the other day, an official Communist directive circulated in Eastern Germany lays down this code: 'Russians take a lenient attitude toward Communists who once were Nazis.' All that is required is a change of shirt . . ."

(From the New York Post)

★

GERMAN DREAMS

"The still-disarmed Germans are going strong in at least one phase of warfare, dreaming up new death-dealing wonder weapons . . .

". . . In the single field of V-weapons, the guided missiles that operated so effectively against Great Britain in the last year of World War II, Germans have sent to Bonn more than 70 suggested improvements . . ."

(From a United Press dispatch)

★

AT THE SAME OLD STAND

"The Near and Middle East countries have almost regained their age-old standing as trade partners for Germany . . .

". . . The area in which German traders have resumed traditional business connections includes Turkey, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan . . ."

(From the Chicago Daily Tribune)

★

MARKING TIME

"Russia is freezing the growth of the East German police-army until proposed Big Four talks are out of the way, Allied intelligence sources reported.

"This force of approximately 50,000 infantry-trained Germans apparently will not be expanded as long as a remote possibility exists this year for a diplomatic agreement on Germany . . ."

(From an Associated Press dispatch)

FOR RUSSIAN ACCOUNTS

"... The great increase in East German productivity is of course far more beneficial to the Kremlin than to the East German people. Thirty percent of the industry, including such great plants as the former I. G. Farben chemical complex at Bitterfeld, are directly owned by the Russian government. These not merely produce for Russian accounts but also pay a handsome profit. The remaining industry, of which about two-thirds is owned by the East German state, produces reparations out of current production for Russia to the tune of about 1,500,000,000 marks per year ...

"... Finally almost all German industrial concerns are buying agents for the Kremlin, securing from West Germany and elsewhere in West Europe an enormous volume of critical and strategic materials and equipment. For example, the Wismut A.G. not merely runs the Erzegebirge mines, but also buys in the West all sorts of special items needed by Marshal Beria's project in Russia ..."

(Joseph Alsop in The Washington Post)

DEMOCRATIZATION ...

"Dr. Adenauer (Chancellor of West Germany) himself has given up trying to find experienced democrats to fill all the posts in his new civil service. The backward trend has now gone so far that men who occupied positions of some importance under Hitler—careerists who cannot be excused like the 'little men' who stayed in obscure jobs at the price of becoming nominal party members—are now back at their desks. In some cases, they are in more important positions than ever. Moreover, those civil servants who sacrificed their careers for their consciences now often find themselves unwanted 'dug-outs' drawing lower pensions than their colleagues who 'never left the political stage.'

"In general, the central government is being administered by men who are either inexperienced or else are unconvinced democrats ..."

(The London Economist)

A GERMAN BOAST

One of the men very close to Dr. Fritz Dorls, the head of the Socialist Reichs Party, is Dr. Manfred Rieder, a former colonel-judge in the Nazi Luftwaffe Military Tribunal. "Dr. Rieder once boasted of having placed 100 decapitated heads at the feet of intellectuals and workers."

(From the Swiss newspaper, St. Gallen Tageblatt)

BULWARKS AGAINST BOLSHEVISM?

When former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson made his trip to Germany on behalf of German stockholders who were protesting the decartelization law, he visited American High Commissioner and told him: "The German trusts are very useful in our fight against Communism. To break them up, as is now being contemplated, would be illegal and hardly in keeping with the spirit of American law. Therefore, leave I. G. Farben and the coal cartel alone, since the recently introduced democratic reorganization will take care of everything."

(From Samedi Soir, Paris)

REUNION IN MUNICH

"The right-wing weekly newspaper 'Muenchener Allgemeine Zeitung' is being converted into a daily with the backing of a group of industrialists who are engaging former Nazi newspapermen on its editorial staff.

"The editor-in-chief of the expanded publication will be Ciselher Wirsing, prominent journalist of Nazi Germany, who was editor of Munich's 'Neueste Nachrichten' during the Hitler regime. Another member of the editorial staff is Max Willmy, one-time publisher of Julius Streicher's infamous 'Der Stuermer.'"

(From the J. T. A. News)

I. G. FARBEN SLAVE LABOR

"In a statement, H. G. Van Dam, secretary-general of the Central Council of Jews of Germany, admitted that negotiations had been initiated by Herbert Wollheim, member of the Council, with Farben for the payment of indemnity by the company for the slave labor of Jews it employed at several of its plants at Nazi concentration camps; but that the latter had refused to recognize the validity of the claim. The Van Dam statement further stated that a law firm has been instructed to prepare a suit against I. G. Farben.

"Dr. Van Dam declared that 'it is morally, politically and legally inadmissible to allow a major industry to retain profits made through the exploitation of slave labor. It is amazing that the industry, on its own initiative, has not yet seen its way to reaching a tolerable agreement.'"

(From a J. T. A. News Bulletin)

THE BUILD-UP

"War materials for the Russian army are being produced on a large scale in the Soviet Zone of Germany in violation of the Potsdam agreement, the U. S. High Commission charged.

"The Commission listed the plants involved, replying to Russian charges that the U. S. is rearming West Germany."

(From The New York Post)

ECHOES OF THE PAST

"Anti-Semitic demonstrations marked a recent meeting in Munich of the 'Protective Association of German Soldiers,' an organization led by ex-Col. Ludwig Guembel, a member of Adolf Hitler's old guard. Cries of 'hang the Jews' and 'oust the Jews' were heard at the meeting. Socialist members of the Bavarian Parliament said that they would raise the question in Parliament."

(From the J. T. A. News)

THE FALL AND RISE OF NAZISM

"... Concerning the rise of the extreme Right wing there is now evidence that the real long-term political struggle within Germany is opening. That it has taken six years since the death of Adolf Hitler to reach this stage is something of a gain. But the neo-Nazis are now beginning to take effective political shape, and they are concentrating in Lower Saxony under the banner of the Socialist Reichs Partei ..."

(From a dispatch by Don Cook to
The New York Herald Tribune)

Recommended Reading:

Seven Decisions That Shaped History

by

SUMNER WELLES

There are few men in our country today who have had the wealth of experience in international affairs as has Mr. Sumner Welles. For many years, going as far back as 1915, Mr. Welles served the U. S. A. with distinction in diplomatic posts throughout the world. Because of his profound knowledge of the basic forces at work in the international arena, Mr. Welles from 1937 to 1943 served as Undersecretary of State, in which position he literally had his fingers on the pulse of our foreign policy.

In 1944, having left the diplomatic service, he wrote a remarkable book entitled: "The Time for Decision," in which he discussed the basic problems of American foreign policy. That book, in our considered view, should be read and re-read by every thinking American today. Mr. Welles knew whereof he spoke, for as was stated in the introduction to this book: "Only a handful of men in the world have had access to the information on which this book is based."

For some years since the writing of this book Mr. Welles took to semi-retirement, but his mind was never distracted from the field with which he was so intimately acquainted. Undoubtedly his latest book, "Seven Decisions that Shaped History" is the product of deep reflection since his retirement from public office.

Is is a book which in many ways is a sequel to his first. But in addition, it is a recapitulation of the negative and positive aspects of the key decisions which our Government has taken since the end of the war. Mr. Welles devotes many pages to Far Eastern Policy, to the development of the United Nations and its relations to the United States, and to the question of Allied agreements made during and after the war. Every chapter contains valuable information and important judgments on the part of Mr. Welles which no student of International Affairs can ignore.

Mr. Welles is a realist and a keen student of history. These two admirable traits equip him to dissect American policy and to propose what course of action our country should take in these dangerous times. His last chapter entitled: "Policy for Today" is an essay on realism which should become part of the literature read by our own diplomats. In discussing what our policy should be for today, Mr. Welles brings out the fact that the United States, because of its prestige and strength on the eve of the war's end, had the great opportunity of hammering out a program for peace that could have won the hearts and minds of all peoples. As he states: "Yet at Potsdam an American President representing what was then the mightiest power on earth could still have secured from Stalin an agreement upon the major provisions of the peace treaty ultimately to be negotiated with a new German government."

He reveals that Stalin had agreed with President Roosevelt's own view that Germany should be decentralized as a means of thwarting the revival of a new Reich. He deplores the fact that President Truman's advisers did not take advantage of this situation since it should have been clear to them: "that any future developments that made possible either the resurgence of a militaristic pan-German Reich or the amalgamation of German technical skill and industrial capacity with Communist dominated manpower and natural resources, would inevitably end all of mankind's hopes for a peaceful Europe or a peaceful world."

We missed the bus, so to speak, and as a result, we face great dangers today. These dangers are being met by the Atlantic Defense Pact, but plans have gone further, and as Mr. Welles points out, the English speaking peoples are pressing for the rearmament of West Germany on the "pretext that German manpower is required if the Atlantic Pact is to be successful." This issue, in Mr. Welles' judgment, is "even greater in its implications than the issues that have recently arisen in this country's relations with the Far East."

Thus, Mr. Welles once again displays his ability to focus attention on the crucial issues which will affect the ultimate question of war or peace.

Mr. Welles regards the Schuman Plan as being originally conceived to control Germany's propensity for dominating her neighbors. In his view, without adequate safeguards, "a rearmed Western Germany will become the ally rather than the opponent of the Soviet Union. Nothing, therefore, could be better calculated to inflame French sentiment against the English speaking peoples and to increase the popular strength of the French Communist party than the Anglo-American plan for German rearmament."

It is undoubtedly true that proper safeguards over Germany's economic and political power are of the greatest necessity. Whether the Schuman Plan in its ultimate operation will meet its requirements, remains to be seen, but in any event, as Mr. Welles rightly observes, German rearmament can only give more ammunition to Communist propaganda, and thereby serve as a self-defeating act in thwarting Communist expansion.

Mr. Welles, in examining the need to strengthen the military might of the West, never loses sight of the ultimate objective, namely to prevent rather than to provoke war. But, as he says, "If we are to be realistic, given the acute tension now existing in our relations with the Soviet Union, how can we fail to admit that any Russian government, even a government far more pacific and conciliatory, must inevitably regard as a threat to Russian security our rearmament of the country (Germany) that in 1917 forced them to accept the shameful peace of Brest-Litovsk, and in 1941 invaded and ravaged their homeland." Mr. Welles therefore, in common with other keen students of this problem, including Mr. James P. Warburg, says the rearmament of Germany is not only an issue which will increase the influence of Communists in the West but at the same time may indeed turn out to be the casus belli for the Russians.

These two factors far outweigh the doubtful military assistance which could be gained from a rearmed Germany. This is Mr. Welles' judgment. Mr. Welles knows Germany like few people do. This was proved in his earlier book, "The Time for Decision." And he continues to enlighten the people in his latest work. He discounts the theory that the Germans are permanently sick of war. This theory was also held by the Western Allies during the years of the Weimar republic: "Over the same French opposition that we see today," he points out, "Great Britain then not only permitted but actually connived at German rearmament. We Americans poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Germany in the form of loans. It was those policies which were directly responsible for the Second World War."

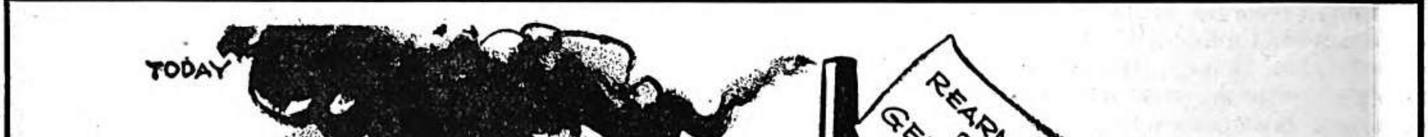
When the West woke up it was too late, and the war-weary German of 1919 turned out to be the SS fanatic of Hitler's marching armies. Thus, Mr. Welles declares that: "German rearmament today before the German people have shown any change of heart, before any adequate safeguards have been set up to control Germany's capacity to make war and at the precise moment when a rearmed Germany may well become an asset rather than an obstacle to Soviet expansion, seems to me, I must confess, an exact repetition of the fatal blunder which England and America committed a scant 30 years ago."

We have taken the liberty of quoting extensively from this last chapter, because its message is one which must be pondered with the greatest seriousness by all of us. Mr. Welles is acutely aware of the dangers which grow out of Soviet ambitions, but by rejecting the formula of rearming Germany he merely refuses to have our people jump from the frying pan into the fire. He recognizes that in the 1920's, leading English statesmen such as Winston Churchill, "believed that in rearming Germany we would be erecting a barrier to the spread of Soviet Communism." But he replies in terse words: "The fatal outcome of that policy we have all witnessed."

Thus it is clear that Mr. Welles has posed the question whether we are ready to take the same gamble with the same people and suffer the same consequences. It is hard to know whether the great majority of the American people are ready for this calculated risk, but Mr. Welles knows how some of the great leaders of the American people have felt about this issue: "Franklin Roosevelt," writes Welles, "often declared that whatever the nature of the peace it must at least provide for German disarmament until such time as the German people have offered a practical demonstration of their spiritual regeneration. Remembering this I cannot for one moment imagine that he would now join his wartime colleague, Winston Churchill, in supporting any policy that calls for German rearmament."

As we said, "Seven Decisions that Shaped History" is a remarkable work from a remarkable mind. We recommend it highly.

("Seven Decisions that Shaped History" by Sumner Welles, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950)



(Cartoon by Walt Partymiller—Courtesy Gazette and Daily, York, Pa.)

Justice vs. Germany's War Crimes

by

SIR HARTLEY SHAWCROSS, K.C., M.P.

There has been some discussion recently about the position of the war criminals who were dealt with and sentenced either by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg or by other Military Tribunals subsequently set up in the different zones of Germany. Indeed there have been some who have suggested for one reason or another the exercise of some sort of wholesale act of clemency towards these individuals, grave and odious though the crimes were of which they have been convicted. I would not, for my own part, question the propriety of exercising clemency in a particular case on some humanitarian ground such as grave illness—although I would not see any special reason for treating war criminals more favorably in this regard than ordinary and respectable criminals, many of whom are ill and some of whom die in prison.

But speaking as one who during his six years' membership in the Government has, both before various International Tribunals and at the United Nations, had something to do with the efforts which suffering humanity has made to assert the rule of law in international affairs, I should certainly view with grave concern anything which might tend to undermine the principles of individual criminal responsibility for crimes against humanity and for war crimes which we have succeeded in laying down.

It is not perhaps surprising that some individuals in Germany and Japan, members of the elements from which most of the notorious war criminals were recruited, the Nazis, the militarists, the reactionary industrialists, should now be seeking to discredit the war trials. As after the 1914-18 war, so now, those elements in Germany who were responsible for the war now seek to deny their guilt—although if they had won they would have gloried in their victory. But this is a time when the United Nations, with America and ourselves in the lead, are doing our utmost against heavy odds to assert the principles of law and order in Korea, and to suppress the crime of aggressive war which is being committed there.

Speaking for myself—and in what I say here I am putting forward simply my personal view—it does seem to me disquieting that at such a time there should be those who, either because of mistaken ideas of political expediency or because of the wholly false view that these sentences were no more than vengeance wreaked by the victors upon the vanquished, would seek as a matter of policy to take action undermining the validity of what has been done.

I say little about the question of political expediency. And it is a matter which should enter little into the administration of justice. This is no doubt a time when we all desire to secure the cooperation of Germany in international affairs, when we desire her gradual restoration to equal sovereignty with the rest of us and when we are unfortunately compelled to consider the expediency of some measure of rearmament in Western Germany—I say unfortunately because it is a tragedy that any of us should be forced, as we are being by the Communists, into the necessity for rearmament.

It is true that some consider, and they may well be right, that the Communists were themselves guilty during the war and since, of crimes similar to those for which they joined in condemning the Nazis. Be it so. Two wrongs do not make a right. The fact the Communists have also committed black crimes does not make the Nazi criminals benefactors of the human race. If it turns out that on some Tribunal which has condemned a criminal one member or another was himself guilty of similar crimes—and such things have happened—we may deplore the hypocrisy of the member concerned but we do not exonerate the criminal who has been convicted. We must avoid getting so worked up about Communism as to identify every person as a friend of law, order and democracy because at one time he was a foe of Communism.

There are some who remember that the Nazis fought against the Russians and think therefore that they are friends of peace and democracy, forgetting both that the Nazis did not hesitate to ally themselves with the Russians when it suited them or that we ourselves were allied to Russia in the war. These Nazis were and are no friends of ours—simply because they fought against the Russians during the war.

Nothing could do a greater disservice to our cause, at a time when Germany is being led back into the international life of Europe, than at the same time to whitewash the Nazis and what they stood for. The continued enforcement of the judicial sentences against the Nazi war criminals involves no condonation of any crimes the Communists may have committed. On the contrary, unless we are to be utterly cynical about these matters, the very fact that other countries or individuals may be minded to commit like crimes is all the more reason why we should stick firmly to the rule of law which we uphold.

Any other policy in regard to the war criminals would weaken the cause of the free nations in any struggle in which we may be engaged by reducing it to the level of a mere contest for power, divorced from principle. That is not our position. We stand upon the rule of law. We vindicated that rule by enforcing the individual responsibility at least of some of those who broke it in the last war. We must assert it now. But these aspects of the matter are political. I am as everyone knows, no politician and I want to talk now of the legal status of this matter.

During the war the most solemn warnings were issued, in view of the information we had as to the infamous crimes that had been committed that those concerned would be brought to trial and if found guilty would be punished. When the war ended it was decided first by Mr. Churchill's administration and then by Mr. Attlee's that this country should join with the three other major powers in the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg for the trial of the major war criminals. The very distinguished British Judge, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe and I, as Attorney-General, took part in the actual proceedings. We did so because we were satisfied that they were both lawful and just. It is said that this was victor's justice; that it was a Court established by the victorious powers. That may be so but it by no means follows that the Judges who administered it were not able to administer justice with complete impartiality and according to law. I am confident that they did both.

In the absence of an International Criminal Court—and the question of constituting one is now being canvassed before the United Nations—any enforcement of the criminal laws of war is almost inevitable by the victorious powers. The Hague Convention against inhumane warfare did not even specify that individuals could be tried for breaking them or how they were to be tried. But it was always recognized that individuals who did break the laws of war were tried and in previous wars large numbers were in fact tried and punished.

There is no substance at all in the argument about the establishment of the Court. It is said that the procedure and evidence differed from the ordinary technical rules of English law. Why not? These were not ordinary English Courts. But the procedure was fair. And the evidence was more than adequate to prove the facts.

Then it is said that some of the laws enforced by the Court were what is called ex post facto law making.

International law corresponds to our common law in the sense that it isn't the result of any express enactment. It grows up gradually by treaties, by customs and by decisions of international bodies in particular cases.

In 1934, the great American, Mr. Justice Cardozo said that "the gap is not so great that adjudication may not fill it. International law has at times, like the common law within Statutes, a twilight existence during which it is hardly distinguishable from morality or justice, till at length the imprimateur of a Court attests its jural quality." That was what was done at Nuremberg.

It was not the Charter which created the crime of aggressive war. That's the mistake which these critics of Nuremberg make. Long before that, in the Pact of Paris, which Mr. Kellogg promoted in 1928, and which was signed by over 60 Nations, aggressive war was declared to be illegal. It was called the General Treaty for the enunciation of war, and it was entered into with especial solemnity. That is the way that International Law is formed. And the Kellogg Pact did not stand alone. In numerous declarations between the two wars, the League of Nations, Conferences of Lawyers, and other bodies expressly stigmatized aggressive war to be a crime.

The truth is that the whole basis of the principle against ex post facto legislation was lacking. These wicked men who were tried at Nuremberg could not say that they were innocent; that they hadn't known that to launch an aggressive war was wrong. They couldn't pretend that if they had know that aggressive war was criminal they wouldn't have been parties to it. They knew very well that it was criminal. What they did not know was that they could be beaten, and that the Allies would set up machinery to try them. But then, a criminal often thinks he will get away with it.

What was an innovation at Nuremberg so far as war crimes against peace and other crimes against humanity are concerned, was the actual trial—the setting up of the Tribunal to try the men. But that was a matter, not of creating the crime, but of providing the machinery for dealing with it. Methods of procedure, specific punishment: the appropriate Courts—these things can always be defined by a subsequent proclamation without conflicting with the real basis of the ex post facto rule.

Another criticism that is made is that soldiers were punished simply for obeying their orders. That is wholly wrong. These military officers really form an astonishingly strong international Trade Union, and one hears some astonishingly misconceived arguments. All I can say is that if, in any other war, any officers of ours did the things that Keitel and Jodl and Raeder did, they would fully deserve the same punishment.

This idea that a soldier must always obey orders and, anyway, that if he doesn't some one else will, is perfectly monstrous. A soldier is only bound to obey a lawful order. If a lieutenant orders a soldier to shoot, say, a major—that is murder, although the soldier is obeying his superior officer's orders. "The warrant of no man, not even the King himself, excuseth the doing of an illegal act." That is the maxim in England.

It would be a very salutary thing if politicians and staff officers knew that, once their Governments embark in courses of international criminality, they ought to resign—or share the criminal responsibility.

Some people are unhappy about these trials, I dare say, but I think it is because they don't understand how international law is built up. It is not a static thing: it grows and develops with changing circumstances. And, anyway, there is no occasion to be unhappy because of any feeling that injustice was done. You see—and this fact seems to be forgotten very often—all these men, in addition to being charged with crimes against the peace, were charged with war crimes against humanity; in other words with murder on a wholesale scale. Those things were criminal under any system of law—always up to the hilt.

Of those remaining under sentence at Nuremberg all but the psychopathic Hess were convicted of war crimes—that is to say, offenses against the laws of war as established by international law before the war took place. And that is true of all those convicted by the Military Courts in the British Zone.They were just ordinary criminals convicted of ordinary crimes. They deserve no more sympathy than any other criminal in any common jail and it would be wholly wrong if ideas—mistaken as I think—of political expediency led to any special exercise of clemency on their behalf. The crimes these men committed were sometimes of such enormity that they cried to High Heaven for redress. The processes to redress them vindicated the rule of law against the unrestricted barbarity of omnipotent force and brutality. We must and will stand by the rule of law in these matters.

(From a recent speech by Sir Hartley Shawcross, former Chief Prosecutor for the United Kingdom at the Nuremberg Trials.)

Panzer General to Teach the West

by

B. REICHENBACH

Within a few months three books have appeared in West Germany dealing with General Guderian, Inspector General of the German tank forces, and after the plot of July, 1944, Acting Chief of Staff of the German Army. Two of these books are written by himself, the third being a eulogy based mainly on Guderian's Memoirs and designed to present the Panzer General as a shining example for future generations.

It is probably no coincidence that these books have been published just now. When Anglo-Saxon commanders and High Commissioners are coaxing the Germans into uniform again, German generals "scent the morning air" and publishers their business. Will it be profitable?

The reaction such books will meet among the readers may to some extent indicate the present trend of German mentality. These are not books about military subjects only, but history textbooks written to whitewash Hitler's generals from any taint of having been the tools of the Nazis.

This, of course, can only be achieved by a return to the old Nazi propaganda line that their war was not an aggression against Europe but, on the contrary, a war in defense of Western Europe against the East. This is Guderian's thesis, explained in his booklet "Can Western Europe Be Defended?" According to him, even Hitler's dictatorship was conceived and developed only as a means of saving Germany and Western Europe against an even more ruthless Russian dictatorship (cf. p. 23).

It does not occur to Guderian that, if Hitler wanted to save Western Europe, the best way to do it was hardly by concluding a pact with the rival dictator in order to free his hands against the West. Instead, the old *Dolchstoss* fairy tale is dished up: "The Western Powers made an alliance with Russia in 1941, landed in the back of the Germans and broke Germany's power when she was engaged in a bitter struggle against the Soviet Union, fighting for bare survival." Here we have, all over again, the German Siegfried, stabbed in the back! Naturally, Guderian blames the Allies for putting in the dock at Nurnberg the very defenders of Europe!

For Nazi-Soviet Pact

He leaves, however, no doubt in his "Memoirs," that he, like the rest of the generals, looked upon the Hitler-Stalin pact as a genuine pact of friendship. He condemns the German Balkans offensive in the spring of 1941 as a provocation to the Russians. It is interesting to remember that before the war, when his mind was untroubled by any thought of pleasing General Eisenhower, Guderian was well known for being "ostori-

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Son of a Gun

Baron von Krupp has been set free—
Krupp should never have served a term.
Krupps are persons of high degree,
Krupps are kind to the employee,
Krupps' are a grand old firm.

Krupp's descent goes a long way back,
The Krupp von Halbach von Bohlen clan
Graces the Gotha Almanac.
Other records are far more black—
Krupps' help the working man.

Krupps' Big Bertha of World War One
Put Parisians on the spot,
Old Big Bertha was quite a gun—
Baron von Krupp is Bertha's son,
Krupp is the Ruhr's big shot.

Krupps' the Nazis with arms supplied,
Krupps', dismantled, are making toys,
Krupp himself was unjustly tried,
He never was on Hitler's side,
Krupp is the best of boys.

Workers worship the name of Krupp,
None so good to the German poor,
A model to all the armaments group,
The Western Allies must now recoup
The ruler of the Ruhr.

Krupp's possessions must be regained,
America will see justice done,
The honour of Krupp was never stained,
And a Krupp shall rule where the Krupps have reigned—
Krupp, the son of a gun.

Sagittarius

(Reprinted from "The New Statesman & Nation," February 17, 1951, by kind permission of the Editor and of the Author.)

entiert." He had then just returned from the Soviet Union, where he was sent by the Reichswehr Command to study, at Kazan, Russian Panzer tactics and where he assisted Marshal Tukashevsky in building up Soviet armour. Significantly, there is now in his memoirs not a word on this cooperation with the Russians.

Hitler's reasons for his preventive war against Russia which he explained to his generals on June 14, 1941, convinced nobody, says Guderian. What had been those reasons? "He would be unable to beat the English. Therefore, in order to find a way to peace, he would have to ensure a victorious end of the war on the Continent. But to be unassailable on the mainland he would have to crush Russia first."

But in this attitude of either Hitler or Guderian there is nothing which was in any sense concerned with the "historical task of the Germans to save Europe from the Eastern menace."

Again and again, in trying to distinguish between Hitler's alleged historical conception and his "terrible strategical blunders," Guderian is contradicting himself. He is balancing on a razor's edge, trying, on the one hand, to justify the faithful support of the regime and its war by the officers' military failures to Hitler. This ambiguity leads him into a rather tight corner when it comes to the plot of July, 1944. He himself rejects the Law of April 26, 1942, which removed the last check on dictatorial powers: "From that day, Germany ceased to be a modern *Rechtsstaat.*" Yet when the plotting generals approach him, he refuses all help though he does not denounce the plot. Later he joins the so-called "Court of Honour," under the presidency of Field Marshal von Runstedt, which had to dismiss and surrender to the terror of the People's Court any officer in any way involved in the plot. In his book Guderian professes sympathy for the victims and especially their relatives who, through the terrible *Sippenhaft,* were equally held responsible and on Guderian's own testimony, suffered persecution and bitter hardship. Nevertheless the General, now duly appointed Chief of Staff, continues to travel on Hitler's bandwagon.

Hypnotised by Hitler

His memoirs end with profiles of some Nazi leaders. Hitler he describes as "a man of dominating cleverness ... his most obvious quality was his will-power ... many people were hypnotised by him. There was hardly anybody in the General Staff who dared to oppose him. Its members were either in a state of permanent hypnosis like Field Marshal Keitel, or of resignation like Jodl. But even men imbued with great confidence came under the spell of Hitler and were silenced when faced with his logic, which they found difficult to refute." Such was Germany's military elite. "It was, however, Hitler's misfortune always to be surrounded in his party by mediocre people," Guderian goes on, referring among others to Himmler, also Goering, who burst into tears when Hitler called him lazy and responsible for the Luftwaffe's failure.

Being so busy white-washing the honor of the Nazi Army, what has Guderian to say about the concentration camps, the D. P. camps, and the liquidation of millions of Jews and non-Jews? There is only one very brief passage confined to the now familiar pretext of having known nothing about it: "The atrocities perpetrated in the concentration camps came to my attention only after the collapse. The system of secrecy of concentration camp methods must certainly be called the work of a genius."

"Never Heard of Gas Ovens"

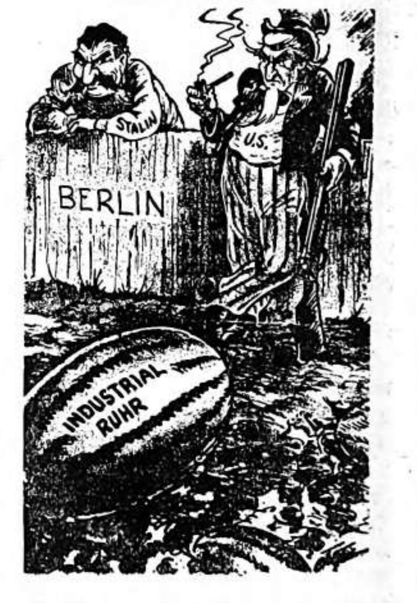
Similarly he had said on March 6, 1945, at a press conference in Berlin (which, of course, he does not mention in his books): "I have never seen anything of those devils' ovens, gas chambers and similar inventions of an insane imagination." Reports which were by then sufficiently substantiated to be taken seriously, he was pleased to dismiss as "atrocity stories against the Germans, set afloat with Jewish thoroughness." Even now, while he has to confirm these *Greuelmarchen* he, who belonged to the inner circle, plays the nobody who had not the slightest inkling of what in those days had already become the horror of the whole civilised world.

This General now poses as a teacher of Western statesmen. For him there is but one way out: If the Soviets are not to conquer the West, Germany must be restored as the most vital factor of Western Europe. This, he points out, includes not only equal rights and full sovereignty but the return of the former Eastern provinces as well as the Sudetenland. The French he tells generously: "We Germans are free from any resentment against France and we see no reason why she should have any against us." Britain, however, is blamed for having always opposed German-French understanding; she "ought to work for the consolidation of Western Europe in her own interest," he writes. So far, he finds, "British policy towards Western Europe has only been negative."

Taken all in all, these are the sort of books which, in the hands of the young and immature, are almost certain to have most dangerous effects. This probably is exactly what the author desires. Does Dr. Adenauer desire it too?

(The author of the above article is a journalist of wide experience on present day conditions in Germany. The Wiener Library of London, England, has granted us special permission to reprint Mr. Reichenbach's article which appeared in its publication, The Wiener Library Bulletin. The Wiener Library Bulletin carries authoritative articles on German affairs and Pan-German developments.)

"PRIZE MELON"



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WORLD WAR III, Inc.

Was the Decartelization Program Sabotaged?

Part III

As part of its educational activities, the Society for the Prevention of World War III has held conferences with former decartelization employees and has made a study of their findings. The Profile following represents the collective viewpoint and expression of these experts.

Profile No. 3: General Lucius D. Clay

For some time it has been common knowledge that the United States decartelization program for occupied Germany has, for all practical purposes, been abandoned or reduced to a state of insignificance. We also know that a small group of former officials of the U. S. Military Government was active in seeing to it that the deconcentration of German industry would not be carried out even though this policy had been declared to be a basic objective and had been often affirmed in policy directives and statements by President Truman.

What is not so well known is the part taken by General Clay in formulating the "theory" which justified the abandonment of decartelization and his active leadership in preventing any implementation of the program.

The officials who supervised U. S. economic policy in Germany had little patience with the general intent of the U. S. occupation of Germany—the reconstruction of a peaceful and democratic German society stripped of its power to wage war and re-educated to a democratic way of life in which the autocratic influences of the past would be eliminated. Many of these officials were representatives of "big business" in the U. S. whose chief interest lay in rebuilding a strong German economy and at the same time protecting and advancing the vested interests of American companies in Germany. These industries were generally in the heavy goods and equipment categories and were the most cartelized and monopolistic. As such they were the primary targets of U. S. decartelization policy.

The U. S. policy respecting decartelization has been clear and consistent, and was first referred to in the Fourth Principle of the Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941; it was restated in more detail in mid-1944 by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, when, at the direction of President Roosevelt, he set up a branch in the State Department to formulate a definite U. S. policy with respect to cartels and excessive concentrations of economic power. This clear policy was formally expressed in the declaration of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on April 26, 1945, and was reiterated in the Potsdam agreement August 2, 1945.

It was against this background that the plans and the program for decartelization in Germany were developed. Law 56, with which we are concerned in this study, was put into effect on February 12, 1947. The policy declaration of this law reads as follows: "*This law is enacted, in accordance with paragraph 12 of the Potsdam agreement, in order (I) to prevent Germany from endangering the safety of her neighbors and again constituting a threat to international peace, (II) to destroy Germany's economic potential to wage war, (III) to insure that measures taken for Germany's reconstruction are consistent with peaceful and democratic purposes, (IV) to lay the groundwork for building a healthy and democratic German economy.*

"*To this end, concentration of economic power as exemplified, in particular, by cartels, syndicates, trusts, combines, and other types of monopolistic or restrictive arrangements which could be used by Germany as instruments of political or economic aggression, be eliminated at the earliest practicable date.*"

A subsequent official directive, issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, dated July 15, 1947, reiterated and restated the policy, after there had been a thorough re-examination of the whole issue at the highest government level.

During the period Law 56 was being negotiated, the Decartelization Branch of OMGUS was active in studying German industries. On the basis of these investigations, it was found that there existed within Germany 69 separate industrial organizations or combines which were appropriate subjects for deconcentration. In the U. S. zone alone, there were 28 such combines having their principal places of business in that zone. The duty of our military authorities was to carry out official policy. The Ferguson Commission, appointed by President Truman in 1948 to investigate our decartelization policy, stated in its final report: "We recommend no change in this policy; none has been suggested by us." (Page 20, April 15, 1949.)

Neither the policy, nor the Ferguson recommendations have been heeded by the Military Government officials.

The Gravediggers of Our Policy

These Military Government officials, headed by William Draper, vice president of the banking concern Dillon, Read & Co., disliked intensely the entire program. They looked upon decartelization as anathema and opposed all practical steps to implement the program.

To accomplish their purpose of blocking action against excessive economic power, they resorted to direct and indirect sabotage of instructions and policies and disregarded with unabashed arrogance high policy directives in order to render decartelization activities inoperative. They wept crocodile tears about the indigent American taxpayer who was compelled to support Germany because the "anti-trust" boys in the Decartelization Branch were interfering with German industrial recovery. They denounced James S. Martin, the first chief of the Decartelization Branch as a follower of the "Morgenthau

Plan" and the program he proposed as one of "ruthless deconcentration." Every influential visitor from the U. S., every group of newspapermen or editors, were not too subtly informed that the American taxpayer would immeasurably be relieved if only decartelization and its nefarious doings could be abolished.

General Clay, however, as Military Governor, was the man who gave the decartelization program its coup de grace. The method which Clay used to throttle decartelization was simple enough. It consisted in declaring the clear-cut provisions of Law 56—on excessive economic concentration—as inapplicable and substituting for it, arbitrarily, deconcentration criteria which completely reversed the principles laid down in Law 56.

Furthermore, the officials selected by Clay to guide and supervise the work were known adversaries of the decartelization program. They possessed neither the interest nor the experience for the job. Among the most important of these was Phillips Hawkins. An obscure patent attorney, he leaped into official prominence as a result of his marriage to General William Draper's daughter. As a top economic adviser to Clay he ruled, high-handedly, on questions that would tax the competence of leading economists, and was able to push into a position of importance as chief of the Decartelization Branch another obscure attorney, Richardson Bronson. *(See Bronson's record in PREVENT WORLD WAR III, No. 36, page 31.)*

General Clay's Record on Decartelization

It will be useful to begin with General Clay's own report as given in his book, "Decision in Germany." In this account of his stewardship of the American occupation, he describes in one paragraph, page 325, the achievements of decartelization under his direction, and we will quote, therefore, the essential parts of this paragraph:

"A third specific measure which the occupying powers considered necessary for security against Germany was the breaking up of cartels and excessive concentration of economic power . . . In the United States procedures under anti-trust laws are reenforced by court decisions rendered over a period of years. Many Americans will believe the process in Germany has gone too far while others will believe that we have hardly moved at all. Actually cartels are now illegal; hundreds have been broken up and any which exist will be broken up as they appear. The Big Six Banks, the I. G. Farben Empire and the twenty-six large coal and steel enterprises are in dissolution, and have been or are being reorganized into a much larger number of smaller enterprises . . . There has never before been a like effort to reduce concentration of economic power. Personally, I think the process has been carried to about the right point and further breakup of industry would result in its inability to compete in world markets . . ."

This is an unusually rosy picture of the remarkable achievement and progress of decartelization under Clay's regime, which in his opinion is just at the "right point" where it can be snipped off lest further deconcentration impair Germany's world market position. According to this account, Germany is decartelized, scores of new businesses are competing where only a few combines existed before, the big iron and steel trusts of the Ruhr have been smashed and the problem of U. S. security so far as Germany's potential and real economic power are concerned has been solved. An aggressive Germany resting on an economic foundation of cartels and large industrial concentrations is no longer possible, he intimates.

There is only one flaw in this idyllic account: *It does not happen to be true.*

Not a single, major industrial combine has been deconcentrated in the U. S. zone of occupation—not even I. G. Farben.

German cartels, it is true, are theoretically prohibited under Law 56, but in practice they continue to flourish and expand. The Decartelization Branch was never permitted to implement the ban on cartels. Its program for enforcement of the anti-cartel provisions of Law 56 was never approved, although a number of insignificant actions against minor trade associations took place.

General Clay, under pressure, agreed to only *one* major action against a large German company, namely, Robert Bosch of Stuttgart. However, the action against Bosch was rendered ineffective by a divestiture order which did not seriously attack Bosch's dominant position in the German economy. Moreover, with the help of Bronson and Hawkins, the Bosch company was able to make a dummy agreement with a Swiss company headed by an American ex-general Wilson which allowed Bosch to recapture its world market position and re-establish its international cartel agreements. *(A detailed study of these phony happenings appeared in No. 37 of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, on page 23.)*

With regard to Bosch, the High Commissioner's office reports (March 17, 1948) that action is now being completed against the company. More than three years have passed since the first draft order against Bosch was ready. At best, it will be a Pyrrhic victory for decartelization since the company will have retained the fruits of its decades of swallowing up its competitors.

On November 3, 1950, the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* reported that the decartelization of R. Bosch was no longer the concern of the Allied High Commission.

The vigorous statement by Clay that the steel combines in the Ruhr are in a state of dissolution is the most astounding of all; that they have been replaced by a large number of small companies is not merely inaccurate reporting. It is more on the order of a grand deception, since it is a fact that under the Adenauer regime and with the full cognizance of the Allied High Commission, the steel combines in the Ruhr with the former Nazi industrialists, Dinkelbach, Pferdemenges, Reusch, et al in the saddle are recovering their economic power and are becoming a greater power than at any time in the past.

The steel combines of the Ruhr, guided by a Ruhr Steel Trustees Association composed of the former leaders of the old steel cartel and Nazi industrialists, are now able to present a monopolistic front in the field of European steel production more potent than that which existed in pre-war Germany, notwithstanding the controls established by Military Government and the Allied High Commission, which succeeded it. This newly reconstituted combine is ready to take on the world, and in particular, French and British steel producers. In view of Clay's own vigorous intervention on behalf of the steel cartelists in opposition to the British must we conclude that the General is extremely naive—which he isn't—or that he sought in his book to deliberately mislead American public opinion? Or else how can we interpret the following official account of the meeting between General Clay and his decartelization staff March

22, 1948, as culled from Exhibit 38 of the Ferguson hearings: *"With reference to the steel companies, Clay raised the question regarding the number needed and remarked, 'you can't limit steel companies to the manufacture of a single product.' He stated that it was impossible to write arbitrary rules and that he was governing himself by the rule of reason and effects.*

"At this point, staff member (Kobre) stated that the staff wished to continue to do its work on German heavy industry and Clay replied that 'he wanted primarily to break up the monopolies in the consumer goods field.' Clay said that: 'The job of deconcentrating heavy industry is a British job.' Clay said that only Bosch, Henschel and possibly Siemens and Halske were monopolies in the U. S. zone."

General Clay and the German Monopolies

That was Clay's statement on March 22, 1949. We assume that this statement was intended to be an order to his decartelization staff. If we are to take it at its face value, Clay plainly stated that Henschel, for instance, was a monopoly, hence subject to decartelization. Further, if we interpret Clay's famous "rule of reason" dictum seriously, we assume that he stood behind it and was ready to assume all responsibility for its execution. Here again we will let the official record answer General Clay. On March 10, 1948, or 12 days before the above-mentioned meeting took place, Richardson Bronson wrote a memo dealing with a conversation he had with General Clay (Exhibit 11-A) in which he reported General Clay as having told him that, "he was willing to make his decision right now, for example, that Henschel should not be decentralized." The question is, was Henschel not a monopoly on March 10, 1948? Did it become one on March 22, 1948?

And as regards the famous rule of reason, Richardson Bronson defined it as follows: *"That we must examine all corporations in our zone of the 10,000 employees if we had not already so examined, and make up our decision as to whether they were or were not an excessive concentration of economic power, and, if they were not, we should and could and must inform the organization that it was not to be the subject of decentralization proceedings, and, if it was an excessive concentration, that we were to go ahead and take such action; that the whole policy of our program must be based upon a rule of reason and the rule of reason was our one and practically only yardstick; that the decision as to whether an enterprise should not be decentralized was to be made by me, concurred in by Mr. Hawkins, and, if necessary, concurred in by General Clay himself."* In other words, the interpretation of General Clay's rule of reason was left to the discretion of Mr. Richardson Bronson and General Draper's son-in-law, Phillips Hawkins.

And since General Clay was so proud of our accomplishment in decartelizing the Ruhr steel industry, we believe it pertinent to quote General Clay's moral fortitude in this matter by further quoting from Bronson's memo on March 10, 1948. "General Clay stated that we should not assume any responsibility in the preparation of the directives against the Ruhr enterprises, but that we should be on the policy-making level and, for the American side, approve or disapprove of the determination of how the enterprises in the Ruhr should be decentralized when the British had prepared it; that as a matter of principle, insofar as the steel enterprises in the Ruhr were concerned, that he was for a vertical integration, but he was against horizontal integrations and therefore an enterprise should not be decentralized because it was a vertical integration of interests, and, as a matter of fact, the vertical integration of interests would be necessary in many instances; that he had gathered that the British were in contemplation of making 40 or 50 competing enterprises in the Ruhr and he was of the opinion that was making a number of such small ones that they could not successfully compete in the world market or successfully compete against the enterprises in the United Kingdom, and it might well be and more suitable that there were only five or six or ten or such number of enterprises competing out of the Ruhr combines." In other words, General Clay did nothing to break up the steel and coal industries.

General Clay's Fortitude

Furthermore, one would have assumed that General Clay would have been only too glad to affix his signature to a specific set of definitions and yardsticks as prepared by his aides, Bronson and Hawkins. The record, however, will reveal that this wasn't the case either. As reported by Bronson: *"Mr. Hawkins then showed him the memorandum which he prepared dated March 9, a copy of which is hereto attached, and General Clay read it over and said that he did not wish to sign and formally approve of a series of definitions and yardsticks, but that he generally approved of everything contained in the memorandum and that it should serve WITHOUT BEING PUBLISHED AS SUCH (capitalization supplied) as the guide to the activities of the U. S. Decartelization Branch."*

Why did General Clay not include in his book a copy of the oral statement he made to Bronson?

The picture General Clay draws in his book of his achievements in the field of decartelization is completely misleading. For the truth of the matter is that he carries full responsibility for scuttling decartelization and for disregarding U. S. policy directives never publicly repudiated by any authorized agency of the U. S. Government.

The principle which General Clay enunciated through his mouthpiece, Bronson, in March, 1948, was that German heavy industry was *not a proper subject of deconcentration action and that he alone would be the arbiter as to what constituted an excessive concentration of economic power . . .*

General Clay's Earlier Record

Clay's desertion of decartelization constitutes a complete "flip-flop" on his part since, in the beginning of his tenure as Military Governor he was a strong advocate of small business. He welcomed the decartelization program as a contribution to the democratization program of the American occupation and gave it his unstinted support.

For example, in a memorandum dated October 10, 1946, he informed William Draper: *"I am convinced that the re-creation of small businesses in Germany will do more to revive the economy and to provide for a more satisfied population than the re-growth of cartels which, in many instances, with government support were able to dictate their own terms to their customers."*

Clay approved a memorandum prepared by James S. Martin outlining the scope of decartelization in October, 1946, and certainly by no stretch of the imagination could Clay be accused of "ruthless deconcentration." Further, Clay fully backed Martin's effort to obtain a four-power deconcentration law with "mandatory" provisions knowing full well that the British opposed these provisions.

The opponents of decartelization in Military Government, Draper, Wilkinson, Spencer and others, never lost an opportunity, notwithstanding Clay's firm stand, to make underhanded attacks on the program to visiting editors and newspapermen. These tactics became so scandalous that Clay was obliged to intervene.

Then Clay reaffirmed his faith in decartelization and ordered Draper to toe the line or else. In view of Clay's subsequent conversion to the line of Dillon, Read & Co., it is worthwhile quoting this section of the memorandum: *"It seems to me that a lukewarm attitude towards decartelization is certain to develop if we begin to preach that decartelization will stifle German economy. As you know, many sincere people believe that the foundation of free enterprise in America rests in small business, particularly where ownership and management are combined to work closely with employees. While I am not attempting to carry a brief for small business against big business in the U. S., I am certain that the revival of democracy is dependent on our ability to develop an economy which is not controlled by a handful of banks and holding companies."*

In the fall of 1945 Clay showed a remarkable grasp of the real nature and intent of our economic policy toward Germany. During that period Clay supported the draft law of the Division of Cartels and External Assets.

Thus Clay's stand was a clear one. In those days in Military Government circles Clay was considered a friend of decartelization, and the Draper crowd, while not relaxing their efforts in opposing Martin, nevertheless were afraid to incur Clay's wrath. At this stage the opposition, so to speak, went "underground."

However, the anti-decartelization sniping continued. A group of businessmen reporting in May, 1947, on their impressions after visiting Germany, affirmed their belief that decartelization was injurious to German industrial recovery and addressed a request to Clay to postpone the entire decartelization program for the present.

In view of these facts the question arises, therefore, when did the Dillon, Read & Co. virus enter General Clay's body?

How did General Clay dissolve the large coal and steel enterprises? Did he break up hundreds of cartels? Did he carry the decentralization of the German industry "to the right point" as he claims in his book?

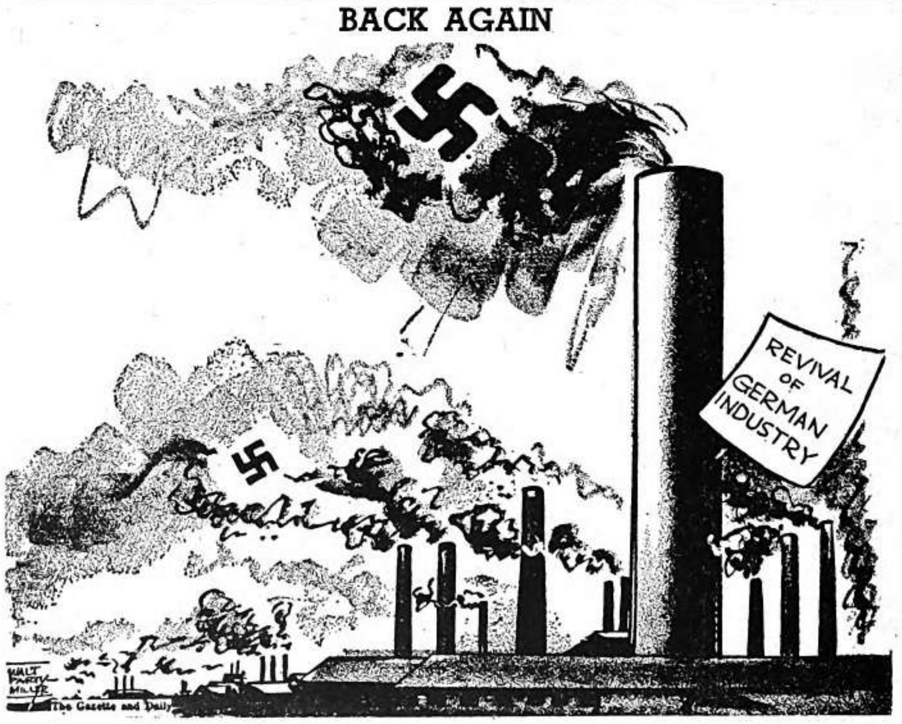
Clay's Change of Heart

After the Congressional elections of 1948 the spokesmen of big business on the staff of Military Government were openly jubilant and were predicting that this meant the end of decartelization.

General Clay, in a conversation with James Stewart Martin, informed him that the results of the November elections in the United States would mean increasing difficulties for the Decartelization Branch. The tendency in the future, Clay told Martin, would be away from deconcentration. Clay, too, was now getting lukewarm towards decartelization.

After more than a year of drafting, Law 56 was signed by Clay on February 24, 1947. However, it remained a paper document without a program of implementation. Martin experienced increasing difficulty in obtaining approval for his policies. In July, 1947, feeling that his efforts were completely stymied by the Draper crowd which ran the Economics Division, James Stewart Martin resigned and went home. With Martin out of the way no serious opposition existed to those who were determined that the program of the Decartelization Branch would not be implemented.

It was not possible, of course, for the decartelization program of Mili-



(Cartoon by Walt Partymiller—Courtesy Gazette and Daily, York, Pa.)

tary Government to die by a kind of statute of limitation. Some new approach to decartelization would have to be found which would give the program a slow, but certain death.

The policy designed to strangle decartelization was evolved by Clay in consultation with Hawkins, Wilkinson and Bronson in a series of behind the scenes conferences. By March, 1948, this new policy was fully expounded by Clay and imparted to his lieutenants for formal presentation.

The basic tenet of Clay's new policy as expounded by Hawkins and Bronson was that henceforth decartelization was to be guided by the "rule of reason." This rule of reason was to be used in determining whether an enterprise was subject to deconcentration. The rule of reason, in turn, was based on the proposition that no action must be taken against any German company if that action injured Germany's chances to compete on the world market.

In practice, this meant that Germany's heavy industry, the big combines which financed Hitler's war and provided it with industrial sinews, could not be deconcentrated since, obviously, it would be these very industries which would have to compete on the world markets.

At a conference with Hawkins, Bronson, and Wilkinson, Clay further elaborated his "rule of reason" policy. He ordered that all enterprises previously on the decartelization list of firms subject to deconcentration in accordance with Law 56, must now be re-examined to determine whether they were producers of heavy equipment or consumers' goods. Clay further stated that vertical monopolies would not be subject to deconcentration and that companies with subsidiaries from the raw materials stage to the final product could not be deprived of control over these accessory facilities insofar as no effort was made to "influence" other branches of production. In effect, this meant that the basic industries of Germany, its big steel and iron combines, its heavy machinery producers, its colossal and cartelized chemical industries could not be deconcentrated since they would all represent cases of vertical monopolies which Clay now excluded from decartelization action.

In the words of the memorandum submitted to Clay by 19 members of the Decartelization Branch, before their resignation, this new policy "excluded from decartelization action the principal group of monopolistic enterprises which the Law says must be eliminated."

The Henschel Combine

Of course, General Clay understood fully that his edict meant the death of the decartelization program. He immediately ordered cessation of all action against the great Henschel combine which provided Hitler with tanks and airplane engines and which now remained as the sole producer of locomotives in Germany. Henschel could not be deconcentrated because its only customer was the German railroads.

That was the official reason given by General Clay on March 23, 1948, when he appeared before the decartelization staff and ordered them not to proceed against the Henschel combine. The same thing happened to V. K. F. Were they proper subjects for deconcentration?

We will let the reader judge for himself by giving a few pertinent facts about these two companies. The Henschel combine is a holding and operating company with headquarters in Kassel, U. S. zone, and is controlled by the Henschel family. It has participation in about 20 German companies, some of which have participation in other companies. It owns and operates three main factories located in Kassel which are adapted to the production and repair of locomotives, trolley busses, trucks and other types of machinery and equipment. By reason of its ownership of these factories, Henschel now possesses between 70 and 80% of Germany's locomotive production facilities and between 90 and 95% of Germany's trolley bus manufacturing capacity. Moreover it holds commanding positions in several other fields of production.

The Kassel plant, producing standard locomotives, has a normal capacity of better than one new locomotive a day. Through the use of that factory Henschel became the dominant manufacturer of locomotives in Europe. Normally Henschel sold between 30 and 40% of its locomotives abroad.

There is another factory known as the "Mittelfeld Plant." This factory had never produced a single locomotive prior to 1948. It was built during World War II as a tank factory and produced the famous "Tiger" tanks up to the end of the war. But it was designed to easy conversion to locomotive production. It has a potential capacity of about two new locomotives a day.

There is also a third factory which was used primarily for the manufacture of boilers and locomotives.

The revised draft of the "determination and directive" in the Henschel case which was originally submitted by the decartelization staff to Mr. Bronson near the end of 1947 provided in part that Henschel should effect the complete and perpetual severance of any and all ties of ownership, control and management between it and two of the three factories mentioned above. Since the draft was prepared, opposition started immediately to emasculate the directive. Apparently the opposition was successful and General Clay took it upon himself to scuttle the work done by his own Decartelization Branch.

United Ball Bearing Works

In a similar manner, General Clay ordered the cessation of deconcentration procedure against the United Ball Bearing Works (VKF) ostensibly because it was the property of a neutral country. Beginning about 20 years ago it started a campaign of monopolization and acquired all of its German competitors, especially Kugelfischer. It had declared a price war on Kugelfischer and was employing the same tactics it had used in the acquisition of other competitors when Germany began her preparation for World War II. As a result of that, VKF and Kugelfischer entered into cartel agreements and Kugelfischer was allowed to live and operate independently.

Under the reparations program all of the machinery was removed from the Kugelfischer plant while VKF plants remained untouched and the company was actually allowed to keep approximately 2,000 machines idle in storage. The net result was that VKF was left to occupy a monopoly position in the anti-friction bearing industry of Germany.

In order to facilitate the final emasculation of the directive against VKF, Bronson and Wilkinson decided to make available the idle machines of VKF to Kugelfischer, thus giving the appearance that VKF had a competitor! The final coup de grace to the decartelization of the ball bearing monopoly was given by Clay when he stated that VKF was not a monopoly since Kugelfischer was operating again.

Who Is Going to Scream?

Having completed his somersault from an advocate of small business and democracy to a protagonist of big business and a strong Germany, General Clay, although a valiant soldier, thought it the better part of wisdom to hide behind the mask of anonymity. He preferred to let his lieutenants carry the onus of authorship and refused to affix his signature to the memorandum which Hawkins prepared outlining Clay's application of the "rule of reason" policy. He was aware, he stated, that his new policy would be disturbing to members of the staff of decartelization with a strong anti-trust background.

Clay's reversal of policy was so drastic and so limited in the scope of future decartelization activity, that even Hawkins and Bronson could not help but point out to Clay that the new yardstick was too "indefinite" for the Branch to come up with an "intelligent" answer on what they were now supposed to do.

Clay offered his harrassed aides no solace for their confusion. He refused to commit himself as to what the future activity of the Branch would be.

Instead, he offered this revealing comment: "He fully realized that when this program was made public that there would be a scream to high heavens from the strong anti-trust group, but that there had been similar screams before as exemplified by the soundings-off of Martin back in the United States, but that the screams had come and gone and that probably there would not be much more major interest to create a serious scream."

His volte-face completed, his own "screams" buried in political expediency, the man who so determinedly vowed to carry out the U. S. objectives on reconstructing Germany into a democratic society based on free enterprise now exposed himself as a ruthless exponent of cartels and monopolies.

How do General Clay's assertions about the "screams" of the anti-trust crowd stack up against his assertion in his book that "there has never been before such a like effort to reduce concentration of economic power...?"

I. G. Farben

In his book General Clay informed the American people that the great I. G. Farben chemical trust had been dissolved and that the steel combines of the Ruhr were already or in process of being dissolved into a large number of small companies. These two claims need closer examination, for nothing is further from the truth.

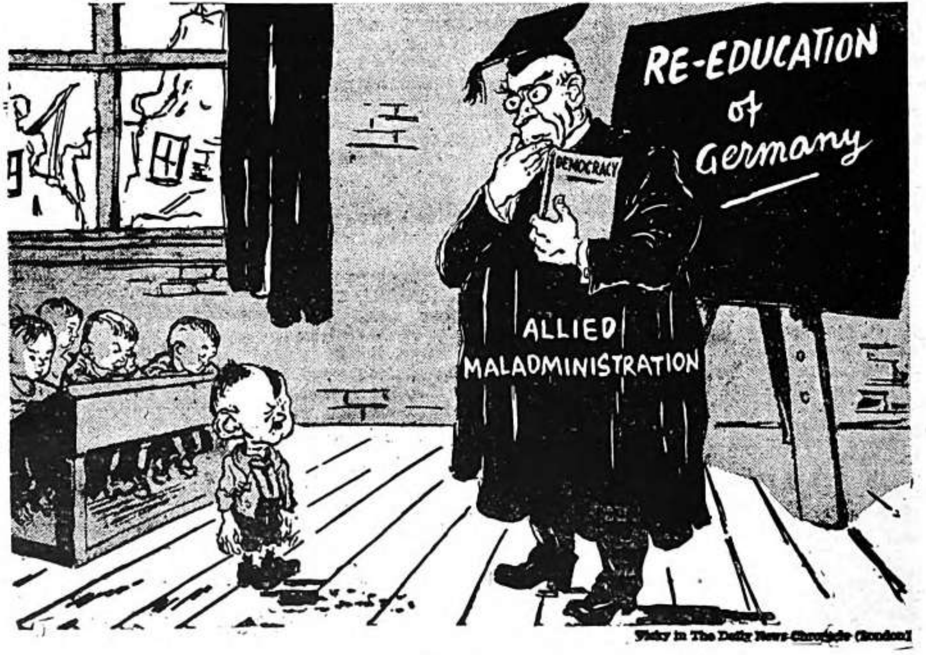
The infamous I. G. Farben chemical combine which used live human beings for experimental purposes, which sparked the entire war effort of the Nazis and which spread its sinister cartel tentacles throughout the entire world is today still the great chemical trust, remaining essentially intact and producing at a rate greater than that prior to the war.

The man appointed to carry out this ambitious and far-reaching program was none other than Richardson Bronson, appointed by Hawkins to the position of I. G. Farben Control Officer during the period the latter occupied the position of Chief of the Decartelization Branch.

As I. G. Farben Control Officer, Bronson achieved two things: he set up a system of German Trustees for each of the "independent" units and secondly, at an expense of 300,000 marks, he reconstructed a bombed out house belonging formerly to an I. G. Farben director, for his own personal use in the city of Frankfurt.

The plan for breaking up Farben looked good on paper. Pending ultimate sale of the "independent" units,

"HAVEN'T I SEEN YOU BEFORE?"



(*By Vicky—Courtesy Daily News Chronicle, London*) they would continue to produce for the peacetime economy of Germany. The flaw in the whole picture, however, was that the "independent" units were not really independent. They were a legal concept but nothing else. Moreover, notwithstanding that leading directors of Farben such as Herman Schmitz and Max Ilgner were under arrest as war criminals, the affairs of Farben were administered by a liaison committee which provided a common direction and a common policy for Farben as a whole. In very many cases the Trustees selected were administrators or technicians who themselves were formerly connected with the firm and slavishly devoted to restoring I. G. Farben to its former position.

On April 30, 1949, the Ferguson Committee reported that: "The U. S. occupation officials have failed to smash a single one of German's giant monopolies under a crackdown now two years old." *(New York Times*, April 30, 1949.) On that very day, April 30, 1949, General Clay was quoted in the official army newspaper, *Stars and Stripes*, as saying: "Germany's largest industrial combine, the I. G. Farben enterprise, has been broken into several units, of which there are 50 in the U. S. zone alone."

Appearing before the Ferguson Commitee, General Clay stated: "The I. G. Farben as such no longer exists." (Page 24, Ferguson Report.)

Yet, on June 1, 1949, one month after the publication of the Ferguson Report, an Associated Press dispatch from Frankfurt, Germany, stated: "The major step toward breaking up the I. G. Farben chemical empire will be taken soon by offering one of its units for sale."

Recent reports from Germany indicate that not one of the units has been sold to the public although the intention to do so was publicized in the German press as far back as 1946.

Thus, I. G. continues to function under common direction as a series of "independent" units. Having suffered very little bombing damage, the Farben combine continues to remain a dangerous war potential aggregate. On General Clay's own admission, "some of these units are PRODUCING MORE THAN EVER BEFORE IN THEIR HISTORY, despite current adverse conditions." (Our emphasis.)

The recent decision of the Allied High Commission to restore the chemical industries to German control highlights the danger of a reconstructed Farben. Former Nazis are being appointed to high positions in the combine, while Farben's international cartel activities have already been re-established and are increasing. Although Law No. 9 is still on the books, correspondents report that the intention to sell Farben units to the general public is as "dead as a doornail."

In the face of these developments how can General Clay make the positive assertions, as he does in his book, that I. G. Farben is dissolved?

The Record Is Clear

Clay's role in restoring the power of the steel and coal barons of the Ruhr is particularly pertinent in view of the current plans to merge the French and German steel industries.

The British, in whose zone the major steel and coal companies were located, originally prepared a plan for deconcentrating these companies in an indefinite number of smaller corporations. The exact number was not predetermined. Had this plan been carried out, Germany's capacity for satisfying the domestic market would not have been impaired. When the British plan became known, General Clay "was quite horrified." In his opinion, if the British plan was to be carried out, "we would create a steel industry in Germany which could not possibly compete with the remaining industries of Europe." Clay cautioned his economic advisers to keep a close watch on British activities with regard to steel and had to bide his time until the two zones were merged.

Discussing the steel situation with the 19 members of the Decartelization Branch who questioned the wisdom of reversing U. S. policy on decartelization, Clay told them bluntly: "A great many people believe in small business but it doesn't happen to be that that is a policy of our government . . . I would never go along with the idea of breaking up the steel companies into lots of companies . . ."

After the merging of the American and British zones into a bizonal administration, General Clay was able to force the British to abandon their plans for deconcentrating the Ruhr industries. Under Clay's guidance an innocuous Law 75 on deconcentrating steel was approved, which affected mostly the peripheral subsidiaries of the big companies and problems of compensation for owners, but left the big combines intact. The only thing the British won out of the deal was that the question of future nationalization of the Ruhr industries was left open to be decided on at a future time by the Germans themselves.

The abandonment of their control plans for the Ruhr was the price the British had to pay for continued Marshall Plan aid. The British plan for the level of steel production and the organization of the steel companies would not have interfered with German industrial recovery. It *would* have made it impossible for the German Ruhr magnates to again become a threat to Germany's neighbors or to dominate the European economy. Clay's stand that Germany must be able to "compete" on world markets meant simply that the German steel industry would have to be built up as a major force in the European economy.

General Clay informed the American people in his book that the Ruhr steel combines had been broken up, notwithstanding the fact that he himself had blocked the carrying out of this very objective.

Summing up, the record of achievement in decartelization as presented by Clay is at complete variance with the facts. It is, in reality, the record of an able administrator who started off to carry out, diligently, the objectives and policies of his government, but who rapidly resorted to political expediency under big business pressure, and who, once turning his back on his original mission, left no stone unturned to undo that which he started to build.

Under his aegis as Military Govnor, the great German steel, iron, chemical and heavy equipment industries became power weapons in the Bonn Government's struggle for economic domination over Europe. It is General Clay who must carry the major responsibility for the U. S.'s failure to carry out our mission in Germany in one of its most important aspects—the deconcentration and decartelization of German heavy industry.

General Clay's record on decartelization naturally found favor with Dillon, Read and Co., which now can resume its past policy of expanding the German steel companies. General Clay's "achievements" have been duly recognized since his retirement from Military Government. Besides his directorship in the Marine Midland Bank and Continental Can, the General was recently elected to the Board of General Motors, which has a long record of tieups with German industry.

A Letter to the President of the United States By the Belgian Resistance Movement

(We received from Belgium a copy of a letter recently sent to President Truman by eight Belgian Resistance organizations which heroically fought the German occupation. This message clearly shows that patriotic groups in the allied countries are alarmed over policies which, in effect, ignore the past record of the Germans and grant unwarranted leniency to German war criminals. In order that our readers may be kept informed as to such grass-roots sentiments prevailing in Western Europe, we reprint below the text of this letter.)

Antwerp, April 16, 1951

To His Excellency,
Mr. Harry Truman,
President of the United States of America

This message is directed to you by the United Resistance Movements of the Province of Antwerp, including:

the National Conferedation of Political Prisoners,
the General Sabotage-group G,
the Belgian Army of Partisans,
the Secret Army,
the Independence Front,
the Patriotic Militia,
the Union of the Intelligence and Action Services,
the White Brigade Fidelio,
all of them officially recognized by the Belgian Government, and honoured with the greatest praise by General Eisenhower in his well-known message at the liberation of Europe.

The United Resistance Movements want to express their profound disillusionment, their anxiety and their disapprobation concerning the policy which is conducted by the representatives of the United States with regard to the German criminals of war and the still prevailing national-socialist tendency.

After the Allies had proclaimed to the world that fascism would be extirpated root and branch, and after they had shown in a series of notorious trials how the crimes against humanity were punished, the United States are now retracing their steps and they are alarming the victims of the last world war by an attitude which has been altered totally.

The ever growing concessions in every sphere towards Germany, culminating in the reprieve, nay, the release of the numberless hangmen of a Europe crushed and struggling to the death, and the recent declaration of General Eisenhower according to whom the crimes of a few do not injure the honour of the German army, rouse the defenders of the Free Democracy to the sense that the realities of the past have been forsaken.

For those who have gone through war under the knout of the most atrocious of all oppressors, for these who have been the witnesses and the victims, during five long years, in their own country and in the concentration camps, of the oppression, the terror, the violence, the corruption, the torture and the murdering of countless millions of people, for those it is totally out of the question to consider either the German people which in its greater majority together with its leaders has watched and supported with satisfaction and pride the unworthy actions of its government, or the German army which as a whole has brought this policy to an end, as an honourable people and an honourable army, to which they ever could reach their hands during this generation.

Nothing shows them that the German people or the German soldier and the traitors who in the various countries of Europe have been at Germany's side, have come to the understanding of their mischief and to better opinions and intentions. That is why those who through their attitude and their action have resisted the oppressor, although they are not less humane and forgiving than the others, consider it to be an unpardonable failing against humanity of their own or other friendly governments, to grant a free place and consideration to those whose crimes are graver beyond compare than those of ordinary malefactors whom everybody would shun.

The United States to which went our confidence, our admiration and our gratitude in those hours of distress, should know that nobody can sue for the friendship of Germany and its accomplices without losing ours; they will understand this when they remember the documentation which they possess about the German atrocities in Europe and of which the marks have been burnt in our flesh and minds, never to be effaced.

They hope that you will be fully alive to the concern which is in their minds and that you will help preventing that the old and well-tried ties of friendship and love should be broken for the sake of misunderstood unity, and they present you, Excellency, the expression of their profound respect.

For the National Confederation of Political Prisoners,
Albert Edward Rudelsheim, *Administrator*
For the General Sabotage-group G,
René Leclef, *Chaplain to the Forces*
For the Belgian Army of Partisans,
Pieter A. J. Peeters, *Clerk*
For the Secret Army,
Edward Geluck, *Stockbroker*
For the Independence Front,
José Gunzburg, *Lawyer*
For the Patriotic Militia,
Rudolph Roels, *Professor*
For the Union of the Intelligence and Action Services,
Charles J. A. J. Mertens, *Merchant*
For the White Brigade Fidelio,
Leon Baumans, *Clerk*

Which Is the Truth?

"'. . . I realize,' McCloy continued, 'that a lot of people claim we are relinquishing too much power to the Germans but whom are we relinquishing it to?—to the men who have spent their lives in jail or in exile because they dared to oppose Hitler—to the men who have their roots deep in the principles of the Weimar Republic. We are not relinquishing any Allied powers to the Nazis. Of course, you may read in your paper about some dogcatcher or minor official who is a former Nazi, but you won't find any former Nazis at the top. . . .' "

(Drew Pearson's Washington Merry-Go-Round, March 22, 1951)

"... Critics of the denazification program also point to the presence of former Nazis in important positions and in the public service generally. It is true that there are many former Nazis in public positions. Many are school teachers, mail carriers, policemen. Some few occupy higher positions, even in the state and Federal governments. Many business men holding important posts were once members of the Nazi party. Millions of former Nazis are re-employed, most of them in their former vocations . . ."

(Fifth Quarterly Report on Germany, HICOG, Oct. 1-*Dec.* 31, 1950)

★ ★ ★

". . . (Mr. McCloy) made clear that every possible means would be applied to reduce smuggling across the East-West borders.

" 'Actually I am not at all sure that the extent of this illegal trade has not been exaggerated,' he commented. 'It is extremely difficult to obtain definite figures. . . ' "

(Dispatch from Berlin to The New York Times, *May* 19, 1951)

"The condition (illegal West German trade with the East) which is observed is extremely disturbing . . ."

(Senator Herbert O'Conor in the Congressional Record of April 26, 1951.)

"Information (illegal West German trade with the East) received by my staff confirms the serious state of affairs in this field."

(From a letter by U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy to Chancellor Adenauer)

★ ★ ★

"In numerous petitions and memoranda to the Federal Government, the youth of Germany are pressing with ever-growing insistence for permission to engage again in glider flying. . . .

"The Federal Government feels it cannot let this wish of German youth go unheeded, especially since glider flying today is regarded purely as sport, serving only peaceful ends. The experience of the last war has shown that the use of gliders has no military value. . . ."

(Letter from Chancellor Adenauer to Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, British High Commissioner, April 28, 1951)

"... It was in Germany that gliding as a sport had its biggest development after World War I, when the use of power-driven aircraft was forbidden temporarily under the Versailles Treaty. The use of gliding clubs to prepare enthusiasts for subsequent formation of the Luftwaffe led to the 1945 ban now in process of being revoked . . ."

(Dispatch from Frankfort to The New York Times, *April* 28, 1951)

★ ★ ★

"After detailed study of this case, I could not convince myself that Alfred Krupp deserved the sentence imposed upon him. There was certainly a reasonable doubt that he was responsible for the policies of the Krupp Company, in which he in fact occupied a somewhat junior position. It was also very doubtful that he had any responsibility for the use of slave labor in the Krupp plant."

(From a letter from U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, published in the May 1951 *issue* Information Bulletin)

"Western Germany has refused to submit a proposal for allocating Ruhr coal exports among the receiving countries for the third quarter of 1951.

"Normally the proposed German allocations would be received by the Coal Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe through the Allied authorities in Germany. The Coal Committee is the body that tries to fill as many as possible of Europe's coal and coke requirements with inadequate supplies available. The refusal of the Germans to present figures means the third-quarter allocations cannot be made . . ." *(From a dispatch to The New York Times)*

Gustave Krupp's "forty-year-old son Alfred had been in active charge of the Krupp enterprises for several years, and had been vested with sole ownership and control by a special Reich decree of 12 November 1943, called the 'Lex Krupp.' "

(From a Final Report to the Secretary of the Army on the Nuremberg Crimes Trials by Brigadier General Telford Taylor, U. S. A., Chief Counsel for War Crimes, Aug. 15, 1949.)

"As the tribunal of able career judges from the appellate benches of Connecticut, Tennessee, and Washington found, Krupp cooperated with the Nazi government's slave-labor policies, not reluctantly or under duress, but willingly.

"... In fact, abuse of slave labor was no mere 'consenting part.' Krupp, like I. G. Farben, undertook the construction of a plant near the Auschwitz concentration camp, with the avowed expectation of using the inmates as a labor supply. And in June, 1944, at a meeting attended by Alfred Krupp, it was decided to explore the possibilities of employing 'prisoners and convicts' at Krupp's Geisenheim plant. 'Negotiations' to this end were carried on with the concentration camp near Geisenheim."

(By Brigadier General Telford Taylor, Counsel for War Crimes in The Nation, *Feb.* 24, 1951)

Neo-Nazism in Germany Today

by

ERNEST LEISER
(Correspondent for the Overseas News Agency)

It is more than two years now since Gen. Lucius D. Clay, then the United States Military Governor, made the emphatic public declaration that "nazism is completely dead" in West Germany.

If Gen. Clay was right, there are nearly a half million ghosts in the West German state of Lower Saxony alone. And they all trooped into the Lower Saxony polling-places the first Sunday of this month to cast their votes for the Socialist Reich party or the other, lesser splinter groups which had pridefully announced they were the inheritors of the National Socialist mantle.

For the past year, in their preoccupation with integrating West Germany into the Western European community, the Allied authorities have tended to overlook or to minimize indication of a neo-Nazi growth. Today, they have had those signs called forcefully to their attention. More than 14 per cent of the valid votes for the Lower Saxony legislature were cast for the Nazi "radical right." And the results have alarmed the Allies profoundly. British and French officials, especially, have asked this correspondent whether in his view it is safe, under the circumstances, to proceed to turn back full sovereignty to the Federal Republic here in Bonn.

Four factors have heightened that alarm:

(1) The democratic political parties took official notice of the nature of the Socialist Reich party and the lesser Nazi groups and warned the voters what they would be doing if they gave them their mandates. They warned, especially, what the effects on public opinion outside Germany would be if the neo-Nazis made a strong showing.

(2) The SRP and related parties themselves made no secret of their nostalgic admiration for Nazi ideology. Their spokesmen have denounced "our degenerate democracy" and have bluntly said "we want to restore the many good programs of National Socialism." They echoed all the slogans of nazism, they used almost the same symbols—the black eagle on the red-and-white ground with only the swastika missing—and their thugs used the same tactics of intimidation on their opponents during the campaign. Those who voted for them could hardly not have known what they were doing.

(3) The neo-Nazi groups were able to make their strong showing despite the fact that they were quarreling bitterly among themselves and jockeying for position. The Socialist Reich party won the lion's share of the "radical right" votes—nearly 367,000—but the German Reich party also got 74,000 votes and even the other insignificant Nazi splinters were able to attract some voters.

(4) The neo-Nazi groups were able to make their showing although their leaders were only second-rate demogogues. The bosses of the SRP—men like Otto Remer, the tough and unprepossessing Nazi who was made a major general by Hitler for blocking the July 20, 1944, plot against the Fuehrer's life, Fritz Dorls and Count von Westarp—do not even have the twisted brilliance which their Nazi predecessors like Goebbels, Goering and Hitler possessed. Remer, Dorls and Westarp are obvious smalltimers; yet just by waving the Nazi banners they were able to get into the big time.

In addition, the Allies are disturbed because there is strong evidence that the SRP bosses received clandestine support from the Communists (who were only able to pull down 1.8 per cent of the vote) and because they outdid even the Communists in their violent anti-Allied defamations (Dorls, for example, screamed at one meeting that a Socialist state official was a "pimp for the American terror regime in Germany.")

The leaders of the major democratic parties in West Germany are themselves alarmed. After a long period of hesitation, just before election day, the Federal Republic's Minister of the Interior, Robert Lehr, outlawed the SRP's strong-arm "Reichsfront." After the results were in, he expressed even greater perturbation and said the Government would act to declare the party itself unconstitutional as contrary to the democratic order.

His post-election perturbation was especially easy to understand. His own Christian Democratic Party was the one from which the SRP was able to win most of its votes.

But all the democratic party leaders are worried. They admit that the Lower Saxony election demonstrated statistically what has long been evident: that the democratic parties have not been able to win the allegience of a very substantial part of the German electorate.

They have sought some consolation by pointing out that, strong as its showing, the SRP emerged only in fourth place in the party standing and that it certainly will not be able to influence, much less dominate, major legislative decisions.

However, those who are not so easily consoled point out that the SRP is in a considerably stronger position than were the Nazis in the early days. These observers are not worried about the present. They have an eye to the future.

They are also concerned about the possible future development of a political group which no one has yet labeled neo-Nazi but which may very well demonstrate authoritarian tendencies in the future. That is the Union of the Homeless—the party of the 9,000,000 Germans who were kicked out of East Germany and East Europe when the Russians came in.

In Lower Saxony, this group nosed out the SRP for third place in the party standings. In the recent elections throughout the United States zone and, only a few weeks ago, in the French-zone Rhenish Palatinate, the refugee party showed similar strength drawn, like that of the SRP, from the middle-of-the-road parties.

What would happen, a number of Allied officials ask today, if—as is perfectly possible—there should be a combination between the neo-Nazi groups and the refugees, who represent the most underprivileged and discontented sector of the population? Would democracy in Germany be able to survive their onslaught, especially if there were an economic turn for the worse?

A great many Allied statesmen here would hesitate to answer that question in the affirmative.

"Every seventh member of the new state legislature in Lower Saxony," the editor of one of the leading conservative newspapers in West Germany has just written ruefully, "has dedicated himself to the resurrection of nazism."

It is shocking, the editor goes on to say, that so soon after Germany's inheritance of Hitler's legacy—"the endless rows of graves, the smoking ruins of our cities, the hatred of all the world"—more than 14 per cent of the electorate in the state of Lower Saxony should vote for men "who seek to march in Hitler's spirit."

What will the outside world think of us? he asks. How can nearly half a million people have forgotten so soon the atrocities of Auschwitz? How can they vote for the men who would seek to reimpose the system which made Auschitz possible?

Having thus bitterly assailed the strong showing made by the Socialist Reich party at the election in Lower Saxony this month, the editor proceeds to find some consolation in the situation. . . .

Lower Saxony, he says, is an isolated case. The growth of neo-nazism there does not reflect a similar growth in the other ten states of the West German Republic.

Officials of the three Western Allied powers, while sharing this editor's deep concern at the Saxony election results, declare today that they can not find the same consolation he has been able to. Lower Saxony may present an especially conspicuous case: it is not an isolated case. It is not only in this one state that neo-Nazi ideology has taken hold.

It is quite true that Lower Saxony is the only state, to date, in which a party which openly and proudly avowed its allegiance to Nazi ideas has been able to win strong representation in a legislature. However, Allied officials note, there are neo-Nazi groups of some kind operating in every state of the Federal Republic. To list just a few:

1. The League for German Revival, a half-clandestine organization headed in exile by Otto Strasser, one of Hitler's early henchmen, which calls for "national socialization," the elimination of the present "superfluous" political parties, and the like.

2. The First Legion, which avowedly aims to "do away with the old-fashioned 19th-century forms of parliamentary democracy" and "eliminate corrupt party politics," substituting the rule of an elite.

3. The Reichsjugend, a youth organization nicknamed the Hedler Youth after its organizer, Wolfgang Hedler, leading figure in the neo-Nazi German Reich party. It is a uniformed organization which has recruited young people principally in the state of Schleswig-Holstein and uses as its symbol the "Wolfsangel," closely resembling the Nazi swastika.

4. The Fatherland Union, a political group in Bavaria, whose leader, August Hausleiter, was jailed for his anti-democratic public speeches.

5. The Stahlhelm and the Bruderschaft, two groups drawing principally on former militarists. Both now operate on two levels—the open political and the clandestine—and leaders of both have expressed contempt for the infant democracy of West Germany.

The recital of all the neo-Nazi organizations would be a long one. It is only fair to point out that, to date, none has been able to attract a large membership. However, it must be also pointed out that most of them operate throughout all West Germany. Their activities—though less flamboyantly successful than those of the Socialist Reich party—penetrate into every single West German state, and are not limited to Lower Saxony.

It should be noted, too, that Lower Saxony is far from the worst of the West German states in the number of former Nazis holding top governmental office. Claimant for this doubtful honor is Lower Saxony's neighbor to the north, Schleswig-Holstein. There almost every single member of the Cabinet—including the Minister President or chief executive—was a Nazi. Two were officers in the ill-famed SS.

Finally, United States officials in the office of John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner, have noted an even more disturbing set of facts. In basic political attitudes, their research has discovered, a very substantial part of the German population is easily vulnerable to the ideology with which the Socialist Reich party made its first bid to prominence in Lower Saxony.

Only about 30 per cent of the West German people think Nazism was altogether a bad idea. Thirty-four per cent still believe in "Aryan" race superiority. Only about half have confidence that the Germans are capable of governing themselves democratically. Six out of ten would be willing to sacrifice their civil liberties for economic security.

It is a knowledge of these facts which makes it difficult for the Western Allied authorities to find the consolations which the eminent German editor did. Almost none would say, as do the extremists, that Germany has been "renazified." But many have been deeply disturbed by the results of the Lower Saxony election, not only for themselves but as a symptom of present attitudes and a portent for the future.

(Courtesy ONA)

APING THE FUEHRER

"Jakob Kaiser, West German Minister for All-German Affairs, asserted flatly today that 'the Saar is German.'

". . . They are the same words used as a slogan by Nazi Germany during the agitation before the Saar plebiscite of 1935. They are the words of one of the nationalistic songs of prewar Germany. . . ."

(From a Frankfort dispatch to "The New York Times.")

"A Congressional investigator said today that West German companies, some of which receive Marshall Plan aid, have made an 'alarming' increase in shipments of strategic materials to Communist China since the Korean war began. . . ."

(From a Washington dispatch to "The New York Times.")

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

PLAYING THE CARTEL GAME

From Business Week:

"West German labor unions have won their battle for 'codetermination'—an equal voice with management—in the Ruhr coal and steel industries.

"Chancellor Adenauer gave in to union demands rather than face a disastrous strike. But Adenauer managed to get these concessions from union leader Hans Boeckler:

"(1) Labor won't push its 50-50 policy in other German industries—except chemicals.

"(2) Labor will support management and the government against Allied plans for decartelization of the coal, steel, and chemical industries..."

* * *

GERMAN CHESTNUTS IN THE FIRE

Dispatch from Frankfort to The New York Times:

"The West German Government has claimed its right to the frontiers existing before Dec. 31, 1937...

"Specifically, the Federal Government claims East Prussia, half of which is now part of the Soviet Union; the Oder-Neisse territories in Poland; the Soviet zone in East Germany, now the German Democratic Republic; the Saar, at present considered an economic appendix of France, and the small border rectifications of the Western frontier in favor of Belgium and the Netherlands..."

* * *

MR. McCLOY'S COMMUTATIONS BACKFIRE

From Ernest Leiser to the ONA:

"'The Germans will not really rest quiet until every man is released from Landsberg and his "honor vindicated,"' a spokesman for Mr. McCloy commented bitterly the other day. 'Only a few Germans are still prepared to accept the facts that there were such things as atrocities committed by the Nazi hierarchy'...

"There could hardly be more cynicism attached to any political question today than there is to the whole business of war-crimes trials by the West Germans. Speak to any German privately—be he politician or man-on-the-street—and he will evince no gratitude at the clemency shown the war criminals. He will rather say, 'Those judgments were imposed simply because you beat us. You're reversing them now simply because you need us.'..."

* * *

FLYING HIGH

From a Reuters dispatch:

"West Germans hope the western nations soon will allow their country to run its own air lines and build its own aircraft.

"Demands for independent West German air traffic are being backed by the Bonn government. Transport Minister Hans Seebohm has said German 'air sovereignty' should be recognized again because restriction of it makes a genuine partnership with the western nations 'impossible.'..."

A GERMAN DIKTAT

From Larry Rue to The Chicago Tribune:

"'We are willing at any time to put our entire industrial capacity and strength at the disposal of the western defense,' said a German official. 'But before we can do this, two conditions will have to be met by the allies—the lifting of all industrial and economic restrictions and prohibitions, and the supplying of copper, nickel, cotton, rubber and other raw materials.'"

* * *

COMRADES IN ARMS

From Drew Middleton to The New York Times:

"German fascism is losing no time in restoring its links with Fascist movements in other countries now that it is once more a going political concern.

"Dr. Franz Richter, a Bundestag deputy and one of the leaders of the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich party, plans to attend the International Fascist Congress in Malmoe, Sweden..."

* * *

ON A MISSION OF MERCY

From Business Week:

"...West German exports of machines and vehicles to the East are 20 times 1948 levels. Yet the Germans insist that they must do this kind of trading to survive. This problem is the big reason why U. S. High Commissioner McCloy is hurrying to Washington..."

* * *

FOR GERMAN "REHABILITATION"

Press Release from the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner:

"The U. S. Land Commissioner for Bavaria has informed the Minister President of Bavaria, Dr. Hans Ehard, that the aluminum production equipment at the Vereinigte Aluminium Werke A. G. in Teeging, Bavaria, which was designated for delivery to the United States as reparations but not delivered, may be retained in Germany.

"The action by the Land Commissioner, Dr. George N. Shuster, followed a decision by the Allied High Commission to approve the retention of the Teeging equipment..."

* * *

TERMITES AT WORK

From the J. T. A. News:

"Dr. Wilhelm Hoegner, Bavarian Minister of the Interior, announced that activities by the 'Nationale Sammelbewegung Deutschlands'—the 'National Unification Movement'—headed by Erwin Boerner, would be banned in Bavaria. Boerner recently founded his organization in Stuttgart and Munich and proclaimed a 16-point program calling for a return to a national dictatorship 'for the national renaissance of Greater Germany.' He denounced the present German government as traitors who are preventing the national awakening of Germany."

MEMO TO TAXPAYERS

From a Dortmund, Germany, dispatch to The Chicago Daily Tribune:

"American funds started construction today of a big new German rolling mill that will help the Ruhr produce more steel.

"The mill at Dortmund's Hoerde steel works is the biggest project to date in the new economic cooperation administration (ECA) program to rehabilitate the German steel industry. Only a few months ago the occupation was dismantling German factories...."

A "NEW" FACE AT BONN

From a Bonn dispatch to The New York Post:

"Former Gen. Werner Kreipe, once chief of staff in Hitler's air force and holder of one of the highest Nazi party awards, has been appointed an advisor on civil aviation in the West German traffic ministry.

"His task is to plan the training of civil aviators in preparation for the day when the Allied ban on German flying is lifted. He had a similar job in Goering's air ministry.

"Kreipe was given the Nazi 'blood award' with other officers in the Munich War College for their help during Hitler's 'beer hall putsch' in Munich in 1923...."

MAKING IT OFFICIAL

From a dispatch to the New York Post:

"Western Germany has hired a Washington attorney to make a last minute bid to save the lives of Oswald Pohl and six other doomed Nazi war criminals.

"Attorney Warren Magee admitted today that his fight to save the seven mass murderers of Dachau and Buchenwald from the gallows was being financed by the Bonn government headed by Chancellor Adenauer. Magee declined to state the size of his fee, but reliable sources said that his initial retainer was $10,000. . . ."

INNOCENT DR. SCHACHT

From Samedi Soir:

"Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's rearmament specialist who was tried for war crimes at Nuremberg, told a few selected newspapermen the following:

" 'I regret that between 1933 and 1939, foreign governments did not avail themselves of the opportunity to aid the Hitler opposition. I regret that I, myself, as an economist who had no connections with politics, have not been strong enough to prevent Hitler from carrying out his mad plans. I regret the fact that I have been misled by him to such an extent."

A SIGN OF THE TIMES

From an Associated Press dispatch:

"A West German police official announced recently that British authorities will be asked to prosecute Lord Edward Russell....

"British authorities previously announced that Russell and his wife were assaulted at Vlotho....

"... Russell had reported that he had been punched, and that his wife was scratched on the neck and back by members of an angry crowd who were shouting 'English pigs.' "

CELEBRATION AND COMMENT

From a United Press dispatch:

"Alfred Krupp, whose munitions family supplied the armies of Hitler and the Kaiser, walked out of War Crimes Prison....

"Two hours after his release, Krupp held a press conference in the Landsberg hotel. There he 'cleaned up' and drank champagne with his friends and his brother, Berthold von Bohlen, who had waited at the prison gates with a bouquet of tulips....

"Asked his opinion of Nazism, he said 'if you answered that question adequately, you would have to write a book about it and I do not propose to do this.' . . ."

FAMOUS LAST WORDS

From The Washington Evening Star:

"Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, whose charges of Army brutality against the Malmedy defendants prompted a Senate investigation, said yesterday the commutation of death sentences given Germans in the case was 'extremely wise.' "

FOR SERVICES RENDERED

From The London Economist:

"The Federal German Government took an important step last week towards rehabilitating the German professional soldier, both morally and materially. Though the facts that the Republic consists only of a fraction of the former Reich and that its financial position is weak do not justify generosity, the Bundestag has approved second reading of a Bill to pay full pensions to all former regular soldiers and members of the Reich Labor Service. Promotions for bravery are to be recognized and non-commissioned officers with long service are to receive special aid. The Chancellor himself declared, amid continuous applause, that the Allied laws had quite unjustly made professional soldiers 'partially responsible for the lost war,' although they had merely done their duty to the state. The Government, he said, would never support the real war criminals; but the percentage of such guilty men was so 'extraordinarily small' that it did not destroy the honor of the former Wehrmacht...."

FREEDOM VERBOTEN

From Russell Hill to The New York Herald Tribune:

"A Communist court in Potsdam has ruled in two recent cases that it is a crime to write the word 'freedom' in a public place.

"Two eighteen-year-old youths, Winfried Michaelis and Hans-Joachim Lewner, were convicted of having conspired to paint the word 'freedom' on a bulletin board in their home town...

"... In justifying the sentence to hard labor the court declared: 'The slogan "freedom" is without a doubt a tendencious rumor according to the purpose of its use. The word "freedom" is not of itself to be characterized as a rumor. However, in the present political situation, because of the misuse of this word by the imperialist warmongers, the writing of this word has become equivalent to spreading a rumor which tends to support the war aims of the imperialists and thereby endanger the peace of the German people.' "

A PAGE OUT OF "MEIN KAMPF"

From Herbert Roberts to the ONA:

"Fears are being expressed here that Prime Minister D. F. Malan of South Africa and his Nationalist party backers aim at quitting the British Commonwealth and establishing an Afrikaner dictatorship. . . .

"Already Dr. Malan has made much progress in this aim. A policy of 'selective immigration' has been established. Immigrants from Germany and the Netherlands are sought. German is the permitted language in schools in South-West Africa where many Germans have settled since the war. And less than one-third of last year's migrants were from Britain. . . ."

★

EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS

From Die Wochenzeitung:

"A Bamberger city councillor asked the American authorities to answer the following embarrassing questions:

" 'Can you guarantee us that you and not the Russians will win the next war?'

" 'Can you guarantee us that we, the city officials, will not be dragged before a people's court and hanged?' "

★

LOYALTY TEST—SOVIET STYLE

From Edward Crankshaw to The Washington Star:

"One and a half million Germans in the Eastern zone, members of the Moscow Socialist Unity Party, are to be examined individually to establish their loyalty to the Kremlin. . . .

"Past Socialists and Communists arrested by the Nazis are to be interrogated closely to see how they behaved under arrest. . . .

"In striking contrast is the attitude toward past members of the Nazi Party (as revealed by the following comment by the Soviet-sponsored Socialist Unity Party). 'It must be borne in mind that many prisoners of war from the Soviet Union were once members of Nazi organizations—and even occupied leading positions in them. But it must be remembered in each case that since then they have taken an active part in the fight against fascism and have proved their change of heart by attending anti-Fascist schools and engaging in active work.' "

★

NAZIS ASSERT THEIR RIGHTS

From Combat, Paris:

"A new group calling itself the 'Association of Victims of Denazification' has been founded in Bonn, Germany. The purpose of the organization is to fight for the adoption of an amendment to the West-German Constitution, stipulating that 'no German should be forced to fill out a political questionnaire.' "

★

POINT OF REMINDER

From the Swiss newspaper, Journal de Geneve:

"General Remer who once joined the resistance movement in Germany in order to betray it, is now one of the mainstays of the Socialist Reichs Party. General Remer, who on July 20, 1944 successfully quashed the military revolt against Hitler, is reported to have said publicly, 'When the Russians come we will show them the way to Bonn.' "

MAKING IT COUNT

From Ernest Leiser to the ONA:

". . . The Germans, for example, are "Totoists.' . . . A Totoist is a devotee of the "Football Toto' and the Toto is a complicated lottery based on the results of the major soccer games played weekly in the states of West Germany.

"Something like 300,000,000 tickets on the Toto were bought in thousands of cigar stores and newsstands throughout the 11 West German Laender last year. That makes more than six tickets for each man, woman and babe-in-arms in the Federal German Republic. And the Germans, deluged with the costs of reconstruction of war ruins, occupation expense, the care of nine million refugees from Russian Europe and sundry other items, forked over nearly 1,000,000,000 Deutsche marks—almost $250,000,000—for those tickets. That is more than the money the Allies are levying against West Germany this year for the increase in the German's share of the West's defense burden; and the outcries against the increase have been ear-splitting."

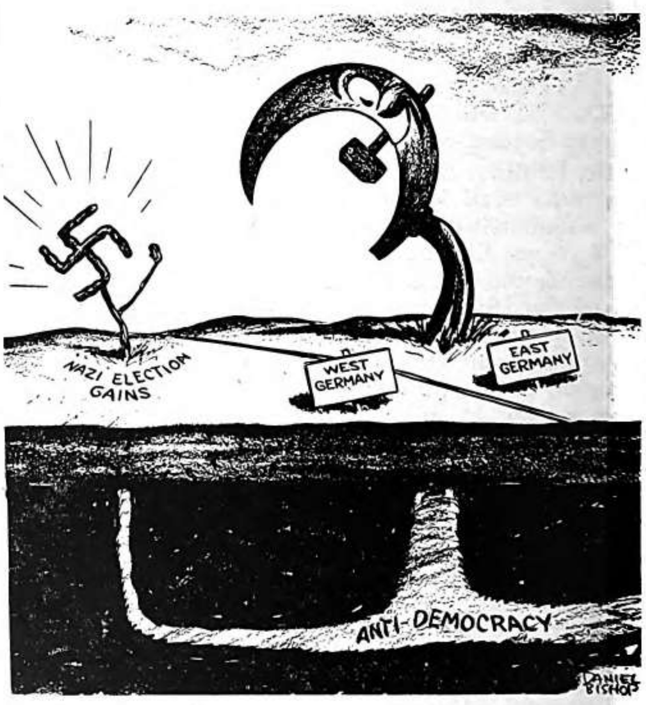
★

A ROUTINE REQUEST

From the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung:

"The Bonn Government has requested the High Commission authorities to put an end to the liquidation of German assets abroad. Specifically, the German Government is interested in abolishing Control Council Law No. 5 which forbids German representatives abroad from dealing with such matters directly."

SPROUTING IN ANOTHER FORM!



Daniel Bishop in The St. Louis Star-Times

The Case of Alfred Krupp

by

BERNARD B. FALL

(Former Research-Analyst on the U. S. Prosecution Staff of the Nurnberg War Crimes Trials.)

Of all the commutations of sentence against German war criminals that were pronounced by the U. S. High Commissioner in Germany on February 2, 1951, the one restituting Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach to the ownership of his munitions empire may be considered as one of the most decisive steps of U. S. policy in Europe.

In the High Commissioner's commutation order, Krupp is being erroneously compared to I. G. Farben and Friedrich Flick, the other German firms indicted for war crimes. Both of these are fundamentally different from Krupp's: I. G. Farben is a group of semi-independent corporations working under more or less close relations of cartel agreements; Flick's Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke were of a much smaller scope than Krupp and their present ownership is purely academical since the bulk of the plants is located in the Russian zone of Germany.

On the contrary, Krupp represents concentrated economic power. The current estimate of his assets as $500,000,000 does not take into account Krupp's far-flung interests reaching from Finnish ore concessions to subsidiaries in Turkey and nickel mines in the Indonesian islands. Conservative Allied estimates place Krupp's total value near the one and a half-billion dollar mark.

Krupp's plants in Western Germany alone are capable of producing anything from battleships to milk cans and from locomotives and heavy tanks to movie cameras.

Furthermore, Krupp is not a corporation. Krupp is one single huge private "family property." By a special Hitler decree of 1943, the "Lex Krupp," the whole Krupp empire was concentrated in Alfred Krupp's hands and thus, Krupp is—for all practical purposes—the biggest single unit of heavy industry known today.

And yet, Krupp is more than just a mere armament plant: it is the very symbol of the old "steel baron" nobility of the brand of a Stinnes, a Mannesmann and a Thyssen, of those men who "made" German governments and openly plotted against the Weimar Republic. The same men that "paid Hitler"....

As Alfred Krupp's father once pointed out in a public speech—and later on in a book written by Nazi industry leaders on behalf of the Nazi Ministry of Armament—the Krupp plants continued to produce and carry on research on prohibited weapons during the whole post-Versailles period, without the help and orders of the Weimar Republic. In Gustav Krupp's own words, Krupp continued to train his staff for war production under the very noses of the Allied "snooping commissions." Krupp operated two dummy corporations engaged in submarine production in the Netherlands and in Finland where his engineers and key workers were sent to acquire training and experience. Krupp's engineers tested their first tank models on the Red Army's proving grounds in Kazan, U. S. S. R., as early as 1927 and continued to do so until Hitler's open violation of the Versailles Treaty permitted them to operate on German soil. The Soviet T-34 medium tank, of World War II fame, is a direct descendant of those tests.

The first Nazi submarines, commissioned hardly weeks after the ratification of the Anglo-German naval treaty of 1935, came from Krupp's Germania shipyards in Kiel. At the Nurnberg trial of Krupp and associates, a U. S. naval expert pointed out that at least three to four years of intensive preliminary research is required to build submarines of an entirely new type, as undoubtedly those were. Krupp was neither "compelled" nor "threatened" by the Weimar Republic to make illegal use of his factories. He did so of his own accord, freely and willingly. So much for the firm's past record.

Nevertheless, the findings of the U. S. High Commissioner were "*. . . that confiscation in this case constitutes discrimination against the defendant unjustified by any considerations attaching peculiarly to him . . .*"

To this, the record of U. S. War Crimes Tribunal No. 10 states as follows: "*. . . Persons who assume . . . to operate a machine or guide the destinies of an enterprise—be it an automobile or . . . a corporation—are under duty so to exercise their power of control . . . that the enterprise under their conduct does not embark upon a criminal course . . .*"

It is of public knowledge—and the trial record stands unchallenged—that the Krupp firm had embarked upon such a criminal course of conduct: foreign plants were pilfered and spoliated, slave laborers were beaten, starved and killed.

Although the "general confiscation of property is repugnant to American concepts of justice . . . ," to quote again Mr. McCloy, it is nevertheless an accepted feature of American jurisprudence. Any pernicious use of private property on U. S. territory (slot machines, firearms, etc.) may result in confiscation thereof. Likewise, Krupp misused that enormous empire of his for purposes that are beyond the law, both local and international. So much power in one man's hands is more than mere "private property," it is a public trust—and Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach proved himself unworthy of it.

Documented examples of Krupp's criminal activities abound. If a man's signature on a document means that he has at least held the piece of paper in his hands, the record of the Krupp trial shows beyond a reasonable doubt that through Krupp's hands passed requests for the looting of machinery from foreign countries, orders for the "integration" of foreign factories into the Krupp Empire, as well as requests for considerable amounts of slave manpower.

To quote but a few examples available in the official records of the Nurnberg War Crimes Tribunal:

1. The official document NIK-11504 reports that Hitler himself was against the allocation of foreign slave labor to Krupp, for fear of espionage, but gave way to Krupp's repeated demands;

2. Alfred Krupp personally inspected the Austin plant in Liancourt, France, in 1943, giving instructions for a "better coordination" with Krupp's interests;

3. It was Alfred Krupp again who signed personally an order allocating 2,000,000 Reichsmarks to begin anti-tank shell fuse production in the infamous Auschwitz death camp, in order to make the utmost of the cheap manpower available there.

Without batting an eyelash, the Krupp works used the poor wretches from the concentration camps for the heaviest jobs that were to be found. The whole town of Essen—Krupp's hometown—saw every day the rag-clad column of five hundred Czech concentration camp inmates, all girls from 15 to 20, march to their assigned place of work at Krupp's: twelve hours without food and without protective clothing in the armor plates rolling mill.

And what, Herr Krupp, happened to those girls? Is it true that, with U. S. paratroopers hammering at Essen's gates, they were hurried away to the extermination camp of Bergen-Belsen and murdered there, so that no tales of this your "private" concentration camp would leak out?

However, two girls survived, some of the female SS guards were found and the most subtle arguments of the defense failed to shake this terrible accusation.

As to Krupp's famed "social welfare" program, it included also the abortion station in Voerde, where foreign female workers were aborted so that they would not divert any of their time from Krupp's armament projects to the care of their newborn babies.

The record contains also terrible testimony against Krupp's private strong-arm squads, the Werkschutz, armed with Krupp-issued rubber truncheons and steel whips (whose chief, Von Buelow, was Krupp's counter-intelligence boss and liaison man with the Gestapo and the Nazi party; Von Buelow is also being released under the High Commissioner's clemency order). Their torture chambers were located in the cellars of the very same Main Administration Building in which Krupp and most of his co-defendants had their offices. Sometimes, the German employees on the first floor complained about the screams and cries that emanated from those cellars, but the directing members of the Krupp firm had their offices on the third floor. . . .

The defense's efforts to clear both the name of Krupp and the defendants themselves were of an eagerness bordering the grotesque: the head of the accounting department could not "remember"—under oath—whether the concentration camp inmates received any wages or not; likewise the personnel manager of the Krupp Bertha works in Silesia had no recollection of the nationality of the more than five thousand concentration camp inmates in his employ.

However, the mainstay of the defense rested upon the now-famous "element of coercion and compulsion." In other words, Krupp and his directors were threatened by the Nazis to spoliate plants (at a profit) and to maltreat and overwork their slave labor, or a fate similar to the one of their own victims awaited them around the corner.

To this, the trial record, quoting a universally accepted American legal authority, states that ". . . the fact that a crime is committed under coercion and compulsion may be set up as a defense . . . but . . . must be well founded and immediate and actual danger of death or great bodily harm must be present . . ."

No such instance of threat of death or mayhem against Krupp and his acolytes has been produced by the defense; better yet, the defense was unable to produce any such deterring examples of any comparative value in the whole Nazi industry.

Still, the human flesh may be weak, and along the probable line of thought of the U. S. Clemency Board which reviewed Krupp's case, he and his directors should be credited with having feared to oppose the Nazi regime.

However, if that was the case, where did Krupp and associates take the courage to jilt the Nazis of 162,000,000 Reichsmarks (about $32,500,000 of 1938) worth of Nazi war bonds which the firm illegally sold and converted into solid property when the heydays of the war were over and the doom of the Third Reich loomed over the horizon?

Of course, the slave laborers were a plentiful commodity—available for the asking—and, in Krupp's eyes, hardly worth risking one's safety for.

Still, it may be that Krupp's crime was just one of negligence, or in the words of Brigadier General Telford Taylor, former U. S. Chief of Counsel for War Crimes: ". . . *of supreme indifference to the effect of their actions upon the lives and liberties of thousands* . . . ," but that is exactly what brands Alfred Krupp and his staff as unworthy of guiding the destinies of tens of thousands of workers in what is to be a democratic Germany.

The problem is a serious one and requires an amount of political deftness heretofore seldom found in U. S. occupation policy in Germany. The return of Krupp into the Ruhr spells labor trouble in this vital area, and also troubles with the Western European allies of the U. S., since they feel that they have a direct interest in the matter but have been bypassed by the completely unilateral decision of the U. S. High Commissioner.

Reinstating Krupp in the Ruhr is politically as sound as making a major cash contribution to the Soviet propaganda war chest. Western German industrial productivity has made an amazing recovery through the Marshall Plan without the personal help of war criminals like Krupp, et al., and, therefore, stands no appreciable gain at this stage of the game from their reinstatement. The only real beneficiaries from this move would be the Communists on either side of the Iron Curtain who will be able to tell their listeners: ". . . Remember? We told you so . . ."

"Smuggling between East and West Germany has become an estimated billion dollar business.

"Huge quantities of goods flow illegally in both directions across the border between the Russian-occupied east zone and the western republic.

"This trade has been going on ever since the war ended, but 'since last fall it has assumed tremendous proportions,' a high West German customs official said. . . ."

(From the "Chicago Daily Tribune.")

Gleanings From Japan

by
ROBERT P. MARTIN

(The following piece is drawn from a series of reports to the Overseas News Agency by Mr. Martin, an outstanding reporter and expert on Far-Eastern affairs.)

There is a strong possibility the United States has been hypnotized by figures—that Japan has 84 million people who are opposed to communism, that Japan has nearly 5,000,000 veterans of World War II who could fight well, and that each year between 800,000 and 1,000,000 youths become job hunters and, theoretically, available for military service. Translated into military terms, these figures are awesome, and are one of the reasons Japan is highly regarded as an ally of the West.

A number of very wise and experienced Japanese, however, say that the figures can be misleading. . . .

If these Japanese can be believed, a new Japanese army would have substance but little spirit. They also believe that destruction of the "Tenno (emperor) myth" has removed the spiritual center needed for a strong army. . . .

"If a quick rearming of Japan is pushed through," according to a Nichi-Nichi article, "the army will be big but powerless; the nation will be flooded with gawky soldiers in smart-looking uniforms. This will be nothing but a huge waste of our limited national wealth.

"The traditional myth of the 'godly Emperor' and that ours was a 'land of the gods' has been smashed in the minds of the youth. They want freedom and peace now, and believe that money is the way to obtain them." . . .

The fact that there is considerable doubt among the Japanese about the spiritual qualities of a new army suggests that the West should not depend too much on the sheer physical fact that Japan has a population of 84 million people.

Japan prepares for an Allied peace treaty as the nation nears the end of the occupation rule. Final settlement may be reached at year's end but more likely by summer of 1952. A review of the country's position today shows it is better fed, clothed and more prosperous than any of its Asiatic 'conquerors' in World War II. . . .

Widespread building boom in Japanese capital today reflects astonishing degree of postwar recovery. Additionally, the people are better dressed, both men and women. They are fatter, healthier and certainly happier. . . .

Despite outward evidence of prosperity and rising standards of living in Japan, poverty and despair still dominate the lives of millions of inhabitants. Suicides continue at high level, violent crime is on increase, and there is widespread traffic in child slavery. . . .

Japan's slave-trade is by no means as large as it was before the surrender. But in the first half of 1950, 127 "brokers" were arrested and charged with engaging in human traffic. They purchased young boys and girls from poverty-stricken families, primarily in the rural areas, and then sold them in the larger cities.

The girls were sold into bondage as cafe waitresses, house maids and shakufu (sake-serving women). Most of them ended up as prostitutes. Young boys became factory or farm hands.

Most of the children came from exceptionally poor families, although many were orphans, sold by their relatives. Fathers who sold their children were day laborers, farm hands, unemployed workers or miners. They received from 3,000 to 10,000 yen ($8 to nearly $30) from the brokers. The youngsters were forced to work from one to two, and sometimes up to ten years, under the terms of their contract. Few of the children received any wages. . . .

The breadth of Japan's poverty is shown in the massive growth of pawnshops. Private pawnshops totalled 12,500 in 1948, and 16,600 at the end of 1950. The Government has 50 "welfare pawnshops" which charge only 3 per cent interest a month compared to 10 percent charged by private shops. . . .

Six years ago Japan was economically prostrate; today, the nation is producing at 110 per cent of prewar capacity and its people, for example, are best-clothed of all Asians. Unless there is radical change in U. S. policy, the country will be permitted to expand industrially as far and as fast as it desires. . . .

Some degree of a revived "cocky nationalism" is discernible in Japan as the nation sees an Allied peace treaty within sight. While the Shinto religion is no longer State-supported, more people flock to shrines than since war's end, while the Rising Sun emblem is flown from almost every household. How much Western-style democracy and culture will be retained is problematical. . . .

Those convicted of war crimes are being released long before their sentences are completed; many Japanese have been depurged and, once a peace treaty is signed, most if not all "purgees" will be permitted to return to public life if they wish.

It is much too early to say whether Japan has been able to absorb the philosophy and teachings of Western-style democracy. The framework of a democracy has been erected, but whether it will survive and become stronger is entirely in the hands of the Japanese. At this moment in history, one can not even say whether the Japanese people will fight hard to preserve what little they already have in the form of a democratic "way of life."

In the first two years of the occupation, labor was a direct beneficiary of the enlightened reform program. Workers were permitted to organize trade unions and bargain collectively. Japan was given a labor standards law. Food and cotton imports, paid for by the United States, brought prices under control and increased real wages almost to the prewar standard.

In the past two years, however, labor has lost or abandoned many of these gains. Japanese employers, taking advantage of an occupation- and government-sponsored purge, weakened trade unions by dismissing militant non-Communist as well as Communist labor leaders. The collective-bargaining law is virtually inoperative as far as government workers are concerned. . . .

Japanese business and industry have benefitted from the occupation. United States aid-grants paid for raw materials such as cotton, oil, coking coal and industrial salt. After some hesitation, the United States more or less abandoned plans for exacting reparations from this country. . . .

Big business interests which reaped huge profits from the war succeeded in escaping a large part of the burden of paying for a losing war. . . .

Physically, Japan's huge family trusts were broken up. But the American ideal of free enterprise did not really catch the imagination of Japanese industrialists and businessmen. Most economists now agree that, within a few years, interlocking companies, cartels, government subsidies, price and production controls and all other forms of former Japanese business practices will return in modified forms. . . .

The United States in 1945 and even in later years had two choices: Japan could be treated harshly, as a defeated enemy, or she could be built up as an "ally." Partly by chance, partly by design, Japan became the beneficiary of a modern innovation in victorious warfare: reform and recovery were given equal importance, and retribution was reduced to an outmoded Old Testament concept of justice.

The result is that Japan, after enduring the humiliation of defeat and occupation, is better fed, better clothed, less troubled by unrest and more prosperous and stable than any of the Asiatic countries that were arbitrarily classed as "victors" in World War II. . . .

After nearly six years of occupation, the Japanese have learned one lesson: if a war must be lost, lose it to the United States.

"American plans to permit Japanese rearmament could wipe out five years' progress toward democracy and give communism a great victory in the Far East, a Foreign Policy Association report said recently.

"Noting that Russia and the United States now are engaged in a world-wide battle of ideas, it said Japan—after conclusion of a peace treaty—'can be our best potential ally in an ideological rather than a military sense.

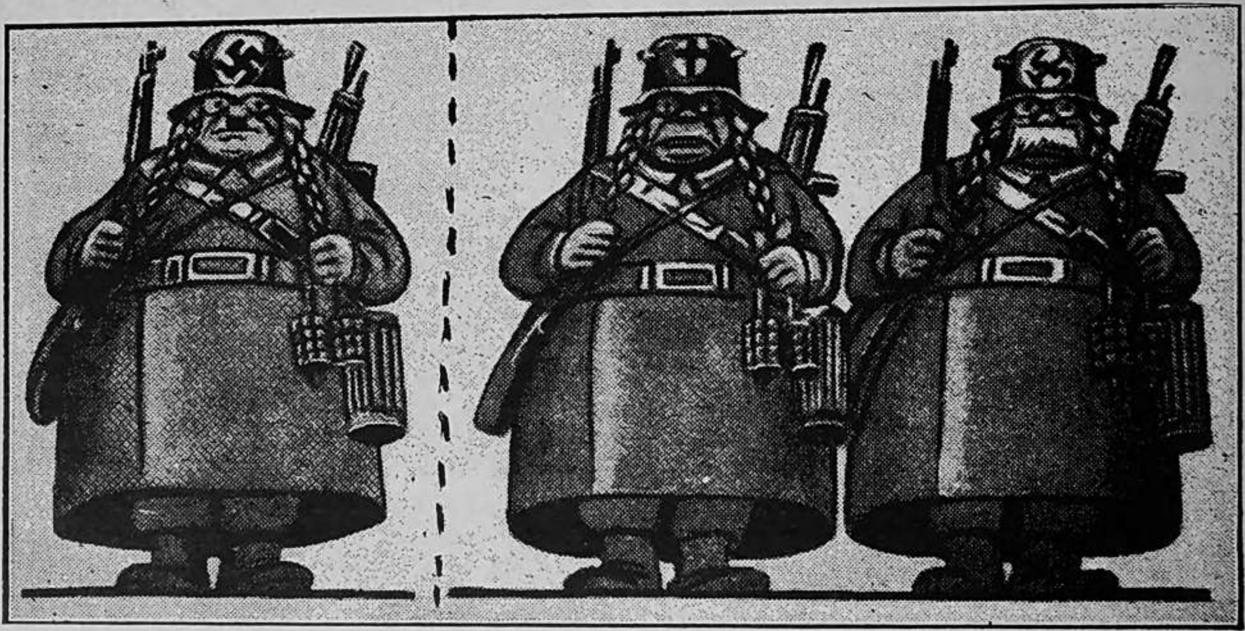
" 'If Japan takes on the aspects of a military power either through its own efforts or through ours, the hostility of Asian neutrals toward American policy in the Far East is certain to be augmented and the internal unity of Communist states like China increased,' it said.

"The report was written by Dr. Robert A. Scalapino, assistant professor of political science at the University of California."

(From a U. P. Dispatch.)

"A defeated nation can even better than a victorious nation be trained and prepared for the day of final victory. It may happen that I cannot win victory at once in this coming war; we may be forced to interrupt it. Then we will all be back underground. But after some years, when the weak and inefficient democracies will have utterly failed to solve the world's postwar problems, then we will suddenly break loose from underground and our stupefied enemies will discover all too late that millions of their own youth, misguided by weak education, disappointed by democracy's failure, will be on our side. Victory in this Third World War will be quick and easy."

(By Adolph Hitler, 1938)



1940: One Germania THE WAR HAD SOME GOOD RESULTS **1950: Two of Them**

Travaso (Rome)

Press Items

OTTO KAISER who had been elected mayor of Duisberg, Germany, in 1945, recently emigrated to Canada because "Germany is a long way from becoming a democratic country."

THE VOTERS ALLIANCE for Americans of German Ancestry of New York, successor to the defunct German-American Bund, has established official ties with the International Fascist Movement.

COUNT FELIX VON LUCKNER, who conducted submarine warfare against the Allies during World War I and is an ardent propagandist for the Pan-German cause in the United States, is conducting "good will tours" in Germany for American vacationists.

A STUTTGART grand jury on May 22, 1951, dismissed a trial against five leading Gestapo officials charged with maltreatment and deportation to Death Centers of 2,463 Jews of Wurttenburg.

KENNETH R. HANSEN, special investigator for a Senate Commerce Committee, stated that there was an alarming increase in shipments of strategic materials from Western Germany to Communist China, which totalled $11,384,000 for 1950 and this sum, according to Mr. Hansen, did not represent illegal shipments which "were probably even more important."

THE IRANIAN NEWSPAPER, Bakhtar Emrouz, reports that Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's financial adviser on rearmament, who was tried at Nuremberg for war crimes, has been approached by the Iranian Government to serve as its economic adviser.

FIVE GERMANS formerly employed by the municipal government of Bamberg have been arrested on charges of desecrating a local Jewish cemetery. The five were said to have dug up the remains of Jewish dead in order to remove gold-filled dentures.

JAMES FINUCANE, a leading spokesman for the so-called pacifistic "National Council for the Prevention of War," which helped lead the pro-German crowd in whitewashing the Nazi war criminals, has been rewarded with a fellowship by the Kiel Institute for Economic Research in Germany.

PROMINENT S. S. OFFICERS and German militarists, including the ace of Goering's Luftwaffe, Hans Rudel, have returned to Germany from their Argentine redoubt to join the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich's Party.

ACCORDING TO LORD VANSITTART, former leading official in the British Foreign Office, there are about 50 German organizations, associations, and societies which are either looking East or working East.

GERMAN PRODUCTION is running about the rate of 125 per cent of the 1936 level (the year when Hitler's rearmament program began to boom), but actual plant capacity exists for a production of somewhere between 150 and 160 per cent.

WHEN THE NAZI S. S. GENERAL OSWALD POHL, who had been found guilty of ordering the massacre of tens of thousands of innocent people, was finally executed, his American-born attorney, Frederich Wiehl, said, "These hangings are a severe blow to German-American friendship at a time when relations should be closest."

It Will Interest You . . .

A seasoned legislator and fighter for just causes evaluates the educational work of the Society for the Prevention of World War III in these words:

"Among these organizations which have come to my attention over the past few years and in which I have been particularly interested, is the Society for the Prevention of World War III. It is a unique organization. Indeed, I do not believe that there is any other group of its kind in this country today . . .

. . ."As is characteristic with most American organizations and groups, the founders of the Society for the Prevention of World War III came from all walks of life. I am personally familiar with their backgrounds, their complete devotion to American ideals and their high sense of honor and integrity . . .

. . ."The men who organized the Society were convinced that as a first step toward preventing a new war, it would be essential to eradicate the roots of German aggression. They were fully aware that these roots were deep in the soil of German history . . .

. . ."It is the considered judgment of the Society that Pan-Germanism has not been destroyed. A reading of the Society's literature shows that the forces of Pan-Germanism are rising again under new disguises and new slogans . . .

. . ."Those who disagree with the Society's objectives, however, should stick to the issues involved. I say let the people exercise their free choice in a marketplace of ideas. Thy have always been able to discern truth from falsehood and when an idea runs counter to the needs and interests of our people, it is bound to wither and die. This is the way democracy works. It should be clear, however, that the American people will never support a campaign of calumny and smear which is intended to deliberately confuse the issues and thereby muddy the waters of public information. The people want the facts and not fairy tales . . .

. . ."In discussing the activities of the Society for the Prevention of World War III, vis-a-vis, the alarming situation confronting us in the world, I have taken some trouble to set forth the origins of this Society and the fine backgrounds of the men who are its leaders . . .

"This seems to me to be pertinent, and especially deserved in view of the bitter attacks which some of these men have had to face, as a result of patriotically standing up for the right . . ."

(The Honorable Senator James E. Murray of Montana in the Congressional Record of May 16, 1951. A copy of the full statement by Senator Murray can be obtained on request from the Society for the Prevention of World War III, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.)

RELIABLE INFORMATION estimates that the value of the annual production of Soviet controlled corporations in the Eastern zone amounts to 3.2 billion marks, based on Russian control of 34 per cent of the coal mines, 40 per cent of the power plants, 82 per cent of the fuel industry, 34 per cent of machine construction and metallurgy, 40 per cent of the electrical industry, 52 per cent of the chemical industry and 25 per cent of the optical industry.

Can Australia Risk A German Fifth Column?

by

CLIVE TURNBULL

Can we risk a German fifth column in Australia? Should we import German migrants wholesale? Some of us would not have Hitlerite Germans here at any price. Some of us believe that any danger is not so great as the danger of Communism.

Some community groups which were formerly opposed to German migration are now apparently swinging around in favor of it.

Varying figures are being mentioned. It is even suggested that the 200,000 migrants yearly, whom Australia can no longer hope to get from other sources, should be made up largely from Germany.

The Government has not committed itself to any figure.

The question is so important that it should be considered as far as possible without emotionalism and without prejudice.

To begin with it might be as well to decide what we are talking about when we speak of Germans, thereby avoiding the confusion which obviously exists in the minds of some Australians whose patriotism is not in doubt.

Days Before Bismarck

Various references have been made, for instance, to the fact that many men of German extraction and German names fought with the A. I. F. in the First and Second World Wars. From this it is assumed, apparently, that present-day Germans would fight with a third A. I. F., if necessary against Germany.

The trouble here lies in the use of the term German as if it were a constant—as if "Germans" of 1700 and 1850 and 1950 were all the same.

Any consideration of European—and Australian—history should expose such a fallacy.

Most of us, I suppose, knew personally plenty of men with German names who were members of our own armed forces in the two Great Wars.

One of my own most esteemed friends who was killed fighting for Australia in the last war bore a name that was German. But his ancestor had migrated to England in the service of the Hanoverians in the 18th century and his family had lived in Australia for a century and a quarter.

He had no more connection with present-day Germany and the people who are now called Germans than has the first man you might meet in the street named Smith or Kelly or McPherson.

So with a majority of others and with those Germans who played a distinguished part in the colonial story of Australia.

Theirs was the pre-Bismarckian Germany of small States, of poets and philosophers, the Germany which was destroyed and remoulded by Bismarck—"of the moral powers in the world he has not the slightest notion."

Liberalism to Blood and Iron

Harold Nicolson, in reviewing a recent edition of Erich Eyck's monumental work on Bismarck, remarks, *"His belief in Real-politik, in Blood and Iron, in diplomacy as war by other means, in national egotism, in 'the destiny of the weak to be devoured by the strong'; his contempt for international faithfulness and contractual obligations . . . all these erroneous ideas . . . transformed the equable Germans within a space of twenty years into neurotic animals—restless, suspicious, discontented, envious, vaunting, and frightened of the violence which in their hysterias they had themselves provoked."*

It is a poor compliment to Australia's German-descended soldiers to suppose that this was the Germany from which they sprang—and, that it was not, anyone with the slightest interest in the subject should know.

This later blood-and-iron Germany has always had its attractions for unstable and neurotic elements in other countries.

One of the most conspicuous of such persons was the renegade Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a member of a most distinguished English family, who, in 1899, published in Germany "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," which with its anti-Semitism, racism, and pan-aryanism exercised a deep influence upon Hitler.

The Fox and the Geese

With more blood and more iron Hitler built on what Bismarck had begun. He completed the transformation. Under him precisely those young Germans now of military age—or age to import to Australia—came to manhood.

To suggest that they bear any resemblance to some amiable early nineteenth century Teuton with his whiskers in a volume of Goethe is optimism carried to the point of folly.

Hitler was not so silly. As he reminded us, "Der Fuchs ist immer ein Fuchs, die Gans eine Gans, der Tiger ein Tiger, u.s.w."—(The fox is always a fox, the goose a goose, the tiger a tiger, and so on.)

Hitler thought the fox would go on devouring the foolish goose, and how right he was!

If we brought in, say, 200,000 young Germans, we should be bringing in a number roughly equal to a fifth of our population of military age.

It would be interesting to see how France, which has three times had the fox in the poultry yard, would receive a similar proposal.

There are, of course, some Australians who believe that it would be good policy to build up the Japanese and the Germans to fight Russia—that they would be a kind of obedient mercenaries whose interests would square with ours.

How little do Frankensteins know their monsters!

Muddle and Realism

Muddled thinking on these matters is not peculiar to our own time.

One Government of South Australia wanted to present the Northern Territory to the Japanese. Fortunately for

"What Schumacher is asking for Germany from the West is that her past be forgotten. The biggest stumbling block to such a policy is, of course, Germany itself, which has by no means made a clean break with its past. The current campaign to 'restore the honor of the German soldier,' the demand by all parties for the parole of convicted war criminals, the emergence of a former SS officer as Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein, only serve to emphasize the identification of many Germans with a great part of the unholy record of the Hitler years. It is part of the German tragedy that, were Kurt Schumacher to try to make this clear to the German people, he would soon cease to be the leader of Germany's largest party."

(John H. Lichtblau in the "New Leader.")

"In the event of Communist collapse, a political liability would be created, for the West German government inclines to the belief that the Allies will lose all interest in the fate of Germany unless they can be shown that the country is in constant peril from a Communist fifth column. That is why Chancellor Adenauer recently told foreign correspondents that they must not think that the Communist losses in recent elections are as significant as they look on the surface. According to Adenauer, Moscow had ordered German Communists not to vote the Communist ticket, so that the western democracies would be lulled into thinking they had nothing to fear from the West German Reds.

"The Germans are still busy at the old game of trying to frighten people into trusting them."

(From Alain Clemént in "The Reporter.")

(*Continued from page* 44)

you and me and the other potential white coolies the Japanese Government of the day didn't want it, despite the efforts of our suicidal fellow-colonists.

Such colonial statemen as Sir Thomas McIlwraith, of Queensland, alive to the German dreams of a vast South Sea Empire—dreams which we have no reason whatever to think abandoned—were realists. McIlwraith's attempted annexation of New Guinea was one of the determining actions of Australian history.

Should we, then, ban all Germans?

Few of us would go as far as that. We might say, "*We shall admit some whose good will have been proved. But we shall have no mass migrations of these people. Better, if the worst comes to the worst, to fight an enemy outside than an enemy inside.*"

For if we do not go as far as Hitler in believing that the tiger does not change his stripes, we may believe that it will take as long to decontaminate the majority of Germans as Bismarck and Hitler took to pervert them.

(Reprinted from "The Argus," Australia)

WORTH PONDERING . . .

"Just when German politicians and Allied officials were exchanging congratulations on the peace and progress of German political life, the peace was ruptured and progress retarded by an event which The Manchester Guardian calls 'at once the most serious and significant political event in post-war Germany.'

"This was the very strong showing made by the Socialist Reichs party in the state election in Lower Saxony. . . .

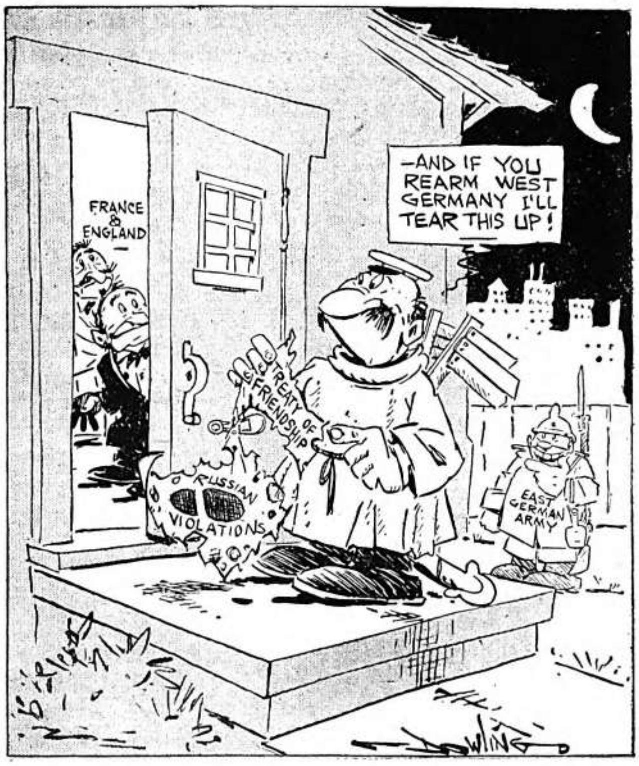
"Dr. Fritz Dorls, one of the founders of the party, has the answer already! 'If they ban us now,' he said recently, 'it would make us martyrs, like Hitler and his followers after the Munich putsch.'

" 'We are ready to die for the good things of National Socialism,' he says. 'We are ready to be jailed and to be hanged to see that we get a German Reich again, loyal and honest, like we had, thank God, before 1945.'

"No one should be soothed by the belief that since Hitler and his followers fought the Russians, the new Nazis can be counted upon to be strongly anti-Communist and to fall in with Western policy. Nothing in the campaign literature or speeches of their leaders gives evidence of this. The Socialist Reichs party is full of opportunists ready to sup with the devil any time he picks up the check."

(Drew Middleton in the "New York Times.")

Late Developments in the War of Nerves



Copyright, Courtesy N. Y. Herald Tribune

Snapshots

From time to time we obtain information regarding the background and present status of Germans who played a significant role in the Reich. We believe our readers will be interested, therefore, in the following information:

Among the members of the present Bonn parliament is one *Karl George Pfleiderer*. Pfleiderer was a member of the Nazi Party while working as a diplomat in Hitler's Foreign Office. He was considered to be "entirely reliable" by the Gestapo. In 1941, during the time of the notorious Soviet-Nazi non-aggression pact, Pfleiderer was a member of the so-called Resettlement Delegation operating in Memel. The innocent sounding title of this organization of course is misleading. Actually it consisted of a group of notorious war criminals, including SS General Heinz Brueckner. Pfleiderer worked with leading officials of the SS taking orders both from Ribbentrop and Himmler as "Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germanism." In recognition of his activities in forcing the evacuation and resettlement of foreign groups of populations, which were carried out jointly by the Nazi Foreign Office and Himmler's SS agencies, Pfleiderer, as a member of the resettlement commission, was awarded the Honor Badge for "cultivation and fostering of ethnic Germanism." All in all Herr Pfleiderer received at least 10 decorations from the Nazis and their satellite governments. The Nazis appreciated Herr Pfleiderer's work, for in 1944 he was promoted by Ribbentrop to the important post of Consul General at Stockholm.

* * *

In the No. 37 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III it was reported that *Dr. William Hass*, head of the West German government's new Foreign Office, admitted that 14 out of the 31 senior members of his staff were members of the Nazi Party. The Bonn Government is very sensitive about the backgrounds of these men. Indeed, the Adenauer Government refuses to give the press pertinent information with regard to the key personnel in the German Foreign Office. However, among the 14 prominent Nazis who are in key posts in the Foreign Ministry is one Dr. Mohr, who in 1941 aided in the deportation of Jews from Amsterdam to the Mauthausen concentration camp for extermination. Another leading character in the present German Foreign Office is Dr. von Etzdorf, who in 1940 sanctioned in France the looting of works of art which were either public property or property belonging to Jews.

Finally, another Foreign Office specialist, Dr. von Rintelen, gave the order regarding the "special treatment" (extermination) of Jews deported from Rumania.

* * *

The New Yorker magazine of April 21, 1951, carried an interesting story on the German scientist, *Dr. Wernher Freiherr von Braun*, who is now in the United States working on research and development projects for the U. S. Army. For those who are interested, Professor Braun at one time held the rank of SS Sturmbannfuhrer. As a leading scientist for Hitler, he worked in the notorious V2 Bomb Project at Peenemunde. Braun admired the efficiency of slave labor which he used for his work at a sub-camp (Nordhausen) of the Buchenwald concentration camp. When troops of the U. S. Third Army liberated these concentration camps they were so horrified by the number of dead in the subterranean tunnels that a Congressional investigating team arrived on the spot to personally confirm these crimes.

Dr. von Braun, together with other SS officers, followed Himmler's neo-pagan "Gottglaubig" rites.

* * *

Dr. Paul Schmidt, who was Hitler's interpreter, recently published his memoirs, in which he tried to whitewash his past. Indeed, he declares that he was "forced to put on the SS uniform." Actually, Schmidt joined the SS at a very early date and was promoted rapidly. In November, 1940, he attained the rank of full SS Colonel and was assigned to the SS main office which closely collaborated wih the Nazi Foreign Office. Dr. Schmidt was Hitler's personal interpreter at Munich, but in his book he tries to convey the impression that he and Ribbentrop, who was Hitler's chief adviser on the Munich deal, were at odds. Conveniently enough, Dr. Schmidt does not tell us about his involvement in the murder which had been carefully planned in cooperation with the chief of the SS main office, of the French General Mesmy, while the latter was a prisoner of war in Germany.

". . . There is plenty of doubt whether the rearmament of Germany, moral or not, is necessarily a matter of self-interest to all Europeans.

"Edward Crankshaw, one of Britain's outstanding experts on Russian affairs, writes in the conservative *Observer:*

" 'What information can be gleaned from Russian sources suggests very clearly that while the Kremlin does not seriously believe in the alleged American threat, it does most strongly believe that once the West Germans get an army (which will draw largely on the embittered mass of refugees and those expelled from the East)—Washington and London, with the best will in the world, will not be able to control that army.' . . ."

(Percy Winner in the "New Republic.")

A LEADING APOSTLE FOR THE FATHERLAND

Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, the leading spirit of the Moral Rearmament Movement or Corps, as it is called, told one of his audiences in Caux, Switzerland, that: *"The principles of Moral Rearmament can be the straw that will save Germany. The amazing response of the Germans may well prove that Germany is one of the nations that will teach the world."*

Dr. Buchman is the gentleman who, according to the *New York Sun* of August 24, 1946: "had met Himmler and declared that he was a good fellow." Earlier, the *New York World-Telegram* (August 26, 1936) quoted Dr. Buchman as saying, "I thank heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler."

(For further details see PREVENT WORLD WAR III, issue No. 31, September-October, 1949.)

We Must Rule Europe—Says German Press

PREVENT WORLD WAR III (November-December, 1950 issue) carried an article dealing with the attempt on the part of Nazi industrialists to regain their hold on the German press. In the following issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III (February-March, 1951) we elaborated further on this ominous development in an editorial entitled: "Facts versus Words."

The information contained in the abovementioned articles has not been challenged by any official sources so far as we know. Indeed, what we said then is confirmed by the well-known English journal, *The Manchester Guardian*. In its issue of June 14, 1951, the *Guardian* begins a series of two articles entitled significantly, "Nazi Trends in the West German Press."

Among the interesting facts mentioned by the *Guardian* correspondent is one dealing with the efforts of Dr. Robert Pferdemenges, a leading official in the German steel trust, Vereinigte Stahlwerke, and financial adviser to Chancellor Adenauer, to subvert the independence of the German press.

He also mentions the fact that some of the pre-war press lords of the new Union of Newspaper Publishers "let it be known publicly that they intended to 'smash' the former Allied licensed press because it was democratic and 'collaborationist.' "

The growing influence of the pre-war press lords is also indicated by the fact that many German newspapers now carry stories which are hostile to the Allies and echo Nazi ideas. For example, *Die Neue Zeitung* of March 15, 1951 reported an attack against General Eisenhower made by August Haussleiter, head of the "Deutsche Gemeinschaft" at an electoral meeting in Wolfenbuettel: *"I do not want to be taken for an anti-Semite, but according to my opinion, Gen. Eisenhower is nothing but a front for Frankfurter, Baruch, and Morgenthau, since in 1945 he had turned over tens of thousands of German soldiers to the Soviets as prisoners, and there is no guarantee that in the future he will not again sacrifice tens of thousands of Germans to the Russians, this time as cannon-fodder."*

A periodical entitled: *Nation Europa* purveys the spirit of aggressive German nationalism under the cloak of advocating European unity. Here are some of the choice statements made by this neo-Nazi periodical:

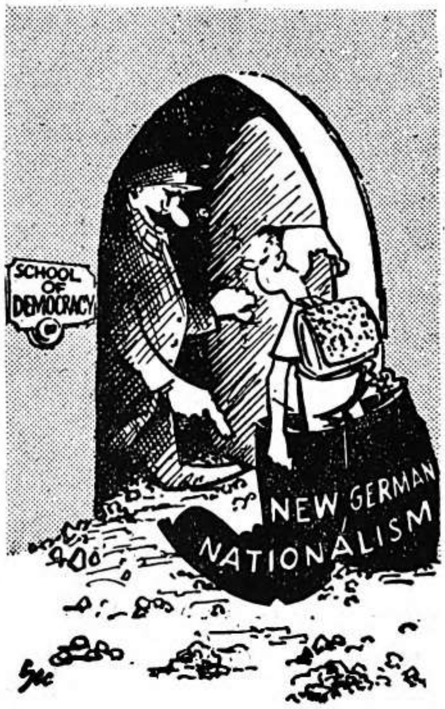
"We have no superstitious respect for dogmas, not even for those of the now ruling democratism. . . . We want to help prepare a genuine policy which is more in accordance with the will of the people than the schematic and bureaucratic party state which purposely silences the people. We are not afraid of the forces which stand in the way of a real and live democracy."

"Whatever may be the objections leveled against Hitler, until 1945 the German Reich fought for the integrity of Europe. The same cannot be said of his adversaries."

"A European alliance is the only salvation; everything depends, therefore, on the Germans assuming again their old role of being the most faithful guardians of the Occident. The world has sinned more against them than they against the world. Their cities were burnt down, their countries destroyed, many thousands of children murdered and women raped, the old frontiers arbitrarily narrowed; but they, purified by so much suffering, have remained steadfast. . . . They are entitled to demand a reckoning for the period since 1919. One should stop to count their crimes. Those who are still talking of German crimes are suspect of being desirous to salve their own bad conscience."

Another example of how the German press is beginning to help revive Nazi ideas and stoke the flames of hostility toward the Allies may be seen from the publicity given to the activities of the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich Party on the eve of the election, by *Die Gegenwart* (May 15, 1951): *"Young people, physically and mentally fit, marching three deep, to the music of bands playing military marches, all three stanzas of the Deutschland song being sung instead of only the officially permitted third one. . . . There are statements and interjections during the meeting which are typical of the mental attitude: The present government is composed of criminals and traitors: the mass-murderer Clay, the American bandit, the servants of foreign countries."*

AS A GERMAN SEES IT



"Back with the old boots."

Frankfurter Rundschau (U. S. Zone)

. . . "Well, the German problem is a completely and entirely different one from the Japanese problem. The German people were a mature race. . . .

. . . "The German was quite as mature as we were. Whatever the German did in dereliction of the standards of modern morality, the international standards, he did deliberately. He didn't do it because of a lack of knowledge of the world. He didn't do it because he stumbled into it to some extent as the Japanese did. He did it as a considered policy in which he believed in his own military might, in which he believed that its applicaiton would be a shortcut to the power and economic domination that he desired.

"Now you are not going to change the German nature. He will come back to the path that he believes is correct by the pressure of public opinion, by the pressure of world philosophies, by his own interests and many other reasons, and he in my belief will develop his own Germanic tribe along the lines that he himself believes in, which do not in many basic ways differ from our own. . . ."

(Testimony of Gen. MacArthur before the Senate Investigating Committee)

"Representative Kennedy, Democrat, of Massachusetts says he thinks Western Germany 'will be the most powerful country in Europe' within a few years. . . .

" 'In spite of the destruction by bombings, in spite of the dismantling policy, her national income today is greater than France's and with a few more years of peace, Western Germany will be the most powerful country in Europe.

" 'No wonder the French are wary,' he added."

(From the Washington Evening Star)

". . . An almost clinical case of what is wrong with this so-called policy of mercy was provided the other day by the release of General von Falkenhausen, Hitler's military governor in occupied Belgium. The very best that could be said for this general, whether rightly convicted or not, is that at least he should be no more seen nor heard upon the public scene. And yet the very day of his release he gives his views on German rearmament. He puts his terms at once. He couldn't imagine himself, he says, fighting or dying alongside the troops of foreign Powers 'as long as German generals are being sentenced to imprisonment by Allied courts.' In other words: go back on all your principles, spit in your own faces, and you can count on General von Falkenhausen! It is a pretty fair illustration of the parlous straits into which Western policy in Germany has brought the Western world. . . ."

(From "The New Statesman and Nation.")

"While East and West are arguing about the control of central Europe, an old contestant is seizing the opportunity to try to make a good claim. The tightly interwoven German upper class most Americans anathematize under the name 'Ruhr Barons' is seeking to reassert its power.

"Helped along by excessive United States pressure for immediate recruitment of German divisions, the men who controlled central Europe economically until 1945 are trying to break decartelization orders and re-establish themselves. . . .

"What next, if they are successful in these endeavors, can only be speculation. But their record gives no ground for confidence in them. . . ."

(From an editorial in "The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.")

". . . Among death sentences commuted by Mr. McCloy were those . . . of some of 'the SS Einsatz murderers, who "liquidated" over a million Jews in Russia. Among the nine reprieved we find, for example, SS Lieutenant Schubert, who confessed to supervising the shooting of 700 to 800 Jews and gypsies in the vicinity of Simferopol at Christmas time, 1941. His death sentence was commuted to ten years' imprisonment, and he will soon be out . . .' By what principle of mercy does one justify that? And what, may one ask, can German opinion make of it—unless that it confesses a miscarriage of Allied justice? . . ."

(From "The New Statesman and Nation.")

The revival of Nazism means the new Nazis are simply "the dreamers of the old Pan-German dream." But "the real scoundrel is . . . the eternal German soldier . . . the aggressive, warmaking marauder who periodically gets Germany in conflict with the rest of the world."

(From the San Francisco Chronicle)

". . . British and American statesmen have lately exhorted the Germans to make their choice between East and West. It would be well at this point if Mr. McCloy and other American leaders would make their choice between the German reactionaries and the rest of Europe. For they cannot have it both ways, as they seem to want to do. If Mr. McCloy and those who think with him are content to pursue their present road, they may well find partners among their former and despised enemies: in the measure they succeed, however, they will as surely lose their present allies. Step by step, as things go now, Mr. McCloy is undermining his country's cause and reputation in Europe. . . ."

(From "The New Statesman and Nation.")

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your courtesy in sending me a copy of your interesting, forthright letter to U. S. High Commissioner, John J. McCloy, together with other literature published by your organization.

You seem to be making a definite and positive contribution toward enlightenment on international problems, and I trust you will continue to keep me informed.

Mrs. Helen Hackett
New York City

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd of April. The literature you sent me earlier in the year was received, read, digested and forwarded to friends in the east. I agree with you regarding the danger of a remilitarized Germany. . . . I was astounded at the revelations contained in your literature.

. . . Yes, please, put me on your mailing list.

Irene Brandenburg
Los Angeles, California

Dear Sir:

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of some of the literature issued by your organization which you kindly sent to me. I found it both interesting and illuminating. Most Jews in Britain are dismayed by the doctrine of "Let by-gones be by-gones," which is advocated by some prominent Americans. The lessons of bitter experience are evidently ignored by them. We on our part demand that the German people shall give proofs of genuine change of heart before military power is again restored to it.

A. Cohen, President
The Board of Deputies of British Jews
London, England

Dear Sir:

. . . I have read with much enthusiasm and interest the publications which you sent to me some months ago. At that time I asked that I be placed on your mailing list for any and all future publications, and was assured that my name was placed on your list and that I would be receiving all forthcoming material published by you. However, to date I have heard nothing further from you, and I would appreciate it very much if you would find out what happened in your circulation department that I am not receiving these publications.

Also would you kindly send me three extra copies of your Bulletin No. 36, November-December.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Melba Botkins
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have received the very valuable literature which you have sent me. Besides being in sympathy with your aims, I have found your literature helpful in my graduate studies on Germany at Columbia University.

Lawrence Schwartz
New York City

Dear Sir:

I would like to be on your permanent mailing list, at least for your free publications. I am a student, and unfortunately, am unable to subscribe or contribute to your organization. In times when American policy is too often determined on the basis of sheer military strategy forgetting long-range political objectives, your publications with their emphasis on a realistic solution to the German problem are especially significant.

Thank you for your communication.

Arthur Emlen
Los Angeles, California

Dear Sir:

I have just made acquaintance with your magazine. I think your aims very laudable and that distribution of your magazine and viewpoint should be more widespread.

I would like to be placed on your mailing list for future issues, and, if possible, I would like to secure back issues.

Please continue your fine work of articulating the thoughts that so many of us have wanted to express on a wider scale.

B. H. L.
Stars & Stripes
P. O., New York

Dear Sir:

I appreciate receiving the magazine and other literature of the Society. I have given most of it away to people whom I thought would appreciate its message as much as I did.

I should like to be placed on your mailing list for other publications.

I enclose a small contribution. Is there some concrete way in which I may help?

Joseph Stern
New York City

Dear Sir:

Through the courtesy of the San Francisco Town Hall, the February-March number of your remarkable magazine, some of the membership became aware of your publication, and an examination of same is convincing that such material is essential to awaken the public to current conditions and risks.

There does not seem to be any notation of the subscription price of the magazine, and your writer would appreciate receiving further copies. The Ocean View Branch of the San Francisco Public Library would also be enlightened as the people dwelling in that vicinity at 113 Broad Street, San Francisco, being of foreign extraction would welcome such information.

Francis H. Boland
Oakland, California

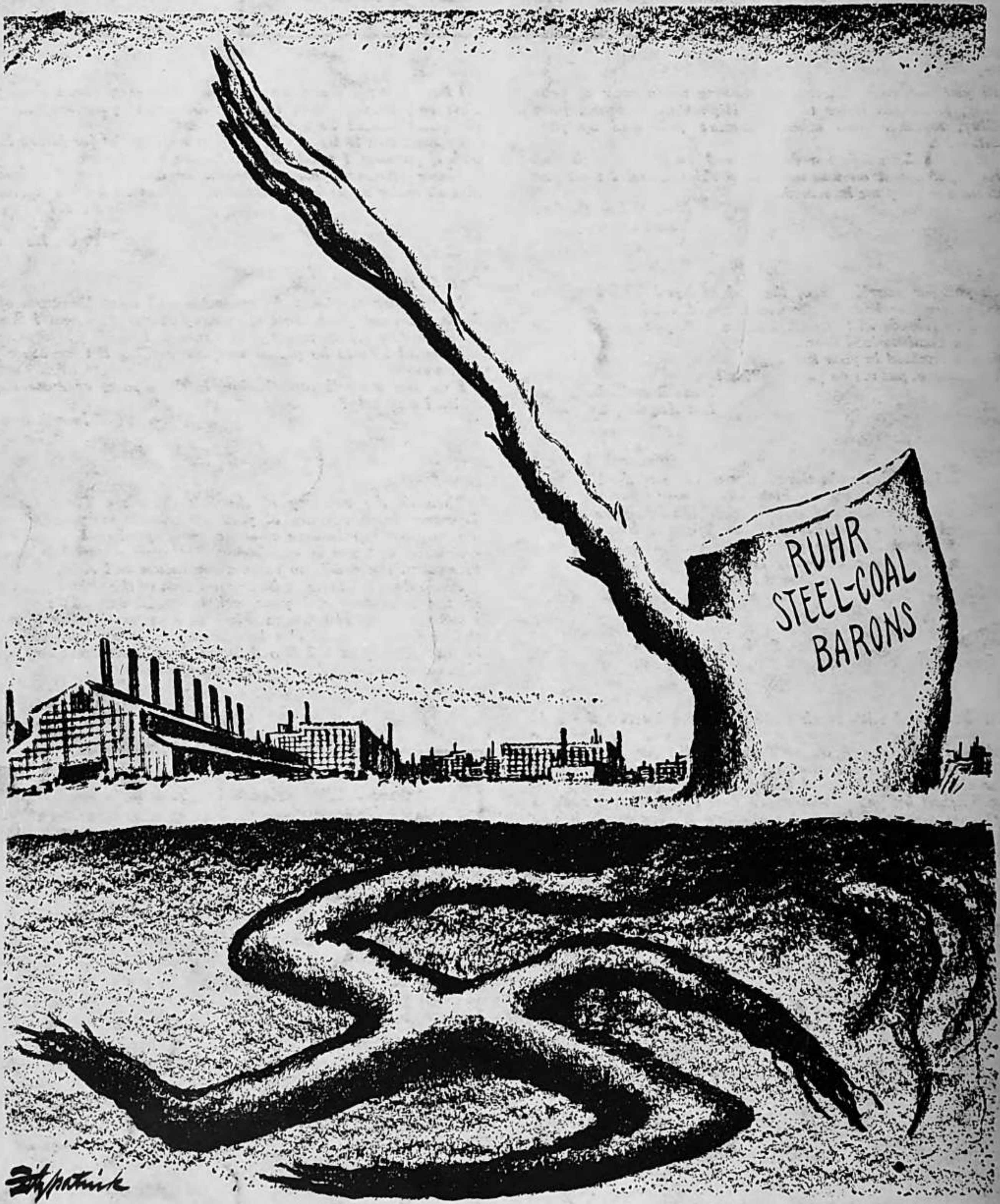
"Benny Buttenwiesser, U. S. deputy high commissioner for Germany, had a conversation with Chancellor Adenauer some time ago which illustrates one of the most important problems the U. S. faces in Europe.

"The new German Parliament had scaled down taxes on wealthier taxpayers about a year ago, leaving a proportionately heavy tax burden on labor and white collar workers. . . .

"Showing him the high tax scale prevailing in the U. S. A., Buttenwiesser argued that wealthy Germans also must shoulder their share of the tax burden. . . .

"Adenauer, however, remained unconvinced, and U. S. authorities finally permitted the German government to get away with its reduced tax structure, even though shot full of legal loopholes whereby high bracket taxpayers can dodge taxes. Result: Germany is now faced with a heavy deficit, is asking for more U. S. aid —which, if given, would have to come out of the pockets of Americans who do pay their taxes. . . ."

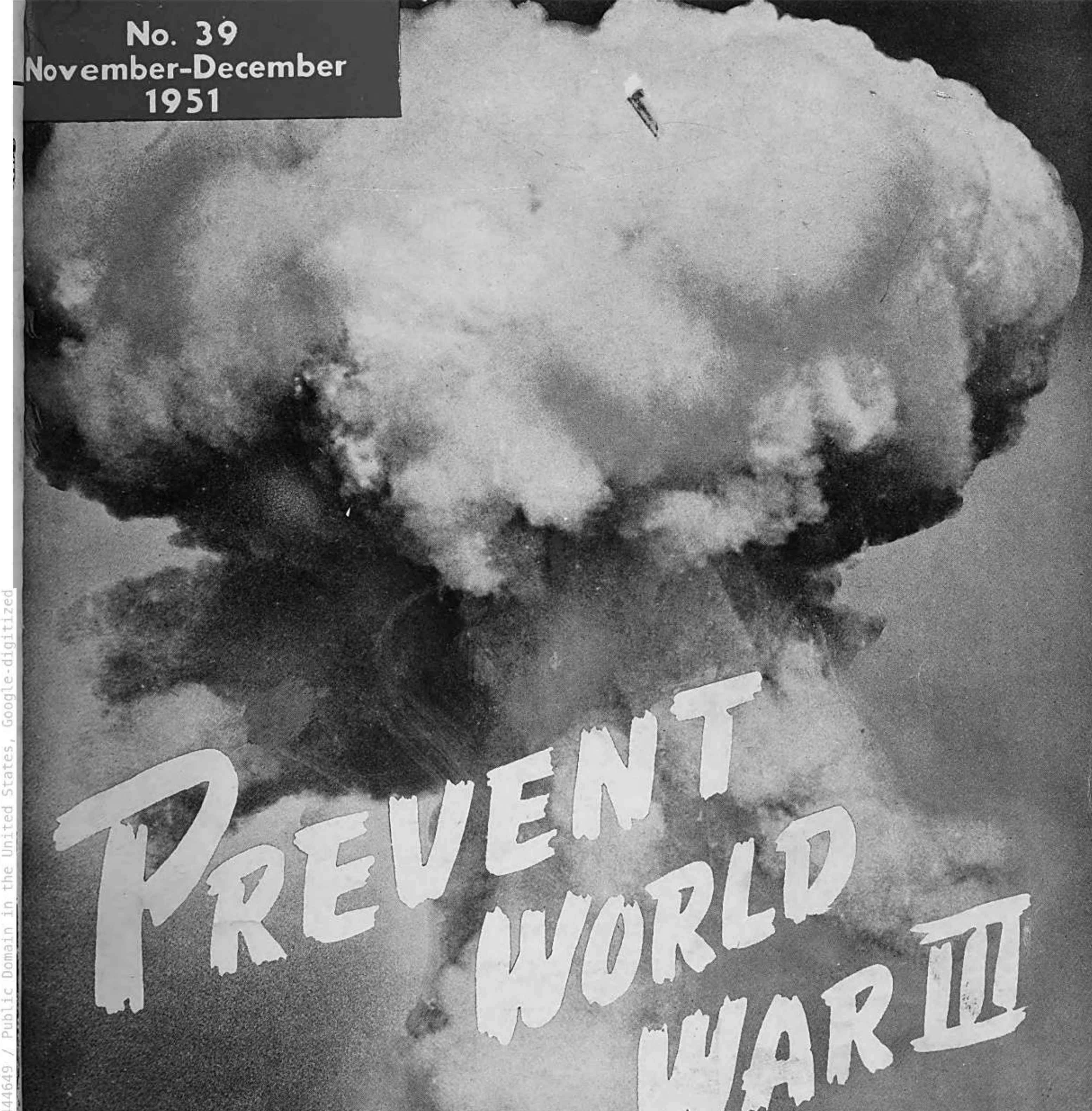
(From Drew Pearson's "Washington Merry-Go-Round.")


RUHR
STEEL-COAL
BARONS
Fitzpatrick

OMINOUS SPROUT

Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

No. 39
November-December
1951



PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
ociety for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. **Tel.: PLaza 3-4985**
No. 39 **November-December, 1951**

A Calculated Risk?

It is commonly agreed that foreign policies, no matter how well thought out, involve risks—risks which may produce results diametrically opposed to the objectives of such policies. A fiasco in foreign policy is a source of great embarrassment for diplomats, and may easily create a wave of indignation and resentment among the people whose hopes have been inflated by the speeches and essays of the diplomats justifying their policies. Yet, time and again, foreign policy experts have weathered these storms, thanks to the tolerance of the people in general, who must realize that diplomats, like the rest of us, are only human. Perhaps the people are guided by the saying, to err is human, to forgive, divine. But can one expect the people to forgive their experts on foreign policy when they discover that discredited policies which have in the past brought them to the brink of ruin have been rehashed and presented as something "new" and "far-sighted?" In other words, are the people expected to accept the rationalizations of statesmen who refuse to learn from past error and persist in pursuing policies which have proven disastrous? Policies which are demonstrably unsound on the basis of past experience do not merit a return engagement. Such policies merely help to repeat the same blunders for which the people have already paid a heavy price.

In this category of discredited policies one must place the Allied program for Germany as it is now developing. In the near future the American people and their Western Allies may be confronted with the fateful decision to rearm the Germans and release them from all basic and effective political and economic controls. In reality this is not a new policy which involves unforeseeable risks. Rather is it the "touching up" of an old theory which was tried after World War I and exploded into the most devastating war which mankind has experienced.

Millions of Americans instinctively fear the present trend in American policy toward Germany. Many of our foremost experts on foreign policy, including Mr. Sumner Welles and James P. Warburg, have warned against this policy. Experienced journalists are also alarmed. For example, Mr. James Reston, the outstanding diplomatic correspondent for *The New York Times*, noted that, "A Japan that is strong enough to serve as a bulwark against Communism is also strong enough to ally itself with Communism." Mr. Reston believes that this equally applies in the case of Germany.

Another well known *Times* correspondent, Drew Middleton, points out that the Soviets have many aces to play for the hand of the Herrenvolk, including the return of the lost Eastern territories now under Polish rule. "*This may be dismissed as fantastic,*" writes Mr. Middleton, "*but the idea of a German-Russian rapprochement would have been dismissed as equally fantastic in April*, 1939." Mr. Joseph E. Evans, foreign policy expert for *The Wall Street Journal*, shares these views generally. In a penetrating analysis of the implications of restoring Germany's political and military power, he described how the Soviets could woo the Germans. As Mr. Evans points out, Western Germany may still refuse a deal with the Soviets, "*but the point is not whether it would refuse or accept; it is that, sovereign and remilitarized, it would be in a position to accept.*" According to Mr. Evans, "*The West is constantly admitting its need for German troops, as it is for German cooperation in the Schuman Plan. The Germans have already ably exploited this Western weakness to get as much sovereignty as they now have and to get concessions even on the troops question. They need only keep raising their price for cooperation to get complete sovereignty and a German national army if they want it.*"

Why do these seasoned observers make these admissions? It is because they have not forgotten the history of German diplomacy over the past 30 years, and fully understand the strategic position which Germany potentially possesses once the wraps are taken off. Thus Mr. Middleton reports that many believe, "The Federal Republic can get anything it wants from the Allies."

The Germans employed their strategic position with cunning and skill after World War I. They are at it again. A calculated risk assumes that there is an even chance that Allied policy will achieve its objective. But in the case of our present policy toward Germany, this assumption cannot be made. We do not only have the record of past German history, but even the present situation obtaining in Germany tells us that we are travelling along a road studded with pitfalls. The rise of neo-Nazism, the reactivation of Hitler's militarists, the deals between the Ruhr barons and the Soviets, the growing attacks by the German press against the Allies—all of these are danger signals, but more are in the offing.

According to two reliable European sources, namely the *London Economist* and the *Manchester Guardian*, we get the following composite of things to come: The Germans will demand political sovereignty over the Saar.

They will demand that the Bonn Government refuse to recognize the legality of the Nuremberg judgments on German war criminals.

They will demand that the Bonn Government deny the right of the Western powers to intervene in the Federal Republic if Allied interests, prestige and security are threatened.

They will demand a reduction in the occupation costs on the grounds that these costs have not been freely negotiated between the Bonn Government and the Western powers.

They will demand the emasculation of Allied laws dealing with the seizure of German foreign assets abroad.

They will demand the right to conduct their foreign policies with the satellite East without Allied supervision.

They will insist that the Allies help them to regain the territories in the East.

They will demand the categorical restoration of the honor of the German soldiers and the reestablishment of the German General Staff.

Already the newly formed veteran organizations have demanded that, "*The men who fought for their fatherland and 'for Europe' and the officers who kept their oath to their supreme commander* (*Hitler*), *must be rehabilitated and the Allies' work of 'glorifying treason' must be undone.*" (*London Economist, September* 8, 1951.)

This is the price which the Germans will put on the table for "cooperation" against the totalitarian East. But this is not cooperation. It is German dictation. The *London Economist*, discussing this all-important issue, seems to be shocked over the German attitude. Yet it prefers to hope that somehow, some way, it will change. "If there is any common sense left in Western Germany" writes the *London Economist*, "a bargain can still be struck." Did we have to bargain with Britain or with France when the Western world faced the mortal danger of Hitlerism? How is it that we must bargain with the Germans in the face of the growing threats of Soviet totalitarianism? Those who believe we can bargain with the Germans and thereby obtain their cooperation, are projecting their own ideas of diplomacy and morality on the standards which have governed Germany since the days of Bismarck. Striking a bargain with Germany is, in effect, placing our security at her mercy.

The *London Economist* ignores this cold fact. It prefers to scold the Germans, telling them that while the Allies are willing to meet the Germans half way, "they will not be willing to put money down for nothing. The Germans will have to realize—to put the matter in its bluntest terms—that there is a question whether they can be trusted." Do not the scars of bomb-ridden Coventry serve as a grim reminder that the Germans cannot be trusted? We believe that most West Europeans share the same feeling of distrust for the former enemy.

They fear the duplicity of the Germans, who are old hands at dividing their foes. They fear the Germans, not only because they may join their forces with the Soviets, but also because they may well make a new attempt at dominating the West or provoke a new war for their own selfish motives.

Repeating the observations of American journalists, the *New Statesman and Nation* writes: "West Germany rearmed and independent, in fact if not in form, would be in a unique position to sell her favors to the highest bidder. . . . It is difficult to resist the conclusion that once sovereignty is restored to Bonn and rearmament becomes a fact, West Germany will become the harlot of Europe, the more exclusive and expensive because of her scarcity and the unsurpassed physical assets she enjoys."

It is our considered judgment that an investigation of present-day Germany is imperative. The American people have been told to invest their confidence in the present German leaders and the forces they represent. Common prudence requires investigation before investment. Until the people of the West are given the facts concerning the leadership of Germany, the state of its economy, the degree of democratization, only then should we consider the question of accepting Germany as a partner of the West.

"A tragic, but not unexpected chain of reaction and counter-reaction is continuing in West Germany. The more authority the Germans are given by the Western Allies, the more they tend toward dishonored men and ideas.

"Every Allied step in relaxing occupation controls over the past three years and more has been followed by the appointment of additional ex-Nazis to government positions, more brazen demands for the fulfillment of German 'honor' and more clamoring for further concessions to end the state of war with Germany, the blindness of our policy has again been demonstrated."

(*Fred A. Stern in the Seven Arts Feature Syndicate.*)

"The political leaders of the West German Republic have launched a concerted drive to force the Allies to end all controls over their former foe."

". . . Despite bitter personal animosity between Government and opposition leaders in West Germany, they both are attempting to prove that the Allies are now using their controls for their own selfish interests at the expense of the defeated Germans.

"Press and politicians are joined in a very systematic attempt to emphasize and exploit 'tension' and 'ill-feeling' between Allies and Germans. Political differences are being made 'political issues' and where none exist they are being made up."

(*Ernest Leiser in ONA*)

"You have returned you ghostly creatures"

In Mr. McCloy's Seventh Quarterly Report on Germany, a brief chapter is devoted to a description of the newly established German Foreign Office. The significance of this chapter lies not in what Mr. McCloy tells the reader, but in what he omits. We refer to the backgrounds of the key personnel responsible for the foreign policies of the Bonn Government. For months the Society has endeavored to obtain information regarding these individuals. We have communicated with Mr. McCloy's office and were politely told to forward our queries to the Bonn Government, but the Bonn Government would not divulge its secrets. Naturally the unusual reticence displayed over this subject heightened our curiosity. Could it be, we asked ourselves, that this veil of censorship was covering up a first class scandal? Bits of information finally leaked out inadvertently, presumably, which confirmed our worst fears regarding the character of the "new" Bonn diplomats.

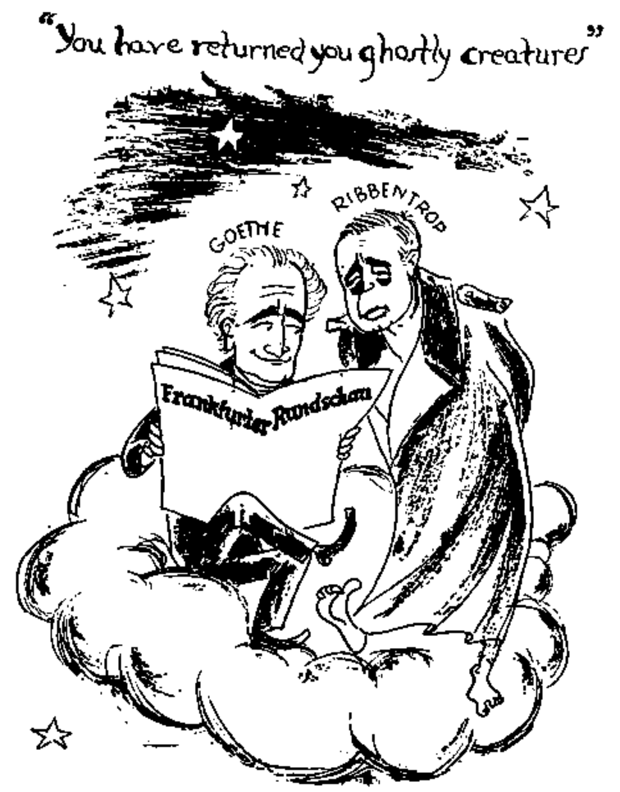
In an unguarded moment during the early part of this year, Dr. Wilhelm Haas, Chief of the Office of Administrative and Personnel Affairs in the Foreign Office, blurted out some revealing facts. Among other things, he admitted that fourteen out of the thirty-one senior members of his staff had been members of the Nazi Party. Haas' public admission did not stir Allied authorities to action nor did Chancellor Adenauer issue any statement expressing indignation. However, when the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, an independent German newspaper, recently ran a detailed expose of the former Nazis dominating the Bonn Foreign Office, the Chancellor feigned surprise and announced to the world that a full scale inquiry would be conducted on the basis of the charges made by that newspaper. This hypocritical gesture on the part of Chancellor Adenauer is underlined by the fact that the present members of the foreign service were appointed by an inter-party parliamentary committee on which members of Adenauer's own party served. Only a naive mind would believe that Chancellor Adenauer, who is the Foreign Minister for the German Government, is ignorant of the backgrounds of key German diplomats who have been working directly under him.

The return of the Nazis and their fellow-travelers to the German Foreign Office is an event which spells danger to the security of the free world. It is important to those of us who are accustomed to regard diplomats as specialists in foreign policy to stop for a moment and consider the real nature of the German diplomatic corps as it finally developed during the Nazi regime.

German diplomacy under Hitler played a unique role in helping the Nazis to prepare for their wars of aggression. The basic objectives of German diplomacy were to further the ends of the Nazi Party. Under these circumstances, the German Foreign Office, as in the case of the German General Staff, became an intrinsic part of the Nazi apparatus for war. The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg was clear on this point. *"Hitler could not make aggressive war by himself,"* the Tribunal noted. *"He had to have the cooperation of statesmen, military leaders, diplomats, and business men. When they, with the knowledge of his aims, gave him cooperation, they made themselves parties to the plan he had intended. . . . The relation of leader and follower does not preclude responsibility here any more than it does in the comparable tyranny of organized domestic crime."*

Mr. George S. Messersmith, who served as American Consul in Berlin during the years 1933 and 1934, stated in a duly sworn affidavit to the prosecution of the German war criminals at Nuremberg, "Military preparation and psychological preparation were coupled with diplomatic preparations designed to so disunite and isolate their intended victims as to render them defenseless against German aggression." Commenting upon Mr. Messersmith's observations, the detailed indictment against the Nuremberg war criminals states, "in other words, Nazi Germany was able to promote these divisions and increase its aggressive strength by using as its agents . . . men who on outward appearances were merely conservative diplomats."

Many statesmen in the West were tricked by the fact that the Nazis employed so-called old school diplomats to carry out their policies. There had been a great deal of wishful thinking in the chancellories of the world that this type of diplomat did not see eye to eye with the Nazis and could be influenced for the better. World War II proved how wrong they were. The Nazis, according to Mr. Messersmith, had no intention of permitting in-



Goethe: "That's my play."
Ribbentrop: ". . . But my cast!"
(Mussil in Frankfurter Rundschau)

dividuals to work in the German Foreign Office who were not Nazis at heart. As early as 1935, steps were taken to assure the loyalty and devotion of the diplomats to the Nazi cause. After 1936, Mr. Messersmith informs us, the Economic Division of the German Foreign Office "conducted the most sinister activities against foreign countries in furtherance of subversive activities of German agents abroad."

The German Foreign Office gave aid and cooperation to such sinister outfits as the People's Union for Germanism Abroad (VDA). One of the agents of the VDA, Dr. Steinacher, during a visit to Danzig, warned, "Danzig, just as Austria, is a state created by coercion of the treaties. Since a political union does not exist, this loss must be made up by a profounder sense of popular consciousness. With Adolf Hitler, the eternal force of Germanism has risen which is greater than the possession of a passport of citizenship. This Germanism has become the highest law for us. . . ." The mission of the German Foreign Office was to carry out the aspirations of Germanism as expressed by Herr Steinacher.

Of course not all of the diplomats carried Nazi Party cards. Indeed in many cases it was not required by von Ribbentrop for tactical reasons. Nevertheless, it would be looking for a needle in a haystack to discover those, who while members of the German diplomatic staff were genuinely opposed to Hitler.

The Nazi diplomats are back again. Indeed the number of Nazis in the Foreign Office is far greater than the modest admissions of Dr. Haas. According to the *Manchester Guardian* (September 20, 1951), 151 out of the 252 members of the new foreign service were formerly assistants of the war criminal, von Ribbentrop. Of these no fewer than 130 were former members of the Nazi Party. "Since December, 1950, there has been an increasing tendency to accept more ex-Nazis." When the *Frankfurter Rundschau* shattered the censorship surrounding the identity of these diplomats, the Bonn Foreign Office denied all and charged the newspaper with "lies, inventions, or citations from the Nuremberg trials." In other words, the Foreign Office was bold enough to equate the evidence of the Nuremberg trials with lies and slanders. This outburst is sufficient, we believe, to indicate the real nature of the present group of individuals who run the German Foreign Office. Is it any wonder that the Press Department of the Bonn Government recently released an article glorifying Otto Abetz, the Nazi spy-diplomat in France as a "genuine European"?

In the face of the historical record and the serious charges published by the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, why has Mr. McCloy failed to act? It may be that he harbors the illusion that the Nazi personnel in the Bonn Foreign Office have become ardent converts to democracy and have rejected the views expressed by Herr Steinacher. Regardless of Mr. McCloy's feelings, however, there can be no doubt that the reactivation of these striped pants Nazis bodes ill for democracy. In supplementing these remarks, we are citing below, a list which is by no means complete, of some of the key members of the German Foreign Office and their backgrounds. Let the record speak for itself!

I: *Wilhelm Haas*, chief of the Administrative and Personnel Division. The latest reports indicate that he has been replaced and will be sent as a diplomatic representative to Asia. In 1937, Dr. Haas was forced to leave the German Foreign Office because of his wife's non-Aryan origin. Thereupon he went to China and took on an important post as political observer for I. G. Farben. In this position, he collaborated on the closest terms with E. W. Bohle and the State Secretary in charge of German propaganda and Germans abroad. The entire work was supervised and directed by the Nazi Party and Haas, consequently, took his orders from the Nazis.

II: *Dr. Theodore Kordt*, chief of the Office of Commercial Policy in the present Foreign Office was a member of the Nazi Party. In April, 1950, when he joined the Bonn Government he conveniently overlooked his party card. This was found out later during a routine checkup at the Berlin Document Center. In December, 1939, he was counselor at the Berne Legation in Switzerland where he purchased documents stolen from the British Legation for his Nazi boss, von Ribbentrop. He was also involved in the procurement of bombing targets for the German Luftwaffe and spent some of his time spying for it. Dr. Kordt claimed that he was a member of the Resistance Movement. Yet, it is a fact that the real underground fighters who could testify against Dr. Kordt perished while fighting the Nazis.

III: *Dr. Herbert Blankenhorn*, chief of the Office of Political Affairs was also a member of the Nazi Party. He was the first ex-party member to become liaison officer with the Allied High Commission in 1950.

IV: *Dr. Peter Pfeiffer*, a brother of Dr. Anton Pfeiffer, former state minister of Bavaria, is the present director of the diplomatic school in Speyer, although he was a member of the Nazi Party. When the Allies landed in North Africa, it was Dr. Pfeiffer, then Consul-General in Algeria, who sent the following wire to von Ribbentrop: "The city is under artillery fire. This is my last telegram. Long live Hitler! Signed Pfeiffer."

V: *Dr. Emil von Rintelen* was a Nazi Party member and one of Ribbentrop's leading ambassadors. He was identified in the Nazi war crimes trials as the official who requested the deportation of Jews from Rumania to the Lublin Ghetto. Today, Rintelen is an important lecturer at the school for diplomats in Speyer.

VI: *Dr. Herbert Dittman* who is reported to have succeeded Dr. Wilhelm Haas, was supposed to have been ex-communicated by the Roman Catholic Church for his Nazi Party membership. He was a key figure in the Personnel Division of the Nazi Foreign Office during the years 1939 to 1945.

VII: *Dr. Werner von Grundherr*, who admitted at the Nuremberg Trials that it was he who at first bribed Quisling and protected the murderous activities of Dr. Werner Best in Denmark during the war, is the new German ambassador to Athens. At the Nuremberg Trials, he also admitted his participation in forcing the deportation of Jews and helpless women and children. On January 18, 1951, documents dealing with his nefarious activities were duly submitted to the proper German authorities dealing with state affairs. Excerpts of this evidence were read in the Bonn Parliament, but somehow they never reached the proper German authorities. Consequently, sincere anti-Nazis apprised President Heuss of Grundherr's record. Notwithstanding the fact that Heuss could not now plead ignorance, Grundherr was promoted from General-Consul to his present position in Athens. Despite his terroristic activities on behalf of the Nazis, he was graciously received by Chancellor

Adenauer himself and now is an honored member of the German diplomatic staff.

VIII: *Dr. Gottfried von Nostitz* was a member of the Nazi Party, but nevertheless has been placed in the new Foreign Office. He was slated to go to Paris, but the French refused him a visa on the grounds that as Nazi Consul at Geneva, he collaborated on very close terms with the Nazi Security Service, a part of the SS. Von Nostitz, while serving as a political reporter for the Nazi Foreign Office during the bombardment of Warsaw in 1939, recommended that the Germans delay action with regard to the Pope's propositions for a truce, especially since Warsaw had been officially declared an open city.

IX: *Dr. Herbert Schwarzman,* another addition to the new Foreign Office was a Nazi and a collaborator of the war criminal von Ribbentrop. He was brought into the new Foreign Office by Dr. Herwarth. During the war, Schwarzman acted as liaison agent between von Ribbentrop and the notorious German spy, Otto Abetz, in their plan to murder the French leaders Georges Mandel and Paul Reynaud. Schwarzman conveniently forgot to mention these activities at his denazification trial.

X: *Dr. Rupprecht von Keller,* a colleague of Dr. Haas in the present German Foreign Office, was a member of the Nazi Party. Although he had difficulties during his denazification trial at Munich, he was finally absolved thanks to the good offices of Dr. Anton Pfeiffer.

XI: *Dr. H. von Herwarth,* former member of the Nazi Foreign Office is now Chief of Protocol in the Bonn Foreign Office. The Pfeiffer brothers were instrumental in securing this position for him.

XII: *Hasso von Etzdorff* was a Nazi Party member and a leading figure among the German storm troopers. He joined that outfit on January 30, 1933. Subsequently he was attached to the German High Command. He was an active participant in Kommando Kunzberg, whose purpose was the looting of art treasures. Thus, von Etzdorf violated articles 46 and 56 of the Hague Convention, but instead of being punished, he was appointed to a permanent post in the German Foreign Office.

XIII: *Dr. Albrecht von Kessel,* who is Deputy-Consul-General in Paris was counselor in Ribbentrop's Foreign Office and a close collaborator of the German war criminal, von Weizacker. One of his close collaborators was von Edtsdorf, who was also a leader of a prominent Nazi organization.

XIV: *Dr. Wilhelm Melchers,* a close collaborator of Dr. Haas in the new German Foreign Office was a Nazi Party member and Legation Counselor up to 1945. He was an active collaborator of von Ribbentrop in the latter's dealings with the notorious Nazi sympathizer, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

XV: *Dr. Kurt von Kamphoevner* joined the Nazi Party in 1942 because he wanted to prove his patriotism since he had been rejected for service in the army. He served as Legation Counselor and Chief of the Telegraphic Censorship Office under von Ribbentrop. Today he is Consul-General in Turkey.

XVI: *Heinz von Falkenstein* was a member of the National Socialistic "Senior Association" of the German universities. He was an important figure in the Political Department of the Nazi Foreign Office from 1939 to 1945. He was responsible for the draft of white papers in support of Nazi Foreign Policy and the conduct of Foreign Press Propaganda. Today he is a member of the Commercial Department of the New Foreign Office.

XVII: *Dr. Alois Tichy,* a colleague of von Falkenstein under von Ribbentrop, was a member of the Nazi Party up to 1945. He served as counselor in the German Embassy in Tokyo. Between 1938 and 1943, he was a judge and high official of the Nazi Party. He has also been assigned to the Commercial Department of the new Foreign Office.

XVIII: *Dr. Werner von Bargen* is a leading officer in the legal division of the new German Foreign Office. He was a member of the Nazi Party and before the war served as counselor in the German Embassy in Brussels. Though he maintained his innocence with regard to the participation in war crimes, he would never produce the evidence to support his plea.

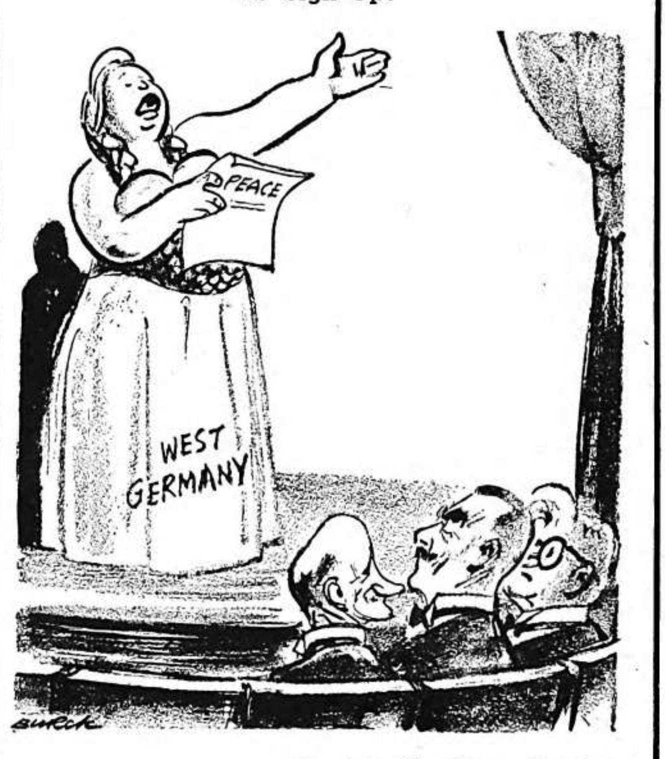
XIX: *Dr. Ulrich von Marshthaler* is now German Counselor at the Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. He was a Nazi Party member and served faithfully up to 1945 as a member of the German Embassy Staff in Tokyo.

XX: *Herbert von Strempel,* one-time top aide to Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and First Secretary of the Nazi Embassy in Washington, where he supplied secret funds to American pro-Nazis, has been appointed to the German Consulate General in Rio de Janeiro.

NOTE:

Although this case is not directly related to the German Foreign Office, it is noteworthy that Dr. Mario Schubert, who served as the press spokesman for Ribbentrop's Foreign Office during the Nazi heyday, has been appointed Deputy Chief of UNESCO in Japan.

"Buf, Monsieur Acheson, Is She Good Enough To Sign Up?"



(Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times)

Germany Coyly Weighs Our Invitation to the Dance

Chancellor Adenauer of Germany has assured his countrymen that he is entering final negotiations with the Allies in a mood of "optimism and confidence." We wish we felt equal serenity about our dealings with the Bonn regime.

The paradox of contemporary Germany is documented each day in dispatches from that land. As of today most Germans seem torn between two dubious passions. There are some Germans who apparently feel that the free world is pressing too hard to rush German youth into uniform for the defense of Western Europe; there are others who complain that the uniforms we offer are not sufficiently gaudy to justify German enlistment in the fight for freedom. What seems almost totally missing from the German landscape is any awareness that Germany can only live down the hideous barbarism of Nazism by some selfless, ungrudging contributions to the defense of democracy. Nearly all the news from Germany is a mingling of arrogance and petulance against an ominous background of resurgent neo-Nazism.

Some months ago High Commissioner McCloy was sure that talk of a revival of sadistic nationalism was exaggerated. Now he is not so sure. Other observers who have recently visited Germany return with apprehension and despair. The face of the new Germany is neither humble nor compassionate. On many days of the week it bears frightening resemblance to a face we have seen before.

* * *

There is no simple formula for dealing with Germany in 1951. We can neither ignore her nor embrace her. We missed great chances immediately after the war when we persistently chose the wrong Germans as our partners. We jumped from the punitive violence of Potsdam to an equally indiscriminate leniency. We never tried hard enough to enlist the men who had courageously resisted Nazism; the Germans on whom we should have pinned our faith were those who emerged from concentration camps, but too often we turned our backs on them. Lately we have been too busy forgiving those who had gone along with the Nazi regime.

Admittedly, all that is history. Now we face an inescapable reality; the Russians, with a generosity toward former Nazis far more cynical and extravagant than any we have shown, are converting Eastern Germany into a fortress. The brown shirts have been dyed red. Passivity is no answer.

Neither, however, is the answer to an obscene wooing of Bonn. Apart from moral considerations, millions in Europe still hate and dread the image of a remobilized Reich. It seems equally plain that the old men of Bonn (and their critics to the Right and Left) neither respect nor understand concession; each soft word evokes bluster and bullying. It is time, we think, for the free world to stop talking about "full partnership" with Germany. What we need is a limited association in which Germans are given some weapons to defend themselves but denied the absurd conditions of military "equality" which they self-righteously demand. If they understand that the day of blackmail is over, they may finally begin to gain a real place in the community of free nations: if blackmail is their game, we are fools to believe we can count on them in the ordeals ahead.

There are valiant Germans—like Berlin's Ernst Reuter—who have a fierce love of freedom and have risked their lives for it. But their voices can hardly be heard amid the uglier sounds of the neo-Nazi chorus, the bellicose bargaining of Bonn and the strident cries of Schumacher nationalism piously disguised as social democracy. The harsh fact is that the democratic cause in Germany is weaker today than it was a year ago (when Secretary Acheson began trying to convince Britain and France to submit to the non-existent German yearning for rearmament). We do not believe this is because we have given Germany too little; it is because we yielded too much too soon.

(*An Editorial in* The New York Post, *September* 19, 1951)

"Peron, by his actions against the freedom of the press, has earned the contempt of people who have a decent respect for liberty and for free opinion. He may think that by silencing the opposition he can prolong his racket government. We hope that there is enough remaining independence and self-respect among the Argentines to disabuse him before too long."

(*From an editorial in the Chicago Daily Tribune*)

. . . "European unity cannot be sacrificed on the altar of German neurosis. Nor can it be held up as the mask for German nationalism. If the Schuman Plan and the European Army are permitted to be no more than the facade for the re-creation of German industrial and military power there will be disasters."

(*Michael Straight in The New Republic*)

"The most ominous words the writer has heard from a German about the new fascists were these: 'If we do not stop them now they will be in power in five years.' "

(*Drew Middleton in the New York Times.*)

Walter Winchell notes: "During the past 6 years the United States has given (wasted) over $3 billion to Western Germany. What was designed to inspire a love of democracy has only resulted in a resurgence of Nazism. Endeavoring to buy an ally never shows a profit in friendship.

"Public officials are currently telling us that a major cause of teen-age drug addiction is inadequate education. And the reasons for poor educational facilities is the storage of funds . . . Billions for Germans . . . pennies for American youth."

A Problem That Spells Danger

Last spring the elections in Lower Saxony gave unmistakable evidence of the serious inroads achieved by the neo-Nazi forces in Germany. This has been admitted by many highly placed officials in the Allied High Commission. One of the decisive factors contributing to this anti-democratic development is the role and activities of the German refugees expelled from Eastern Europe.

The refugee problem in Germany is a serious one, although it is not insoluble. In the summer issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III (1950) we predicted that the Germans would play up the plight of these refugees for the following reasons: (a) To assault every remaining safeguard against the resurgence of pan-Germanism and neo-Nazism. (b) To discredit and injure Allied prestige. (c) To shift the responsibility of the present unemployment situation in Germany onto the backs of the Allied occupation. (d) To bolster Germany's case for the rebuilding of her industrial potential far above peacetime requirements. In the above-mentioned article we cited from authoritative sources pertinent facts revealing that the Bonn Government regards "these refugees as pawns in its long range policies which have nothing in common with security or a peacetime German economy."

Last year the *London Economist* noted that even the exact figure of the number of refugees from the East was unknown. We have seen estimates ranging from 7 million to 10 million. Is it not strange that such elementary facts concerning this important problem are still a matter of speculation? There is no doubt, however, that the refugees make up a significant portion of the huge army of Germans unemployed today. According to the *London Economist*, the Bonn Government "does not object to having a pool of unemployment at present" because this pool keeps wages low and therefore enables German exporters to undercut competition on the world markets. As a result, hundreds of thousands of German refugees exist on marginal standards of living and are easy prey for the demagogues. Many of them were former Nazi functionaries in the East and are probably ready, given the opportunity, to take up where they left off. Indeed, they are already on the march.

In January of this year the refugees began to organize their forces for the purpose of gaining wider influence in German affairs. They have expert leadership in the persons of former officials in the Nazi regime. For example, the leader of the Refugee Party in Schleswig-Holstein is *Waldemer Kraft*, Deputy Minister President and Financial Minister of the State. Herr Kraft was at one time President of the agricultural chamber of commerce in the former East German province of Posen, and was a high ranking member in Hitler's Elite Guard. Other former Nazis of more than average standing during the Hitler regime, including *Hans Adolph Asbach*, a former Gauleiter from Stettin, have won places for themselves as leaders of the refugees.

With this kind of leadership the plight of the refugees is carefully channelized for ulterior motives which should sound the alarm to all security-minded Americans. For example, upon the occasion of a tentative agreement reached in Bonn between two of the major organizations allegedly representing the refugees, a Hamburg newspaper called *The Voice of the Expelled* declared that while the Germans in the Soviet Zone looked to the West for their need, disillusion is growing on the Western side of the Elbe. The editorial concludes with a familiar echo of Hitler: "Germany for the Germans from Memel to the Saar." In Berlin, former German residents of Danzig voted to set up what amounts to a "government in exile." (*New York Times*, June 3, 1951) This so-called government will dedicate its efforts toward the return of Danzig (presently the Polish port of Gdynia) to the Germans.

Do the politicians at Bonn give aid and comfort to this revanchinist spirit, or are they doing everything possible to alleviate the present distress of the refugees? Let the facts speak for themselves. In his New Year's broadcast, Theodore Heuss, President of the Federal Government, made it a point to fan the fires of revanchism, declaring that, "Germans whose homes were taken from them hoped to return. . . ." He wasn't as blunt as Herr Jacob Kaiser, the West German Minister for All German Affairs, who, in addressing a rally of refugees in Essen, shouted: "The Saar is German." Commenting on this outburst, the *New York Times* (May 28, 1951) noted: "They are the same words used as a slogan by Nazi Germany during the agitation before the Saar plebiscite of 1935. They are the words of one of the nationalist songs of pre-war Germany." The *New York Times*, reporting the views of some of the refugee politicians, quotes one as stating: "*The refugees from the East must be given reason to believe that the reclamation of our homeland from Poland and Russian rule will be considered as a joint goal in the program of Western defense.*" This position need not be elaborated upon, as as it is quite obvious that it is a call for the West to pull Germany's chestnuts out of the fire, even if it takes a war to do so.

Yet this view is shared by the Chancellor of the Bonn Republic, Dr. Adenauer. When he learned that President Truman had asked Congress to end the state of war with Germany he let loose with a typical nationalist outburst. The *New York Times* (July 10, 1951) noted that: "*The caution that has cloaked Dr. Adenauer's past references to rearmament were discarded in his speech which showed him in a militant and even aggressive mood, one well calculated to match the atmosphere of the nation. . . .*" In this spirit Dr. Adenauer declared that the build-up of Western power is "most desirable" from the German standpoint, for "only in this way can we get the German East back." Thus the Nazi-like rantings of revenge which permeate the refugee organizations find their echo in the more suave, but nevertheless definite demands of the leading statesman at Bonn. While we do not mean to prejudge the final delimitation of Germany's boundaries, it is our considered judgment that a settlement of this question must be resolved at the conference table. The alternative is ultimately war—a war which would be primarily in Germany's interests and would have nothing to do with the needs of Western defense against the totalitarian East. Certainly the majority of Americans and the Western Allies are not willing to sacrifice one life for the glory of Danzig or the Saar. Yet it is patently clear that the Germans are basing many of their calculations with regard to rearmament on this very premise. As for the refugees, much could be done to help them and try to make them useful citizens, thereby checking the growing fever of nationalism and militarism which is now rampant in their organizations. This depends to a large extent, on the sincerity and willingness of German authorities to get on with the problem.

The fact that Mr. Guy J. Swope, Chief of the Displaced Populations Division of HICOG has expressed his misgivings as to the willingness of the Germans to alleviate the conditions of the refugees, shows that we can hardly depend upon the Bonn Government to take remedial action.

Hundreds of thousands of these refugees are efficient farmers who could be settled on the land, thereby creating stable conditions and by the same token increase the food supply. But German officials, encouraged by the "do-nothing policy" of Allied authorities, have deliberately sabotaged land reform. In the United States Zone alone 1 million 235 thousand acres are owned by 700 individuals and organizations. Four years ago a land reform law was passed which was designed to break up this monopoly and distribute the land among many of the refugees. Only a negligible part of this reform law has been carried out. Yet it has been estimated that sound agricultural reforms would have taken care of 2 million German refugees who could have been resettled on the land.

The fact of the matter is that the Germans will not budge. *The Manchester Guardian*, July 19, 1951, in discussing the economic implications of the refugee problem, observes that, "*Of* 350,000 *hard, frugal East German farmers, only* 21,000 *have acquired a small stake in the land of Western Germany. Agricultural plans have foundered on the tardy and insufficient measures of land reform in the laender. The men who grew potatoes on a sandy soil with extreme efficiency and forced that same soil to produce a fair proportion of grain are mostly hired hands. The toughness of the East German farmer has been squandered in a West German economy which has always been lax and in which large areas of land have remained uncultivated.*"

Further confirmation is found in Commissioner McCloy's Seventh Quarterly Report, wherein it is stated that: "*Roughly* 40% *of the arable land in the Western zones is in grass, and this land is undoubtedly the worst managed of the Federal Republic's agricultural land.*"

But the German bigwigs prefer to keep the pot boiling. Though they weep for the refugees in public they have other plans which are for private ears only. These politicians plead that the government does not have the necessary finances to help the refugees. They prefer to harp on the Hitlerite slogan, "The Saar is German." They shun solutions which would be effective, because, as *The Manchester Guardian* declares, if the refugee problem lost its urgency, then the German crusade for the reconquest of her lost territories would fall flat.

These are the pertinent facts concerning the refugee problem and the dangers which it presents to security-minded Americans. Why did Mr. McCloy fail to act when Chancellor Adenauer's government persistently sabotaged the land reform law promulgated by the occupation authorities in 1947? Why has the State Department failed to intervene and take corrective measures?

Meanwhile the Congress has been asked to vote billions for Germany over the years, ostensibly for rehabilitation purposes. Certainly, the American taxpayers and their representatives in Congress are now entitled to a full explanation.

"As long as Germany's security and economic revival depend on the West there is not likely to be a direct threat to democratic procedures. But if Germany becomes the front-line defender of the West, it will naturally seek to rewrite the terms of cooperation in its favor, and at this stage the parties now governing may lose the loyalty of the majority of the electorate. The suicidal blackmail of the right-totalitarians, some of whom advocate joining forces with Soviet imperialism, may not gain them power through the ballot but may be strong enough to destroy confidence between Germany and the West. None of the contributors makes more than a passing reference to the risk that a rearmed Germany may attempt to use power of the Western alliance to recover the Soviet zone and perhaps the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse. Fear of irredentism even more than the risk of revived militarism worries French and other West European leaders and stimulates the search for a formula which will harness the use of German armed strength to European purposes. . . ."

(From Philip E. Mosely's review of "Germany and the Future of Europe," in the New Republic)

"The men who run the smoky collieries and clanging steel mills in the Ruhr say openly they are distrustful of America's German policy.

"Workers in mine and factory seem to echo what their employers say.

"Here are their main themes, expounded repeatedly to American newsmen investigating this vital area:

"America has been too stingy with the Germans.

"America sided with Britain in a dark plot to sabotage Germany's economic future by dismantling.

"America is foolish to expect the Germans to go on paying occupation costs—part of the charges of keeping Allied defense armies in Germany.

"Business chieftains in the Ruhr contend that the four billion dollars in American aid granted to West Germany since the war is not enough. The Germans should get a billion dollars a year, they say.

" 'America is responsible for the Germans' welfare,' one top-flight industrialist commented. 'America will be forced to grant greater aid to Germany.' "

(From Brack Curry to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

The Triple Threat

by
ISIDORE LIPSCHUTZ

Among the decisive forces in the history of modern Germany which have contributed to her development as a predatory power, there can be no doubt of the enormous influence exercised by the cartels, the banking monopolies, and the coal trusts of the Ruhr. These powerful agents of aggression survived Germany's defeat after World War I and there is ample evidence that they may have weathered the storms of the second world war. In spite of the stated Allied determination to eliminate these evil forces they are again making a strong bid to control the destiny of Germany. If they are successful, then all of the plans which the Allies have devised to integrate Germany into the family of free nations will go for nought. To be forewarned is to be forearmed, and it is with this in mind that we are outlining some of the basic trends in present-day Germany which, if unchecked, portend great danger for the future security and economic stability of the free world.

GERMAN COAL BLOCKADE—SHADES OF THE PAST

In the United States the enormous resources of coal have been utilized for the expansion of our economy. In Western Europe, on the other hand, coal has been used to a large extent as a major instrument for the retardation of economic development. This fact explains in a large measure the economic difficulties which have confronted Western European countries for decades.

When we speak of coal as an instrument for the hampering of economic growth we think of Germany, for one of the main sources of this vital fuel lies within West Germany, particularly in the Ruhr valley. For years the German coal trusts have manipulated the resources of Ruhr coal for purposes of increasing Germany's industrial war potential at the expense of her neighbors. Ruhr coal built up the Kaiser's war machine and enabled the imperial armies to launch their wars against the West. When Germany suffered defeat in 1918 many Allied statesmen believed that the supreme moment had come to deprive the Germans of the ability to use Ruhr coal as a weapon of power politics. They were not successful. Nevertheless, it is instructive to recall how the Germans outmaneuvered the Allies after 1918.

After the end of World War I Western Europe faced a severe economic crisis. France and Belgium were devastated and coal became a matter of life and death for the victims of German aggression. This was recognized at the Peace Conference, and by the Reparations Commission established by the Allied powers in January, 1920. Prior to the establishment of the Reparations Commission emergency programs were adopted under which Germany was to deliver a certain amount of coal to the West. On August 29, 1919 the Germans agreed to furnish the Allies a specific quantity of coal and coke monthly. The maximum quantity of these fuels under the agreement amounted to roughly 3 million 500 thousand tons per month. However, the German Government refused to carry out the agreement.

At the end of April, 1920 the Reparations Commission officially notified Germany that she was expected to deliver 1 million 925 thousand tons of coal in May, 2 million 62 thousand tons in June, and 2 million 175 thousand in July. According to an authoritative study of this problem made under the auspices of the Institute of Economics, Washington, D. C., "early execution of the coal clauses of the Treaty of Versailles was highly unsatisfactory to the Allies." The Germans failed to live up to the agreement made with the Reparations Commission.

As a matter of fact, Germany was delivering no more than one half of the coal necessary to replace the output of the French mines devastated by the German armies. This study further notes that Germany, "was declared in default on coal deliveries before the Treaty of Versailles had been in operation six months. France was in urgent need of additional coal for her general fuel needs and of coke for her iron and steel industry. With the aid of the coke included in the reparations deliveries the iron industry in Lorraine had been slowly recovering its productive capacity. In possession since the war of the blast furnaces of the whole Lorraine district, France was in a position to become one of the great iron producing countries of the world. The Lorraine iron masters were dependent almost exclusively upon Ruhr coke. . . ."

The Germans realized full well that their industrial supremacy in Western Europe was being challenged and therefore they resorted to every kind of ruse to sabotage the growth of the French iron and steel industries. By violating the aforementioned agreements with regard to the export of Ruhr coal, Germany struck a severe blow at France from which the latter never fully recovered, and indeed, served as one of the basic preconditions for Hitler's victories over the French in 1940.

France and her Allies on the continent fought bitterly to thwart the dilatory tactics of the Germans. On the other hand, the Germans felt that, "Every possible measure should be taken to prove that little or nothing could be paid or delivered." The Allies became so desperate that they finally decided in the famous Conference of Spa in July, 1920, to pay the Germans a stipulated price for Ruhr coal. The financial concessions made to the Germans were extremely favorable to them. The Spa Conference provided that the Germans would receive five gold marks in cash for every ton delivered to the Allies. The premium was paid outright and did not represent a loan. In addition, the Allies agreed to make loans equal in amount to the difference between the internal price of German coal and its export price.

In discussing this amazing concession, the abovementioned study observes: "For all practical purposes the money involved in this transaction was equivalent to the payment at rather high prices for the greater part of the coal delivered. . . ."

In the first six months covered by the agreement it has been estimated that Germany actually realized in foreign exchange an amount equal to 400 million gold marks or nearly 100 million dollars. But even this agreement which was so advantageous to the Germans was shortlived, and by January 21 German exports of coal fell precipitously. This, in spite of the fact that Germany, according to the study, had available for domestic consumption, even after coal deliveries on the reparations account, considerably more coke than before the war. When the Germans were asked to explain their sabotaging tactics to the experts of the Reparation Commission, the German representatives, as could be expected, squealed and whined about the alleged economic plight of the fatherland, in spite of the fact that Germany was consuming "much more coke in relation to her pig iron production than was consumed in the same territory before the war."

It is well to bear in mind that the huge financial sums that Germany received for Ruhr coal were supposed to be applied toward the acquisition of needed foodstuffs for the German miners. But the German Government had other ideas with regard to the use of these funds. Wages were deliberately kept low while the German Government began to subsidize German manufacturers to expand their heavy industrial potential while the Allies were caught in the net of the German coal blockade.

This in brief is the story of how the Germans used their monopoly of Ruhr coal to undermine the economies of the nations she had invaded during World War I. Toward the end of the second world war it seemed as though Allied statesmen had absorbed the lessons of German duplicity. Solemn pledges were made to the effect that Germany's victims would have priority in recovery and that the German monopolists would be deprived of their control of Ruhr coal. These pledges remained pledges and nothing more.

Very early in the Allied occupation of Germany it became evident that insidious forces were at work to undermine these pledges and to enable the Germans to regain economic mastery of Western Europe. PREVENT WORLD WAR III has carried numerous authoritative articles on this development. Yet the facts cited in these studies went unheeded and as a result our Western Allies began to lose out in the struggle for economic recovery vis-a-vis Germany.

Recent events shed new light on this fact. The Germans, convinced, thanks to Allied present policy, that they are the "indispensable bulwark" against the Communist hordes, are brazenly refusing to cooperate with our Western Allies in the vital matter of the distribution of Ruhr coal.

For the last year and a half, West Germany has consistently fought the requests of the Coal Commission of the Economic Commission for Europe to cooperate in the matter of exporting Ruhr coal and coke, which is necessary to meet the requirements of our Western Allies. Though the ECE has no powers to enforce its recommendations, they are usually followed by the coal-producing countries of Europe. In the case of Germany, it is the International Ruhr Authority which is ultimately responsible for the distribution of Ruhr coal and coke in accordance with the recommendations of the ECE. It is for this reason that the Germans have endeavored by every means possible to discredit and eliminate the International Ruhr Authority. An example of how the Germans have operated within the International Ruhr Authority may be seen from the fact that they have objected violently to the International Ruhr Authority's decision that West Germany should export 6.2 million tons of coal during the fourth quarter of 1951. The Germans demanded that this quota be cut by at least a million tons. When the Authority rejected the German demand, Vice-Chancellor Franz Bluecher, who was the German representative on the Authority, walked out of the Conference in a huff. As the Chairman of the Free Democratic Party, which is the second largest party in Chancellor Adenauer's coalition government, Bluecher's actions take on important political significance. Incidentally, Bluecher was a top official in the National Bank in Essen during the days when Hitler was running rampant throughout Europe. The National Bank was associated with the notorious Deutsche Bank. In the December 1949 issue of the Pan-German publication, *Der Weg*, which is published by the Nazis in Argentina, Bluecher was quoted as having said: "*We will have to have a serious talk with the occupying powers about the amnesty of all those condemned for political reasons after* 1945." Needless to say, this could even include Hitler if he were alive and in prison.

Bluecher's action was hailed by Herr August Martin Euler, the leader of the Free Democrats in the Bonn Parliament. Herr Euler, according to *Business Week*, September 8, 1951, "*demanded, apparently with Chancellor Adenauer's approval, that the Allies drop the Ruhr Authority and all other controls or else the Free Democrats would vote against the Schuman Plan when it comes up for final approval in October*."

To this the voice of Kurt Schumacher, the chauvinistic leader of the Social Democrats, was added. The coal barons of the Ruhr had given the signal and their puppets in the Parliament had gone to work. Not only are the Germans refusing to meet the quotas set up by the International Ruhr Authority, but they are trying to raise the export price of coal by as much as 3.50 a ton. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, in an editorial, charged the Ruhr Authority with offering "'dead statistics' as an explanation of its 'reparations' policy—a bitter word indeed, in German ears." (July 13, 1951, the *New York Times*.)

Even the German Federation of Labor chimed in and stated that the International Ruhr Authority program must be drastically revised, "as a precondition for union support for the Schuman Plan." (*New York Times*, July 15.)

The Germans and their propagandists have spread all kinds of fables concerning the coal situation in Germany and in Western Europe. They are the same fables which the Germans spread after World War I, and if they go unanswered, will surely lead to the same results which made it possible for Germany to dominate her neighbors by the time Hitler seized power. Fortunately the facts are known and they are sufficient to refute the half truths pumped out by the obedient politicians and propagandists employed by the Bonn Government. These facts have been clearly set forth in *Background Letter*, published by the British High Commission for Germany. This publication notes that if the Allies had insisted on application of the principles of equality between Ruhr coal exports of 1951 and those of 1950, the International Ruhr Authority would have been justified in calling for the export of 6 million 550 thousand tons for the fourth quarter rather than the requested 6 million 250 thousand tons which represents, "a further sacrifice on the part of European countries."

Indeed, the *Letter* reveals that the International Ruhr Authority went so far as to offer the Germans an allocation of only 6 million tons, but the Germans, as usual, wanted still greater concessions. Moreover, it is brought out that the total allocations of solid fuels for export from the Bonn Government amounted to 21.9 million tons in 1950, while the total for the present year would be 21.3 million tons. In 1950 the Bonn Republic had at its disposal no less than 88.2 million tons of hard coal. In 1951, on the basis of the actual results of the first half of the present year, and on the forecasts of German authorities for the second half of the year, the Bonn Republic would have at its disposal no less than 96.5 million tons. Thus the Germans would have at their disposal in 1951, "for the satisfaction of their internal requirements, about 8 million tons of hard coal more than in 1950." This figure excludes the tonnage which the Bonn Republic may be expected to receive from the United States. In contrast, the countries importing German coal, as a whole, while requiring roughly 75% more than the Bonn Government, "will, since German exports are being maintained at appreciably the same level as in the preceding year, have their own availabilities increased by only 3.7 million tons of hard coal."

The Germans cannot refute these facts. Nor can they deny the charges of the Military Government that there is a thriving black market for coal in Germany itself. *Business Week* points out that the Germans want to maintain a "business as usual" policy as evidenced by the fact, for instance, that car production is running at full capacity for domestic and foreign markets. Apparently the Germans have the coal when they want it.

It goes without saying that German power politics with regard to Ruhr coal may have devastating effects in the member nations of the Atlantic Defense system. Due to the shortage of Ruhr coal and coke, speedy rearmament in Western Europe is problematical. French steel producers have been forced to limit production to 85% of capacity and may have to use precious dollars for the import of American coal, when only a few miles across the border there is a plentiful supply of Ruhr coal. As many press reports indicate, the Germans are employing their stalling techniques primarily to recapture the leadership of the heavy industries of Western Europe before the Schuman Plan comes into effect. In addition to working havoc on the vital rearmament program under the leadership of General Eisenhower, the new coal blockade is creating more misery for hundreds of thousands of workers in the Allied countries. One can hardly be optimistic in the face of these conditions, especially since they threaten the general unity of Western Europe in the face of Communist danger. The united front of German politicians egged on by the coal barons of the Ruhr, is not a happy spectacle to behold. Unfortunately, the Allied High Commission seems to be sitting this one out. Their treatment of the German coal cartels is but one aspect of the present decartelization situation. The failure to break up the German coal cartels is an important factor in the present German attitude.

"The western Allies are getting impatient at what they call the unwillingness of West Germans to make any real sacrifices for the common cause of western defense.

. . . "Every time the Allies come down to the point and press for a German guarantee for scrap deliveries to the United States and Britain, or for assistance in finding barracks for troops, the Germans make difficulties, Allied officials said.

. . . "Officials listed a few points on which the Germans had been hedging for weeks or months. They included:

"Finding a suitable sandbank as an alternative bombing target for Heligoland.

"Finding barracks for troops and open spaces for airfields.

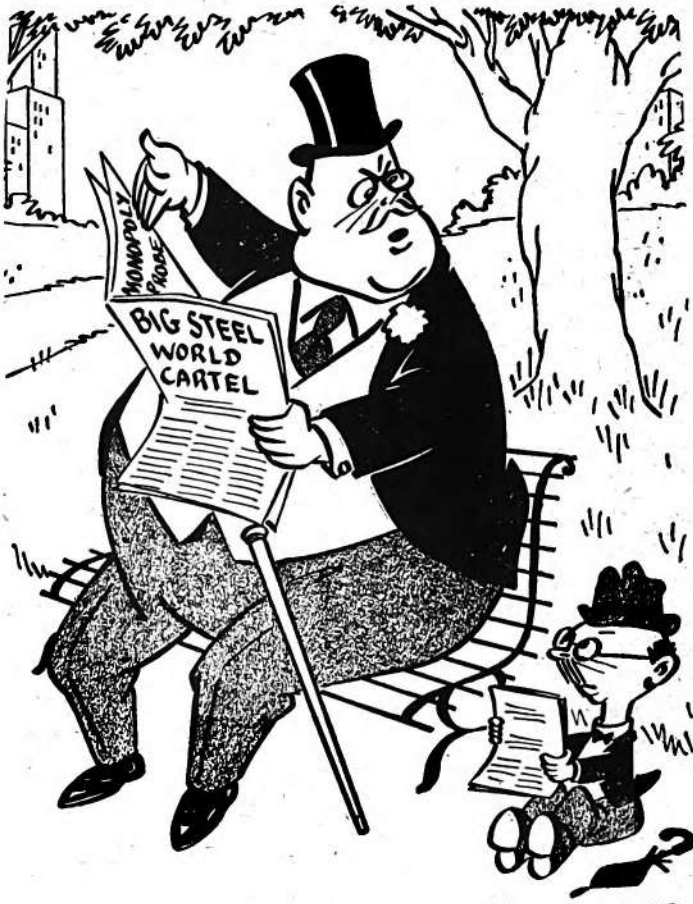
"Paying the full bill of occupation costs, which includes large contributions toward the maintenance of the Allied reinforcement troops.

"Producing iron and steel scrap for export to the British and American armaments industries.

"Supplying the coal demanded by the International Ruhr Authority for continental European countries.

"Taking adequate economic measures to restrict home consumption of steel, coal, power, and motor vehicles so that more are available for the western defense effort."

(From a Reuters dispatch to the Christian Science Monitor)



"EGAD, SIR, NOTHING BUT RED PROPAGANDA!"

(Courtesy Compass)

The lesson to be learned from this story is simple enough. If the Germans act as they do now with regard to cooperation with the West, what can be expected of them when they obtain full sovereignty?

THE REVIVAL OF THE BANKING MONOPOLIES

In November, 1946, the Finance Division of the U. S. Military Government for Germany prepared a report based on exhaustive investigations of the role and activities of the Deutsche Bank during the Hitler regime. The report recommended that, (1) "the Deutsche Bank be liquidated," (2) "the responsible officials of the Deutsche Bank be indicted and tried as war criminals," (3) "the leading officials of the Deutsche Bank be barred from positions of importance or responsibility in German economic or political life."

The report contained a wealth of authentic documents to support the aforementioned recommendations. Fact after fact was cited proving that the Deutsche Bank was one of the most powerful organs of Nazi domination and aggression. Indeed, it led the whole pack of predatory institutions in looting German occupied Europe and providing the financial means by which Hitler and his cohorts were able to rearm and launch their assaults upon humanity. Together with the Dresdner Bank and the Commerz Bank, the Deutsche Bank monopolized German financial life and acted as the spearhead for the Nazi Government "in the economic penetration of the annexed, occupied, and satellite countries of Europe." Though the report was devoted in the main to the activities of the Deutsche Bank, it did describe the Dresdner Bank as an institution "*whose aggressiveness . . . had become a byword in Germany in a race for commissions and profits out of Aryanization transactions.*"

That the Deutsche Bank was one of the main props of the Nazi regime was admitted by the German banker, Baron Kurt von Schroeder, the "midwife of Nazism." What was done to carry out the recommendations of this report? Was the Deutsche Bank liquidated? It was not! It is true that a law was passed by the military government designed to reorganize the German banking system along the lines of our own Federal Reserve System. This so-called reorganization took place shortly after currency reforms were instituted, and had as its main objective the breaking up of the powerful banking monopolies, particularly the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, and the Commerz Bank. The plan called for the setting up of a central reserve bank for all of Germany which was called the Bank Deutscher Laender (BDL). Moreover, each of the eleven states in the German West Federation was given its own autonomous central bank which was directly linked to the BDL. The BDL was granted enormous powers of credit and ostensibly was to be the ultimate controller of currency issues throughout Western Germany. The three major private banks were supposed to have been split up so that according to the regulations, no private bank could maintain branches in more than one state.

This was the paper reform, but in reality, little of significance was changed. This is confirmed by Mr. J. Lanner writing in "Economica," the publication of the London School of Economics (May, 1951). Discussing the reform law, Mr. Lanner writes "*the Decentralizing Law did not dissolve these joint stock banks so that legally they are still in existence. . . .*" Mr. Lanner's observations are supported by another authority on the subject, Hans Adler, the former chief of the banking section for the United States Military Government in Germany. Writing in the Quarterly Journal of Economics (August, 1949), Mr. Adler notes that in spite of the reform law, "no changes were made in the ownership of the banks." Moreover, he admits that "*the German banks were making strenuous efforts to reestablish their previous positions and reintroduce the centralist controls torn apart in the last months of the war.*"

Outlining some of the attempts made by the three banking monopolies to regain their former control, Mr. Adler informs us that while "these central offices (of the three banking monopolies) were not supposed to exercize any control over their branches outside the British Zone, they attempted constantly to reassert their position. When, for example, instructions from these offices were no longer permitted as orders, they were quite effective forwarded as 'information.'" Mr. Adler's descriptions of the ruses employed by the banking monopolies to evade Allied control and to encourage their branches throughout West Germany to do likewise, is fully confirmed in the report of the Military Government investigators. Thus, it can be seen that these banking monopolies were not abolished.

The second recommendation of the report called for the indictment and prosecution of the responsible officials of the Deutsche Bank as war criminals. Efforts were made to treat the key officials of the Dresdner Bank in a similar manner. The fact of the matter is, however, that not one of the leading officials of any of these three leading banking monopolies was indicted or tried as a war criminal by the Allies.

The third recommendation called for prohibiting the leading officers of the Deutsche Bank from regaining positions of importance or responsibility in German economic or political life. What are the facts? As early as December 12, 1949, the *New York Times* published a dispatch from Frankfurt, Germany, entitled, "Old Bankers Back in West Germany." The *Times* went on to state that these leading figures of the big German banks "*during the Nazi period are making their way back into banking institutions in West Germany and initiating practices that appear to be developing into monopolies. . . .*" The *Times* dispatch noted that the activities of these bankers "*could result in the creation of banking monopolies which would grow almost unseen and suddenly emerge in full strength.*" Thus we find that the fundamental requirements for the elimination of the sinister influences of the German banking monopolies have been ignored completely.

Instead we find a new situation, if it can be called that, whereby even the original reforms are being emasculated beyond recognition. According to the *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent, John Elliott (July 29, 1951), a new agreement is in the making whereby the commercial banking system of West Germany will be put on a new basis. "*The new accord,*" writes Mr. Elliott, "*tolls the death knell of the postwar attempts of the Allies to decentralize that country's credit institutions.*" Mr. Elliott further observes that "under the present system each of these banks (the three banking monopolies) is subdivided into eleven institutions, one in each state. Thus three banks under the proposed reform will replace the existing thirty-three institutions." The central offices of the Deutsche Bank will be established at

Munich, while those of the Commerz Bank and the Dresdner Bank will be set up at Stuttgart and Frankfurt respectively.

Mr. Elliott believes that this set-up "constitutes a great victory for the Germans" and destroys the original plan aimed at breaking up these monopolies. The Elliott article, however, does not mention the source of this new "Allied Plan." In reality, the plan is the product of the German banking monopolists themselves. It was originally proposed in detail in June, 1950, by Herman J. Abs, Carl Goetz, and Paul Marx. Herr Abs is the former top officer of the Deutsche Bank. Paul Marx was a leading figure in the Commerz Bank and Carl Goetz played a similar role in the Dresdner Bank. The three men were among those described by the War Department in March, 1945, as having "*in an outstanding way thrived under National Socialism, who welcomed it in the beginning, aided the Nazis to obtain power, supported them in office, shared the spoils of expropriation and conquest, or otherwise markedly benefited in their careers or fortunes under the Nazis.*" By the original standards of the Allied occupation these men should have been tried as war criminals. Instead they have not only returned to power, but have been allowed to dictate Allied policy as to the future of the German banking system.

The record of Herr Abs is particularly notorious as revealed by Senator Guy Gillette last year when he discovered that Herr Abs had sneaked into this country to gather up the loose ends of the connecting links between the German banking monopolies and their helpers in the United States. When Senator Gillette publicly exposed Abs as one of Hitler's most important financial supporters and a leading spirit in the Deutsche Bank's looting of Europe, Abs beat a hasty retreat to the Fatherland. Nevertheless, he is one of the most powerful figures in Germany today. In a detailed study of the German banks (see March-April, No. 34 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, 1950) the *U. S. News and World Report* of July 29, 1949, is quoted as follows: "Men who were powers of German banking and investment operations before and during the war are back in positions of influence. Herman Abs, a Berlin banker who was highly regarded by Hjalmar Schacht during the Nazi rise often is called 'the most powerful man in Germany. . . .' Now he is head of a German corporation set up to finance the growth of industry. In his new job he dominates industrial investment in reviving Germany." In the above mentioned article we had expressed misgivings as to the effectiveness of the Allied banking reforms. On the basis of what is now known to be taking place in Germany, it seems as though our fears were justified. The plan of Herren Abs, Goetz and Marx is, for all intents and purposes, the very plan disclosed by Mr. Elliott, which in effect reestablishes the power of the German banking monopolies.

As mentioned above, even before the new plan was disclosed, the bigwigs of the German banking fraternity had spared no effort to preserve their stranglehold. They attempted to dupe Allied officials by trickery and falsehood. They issued propaganda to the effect that decentralization would bring complete collapse of the German economy and would weaken public confidence. According to Mr. Adler, however, the doom they prophesized did not materialize. "There was in fact no run on the banks, no increase in withdrawals, no attempts to transfer funds into other zones, and the stock quotations of the affected banks, after a temporary decline, reached new heights a few months afterwards." But the German bankers would not rest. So long as there were even paper reforms they felt their monopolies would be threatened. Therefore, they appointed three of their ringleaders to propose a scheme that would legalize the former banking monopolies. They concocted dubious arguments aimed at justifying the resurgence of the German big banks. Mr. Lanner, in his detailed analysis easily contradicts the main arguments put forth by these gentlemen. In spite of the fact that Mr. Lanner supports the reemergence of the banking monopolies, he admits, after demolishing the rationalizations of the German bankers "that the German banks could function reasonably well even on the basis of their present organization."

As matters now stand, it seems that the arguments of Abs and his colleagues have won the day. Once again these German banks will be in a position to dominate private industry and also to seize control of the credit and finances of the Bonn Government. This promises to duplicate the situation which existed in Germany prior to the war. The old Reichsbank which was the central bank for Germany had little effective control over the credit and financial policies of the three big banks. These monopolies were allowed to accumulate huge reserves and as a result they were in a position to create and carry out their own credit and financial policies regardless of the wishes of the Weimar Government. Subsequently, these reserves were used to finance Hitler into power. There is every reason to believe that under the Abs Plan, these monopolies will again be able to manipulate the credit and finances of West Germany through the accumulation of huge reserves uncontrolled by the government.

The scheme cooked up by Abs has had the blessings of the Chancellor of the Bonn Republic, Dr. Adenauer, who was at one time a member of the Board of Directors of the Deutsche Bank. It was backed by Ade-

"The Western Powers and the Bonn Government are concerned, and even alarmed, over the resurgence of Nazism in Germany. . . . This political phenomenon may have far-reaching significance for the future of all Europe. . . .

"For it is more than a revival of the Nazi philosophy in Germany, deplorable as that is. If this movement grows, it may bring about a coalition between Germany and Soviet Russia, with catastrophic repercussions upon the whole plan for defending the West. . . .

"We are confronted once more with the danger that a resurgent Germany will cast its lot with the great Slavic empire to the East. The Nazi philosophy, after all, is not too seriously in conflict with the Communist ideology. . . .

"What seems to be happening is that the moderate middle-of-the-roaders are losing ground, and the Nazis on the Right and the Socialists on the Left are gaining. Stalin must be smiling saturninely behind the walls of the Kremlin."

(From the Richmond Times-Dispatch)

nauer's chief financial advisor, a leading figure in Germany's steel industry, the Cologne banker, Pferdmenges, who works on very close terms with Abs. It seems that Pferdmenges' ambitions are limitless, for he is intent on exerting direct influence on the whole banking system under the Abs plan. Thus he has made a deal with Abs under which in return for establishing the head office of the Deutsche Bank in Munich, of all places, the Central Bank (BDL) will be removed from its Frankfurt headquarters to Cologne where Pferdmenges will be able to exercize direct influence on its policies.

Despite these developments our leading officials in Germany, including Mr. McCloy, remain serene and confident. In his Seventh Quarterly Report he assures us that "substantial progress has been made in the field of deconcentrating the three banks." He does not mention the Abs Plan, nor does he speak of the key role played by those members of the German banking fraternity who should have been tried as war criminals. Nor does he disclose that the German banks will once again be able to play a dominant role in German industry through the emasculation of Decartelization Law No. 27. Mr. McCloy's omissions become understandable if we bear in mind the fact that all of his efforts have been devoted to the revival of German "efficiency." Has Mr. McCloy forgotten that this so-called German efficiency has brought ruin and misery to the world twice within one generation?

UNDERMINING THE DECARTELIZATION AND DECONCENTRATION PROGRAM

In his Seventh Quarterly Report on Germany, U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy boasts that: "The Allied program should also be an assurance that excessive concentration of economic power will not again in Germany help to create an excessive concentration of political power." Undoubtedly the original aims of the Allies and in particular of the United States, were to achieve this very objective. But there is a yawning gap between the goal and what is actually taking place in Germany today.

It will be recalled that as early as 1948 the former Secretary of the Army, Kenneth C. Royall, publicly announced that the pernicious cartels had been abolished in Germany. Mr. Royall was overly optimistic, as discovered by the Ferguson Committee, appointed by the President to investigate the cartel situation in Germany. This committee found that not only were the cartels untouched for the most part, but that leading American officials had been sabotaging the decartelization and deconcentration programs all along. Many of these details have been published in a series of articles in PREVENT WORLD WAR III under the caption, "Was the Decartelization Program Sabotaged?" These studies cited incontrovertible evidence attesting to the fact that the decartelization program was undermined with the connivance of powerful cartellists both here and in Germany.

Then why does Mr. McCloy share the "optimism" of the former Secretary of the Army? Perhaps he was referring to Law No. 27 which was supposed to break up German combines and cartels. We have analyzed Law No. 27 in previous issues of PREVENT WORLD WAR III and have shown that many of its provisions are inadequate, to say the least. Nevertheless, given the will on the part of responsible Allied authorities in Germany, Law 27 could produce desirable results. But even Law 27 has been reinterpreted to meet the convenience and wishes of the Germans.

Law 27, for example, had as one of its aims the decartelization of the coal combines of the Ruhr. However, on July 17, 1951, the Allied High Commission announced that no less than 36 coal combines would be exempted from the decartelization law. The Associated Press, commenting on this action, declares that it resulted in a "victory for the Germans."

The failure to include these 36 coal trusts in the reorganization plan under Law 27 prompted J. B. Hynd, Member of the British Parliament, to ask his Government some pertinent questions on the subject. Mr. Ernest Davies, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, imparted the following information: On July 12 the question of reorganizing the Ruhr coal combines was discussed by the Allied High Commission. The British element was in favor of the inclusion of these companies, "on the grounds that their exclusion would seriously reduce the scope of reorganization, that the reorganization plan . . . had been drawn up by a body of German experts who had urged that it should be accepted in its entirety, and that the German trade unions, whose support for Allied deconcentration measures was important, had pressed strongly for the inclusion of these companies."

According to Mr. Davies, the American and French High Commissioners rejected these arguments, stressing that the "Federal Chancellor had expressed the view that compulsory inclusion would not be legitimate." Thus the Allies meekly submitted to Herr Adenauer's diktat, and the coal trusts were exempted from deconcentration measures. This is not a mere rewrite of Law 27, but in effect, Herr Adenauer succeeded in establishing his own "law" which the Allies have consented to obey. It is interesting to note that a coal company controlled by Herr Adenauer's son-in-law was among the 36 coal companies exempted from deconcentration.

Another coal combine which came under the protective wing of the Chancellor belongs to the I. G. Farben cartel. The good fortune of the Farben empire is recorded in the rise of its common shares. In 1950 these shares were quoted at 70. By October, 1951 they rose to 120. Apparently I. G. Farben has many lives. Time and again the press has reported the "break up" of the Farben empire. But from all the facts available, this break up is merely a paper affair. Indeed, the Allies have made certain that the so-called new companies to be formed out of Farben itself will distribute their shares among former Farben shareholders. This means that the ownership of I. G. Farben will not substantially change.

While the 36 coal combines have been spared from deconcentration measures, the monopolistic coal selling organizations of Germany which were to be abolished under the Schuman Plan, remain intact. *The Manchester Guardian* of September 13 makes this clear: "Coal has produced a second controversy. The American High Commission has sent a stiff note to Chancellor Adenauer asking why nothing has been done to break up the old 'monopolistic' German coal-selling body, the D. K. V. While the British were disposed to allow this body to continue to exist, both the Americans and French asked for its dissolution. The German Government did, in fact, agree to this and in return secured Allied concessions over the splitting-up of the steel companies and their detachment from coal interests. This has now been conveniently forgotten and German papers are writing that a situation has arisen which may prevent the ratification of the Schuman Plan. . . ."

A careful study of the modifications of Law No. 27 as announced on July 17 shows that Mr. McCloy's optimism is wholly unwarranted. The document is technical in parts and does not make for easy reading, but throughout its contents there runs a single theme which is played over and over again, namely that when the Germans demand certain changes, the Allies obligingly meet these requests.

With regard to the ownership of the "new" coal and iron and steel companies, it is clear that under the reorganization plan the ownership will revert back to the very same forces which provided the sinews of Hitler's war making power. Moreover, the Allies have assured Chancellor Adenauer that in accordance with his demands, Allied responsibility in carrying out this reorganization would, in effect, be purely of a nominal character, that in essence the Germans themselves will take charge. Finally, the Allied memorandum states that, in order "to conform to joint stock company practices in Germany" as demanded by the Chancellor, the Allies have consented to make "important modifications" which will contain "only the bare minimum of provisions essential to allow the new unit companies to develop as independent enterprises."

Even those of us who are not familiar with the intricacies of corporate procedures and control will understand that by these modifications shadow has been substituted for substance and that, in effect, Law No. 27 has been turned into its opposite, namely a plan for the preservation of the German combines and cartels.

In his Seventh Quarterly Report on Germany Mr. McCloy declares that, "It has been agreed that their charters (of the new unit companies) will prohibit interlocking directorates." In view of the changes in the statutes governing these unit companies referred to above, it seems to us that Mr. McCloy is too optimistic on this point.

These new unit companies in the steel and coal industries may be given new names, but a change in name does not mean that the structure of German heavy industry has been subject to significant changes. The vertical steel trusts are maintained and indeed, even strengthened. As a politician who has been long familiar with the Ruhr industry, Dr. Adenauer knew exactly what the Ruhr barons desired. He has faithfully protected the interests of the German steel cartel, particularly the Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

Since the end of the war the Vereinigte Stahlwerke has enjoyed a remarkable recovery. Before the war the capital stock of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke amounted officially to 462 million marks. By the end of 1949, in spite of war damage and dismantling, the value of the capital stock rose to 575 million DM. The insiders connected with this huge concentration of economic power were never really disturbed over the Allied decartelization and deconcentration program. In September, 1949 the stock of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke was quoted at 16¾. On November 23, the day after the agreement with the Allies was signed at Petersberg, the value of the stock reached 71. By the end of September, this year, the stock had jumped to 122.

Other steel trusts in the Ruhr experienced a similar rise in the value of their assets and stock. One of the largest of these firms in the Rhur, the Kloeckner Co., boasted that, "In spite of war and post-war damage, our assets and capital stock can be regarded as saved."

It is clear from these facts that the Allies have hardly scraped the surface in terms of decartelizing and deconcentrating German heavy industry. This brings us back to Mr. McCloy's assurances that the Allied deconcentration and decartelization program would prevent the rebirth of excessive concentration of political power. Here again Mr. McCloy exhudes an optimism which is not shared by those who know better. The German Trade Union Federation has threatened to withdraw from cooperation with the Bonn Government because it is dissatisfied with the present situation in the Ruhr.

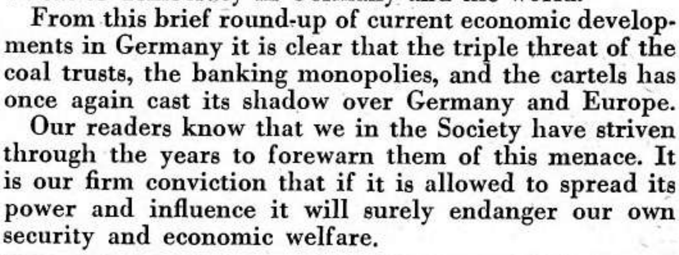
In a memorandum to the Government, the Union Federation declared in no uncertain terms that the same economic setup which thrived under Hitler is now reviving in the Ruhr. Moreover, the Federation accused the Allied High Commissioners of virtually restoring the pre-war structure of ownership. It declared that the old iron and steel trusts are steadily building up their influence in the Federal Government.

An American trade unionist who has an outstanding reputation, was even more blunt on this score. Mr. Walter Reuther, after a visit to the Ruhr in December, 1949 stated that he was shocked to see how the British and American authorities had handed over control "to the same old gang who helped Hitler to power and helped him to wage war." Mr. Reuther added: "This is a real threat to democracy in Germany and the world."

From this brief round-up of current economic developments in Germany it is clear that the triple threat of the coal trusts, the banking monopolies, and the cartels has once again cast its shadow over Germany and Europe.

Our readers know that we in the Society have striven through the years to forewarn them of this menace. It is our firm conviction that if it is allowed to spread its power and influence it will surely endanger our own security and economic welfare.

'—AND POWER TOO!'



Little in The Nashville Tennessean

An Expert's View On Germany Today

(Resume of Remarks by Dr. Hans Simons, President of the New School for Social Research, at Press Conference held upon his return from Western Germany, Wednesday, August 15, 1951.)

1. With the establishment of contractual relations between the three Occupying powers in Western Germany, the period of direct interference in internal affairs comes to an end. What has not been accomplished under the Occupation Statute cannot be accomplished now. American opportunities for influence will not be different from what they are in France, Italy, or other aid-receiving countries.

2. External impressions are misleading. Undoubtedly, the economic recovery of Western Germany is impressive. The machinery of government is working smoothly. Democratic institutions are well established. At the same time, the anti-democratic forces are growing rapidly. The balance and relationship are changing ominously to the disadvantage of the democratic elements.

3. The anti-democratic forces are not, as is usually assumed, the refugees and expellees. They are rather those former National Socialists who find it safe to make their reappearance, farmers who had a better time before the currency reform, and the small-town elites who exercise a strong influence on the rural vote. They get succour from former soldiers who quite understandably try to reestablish the reputation of their war achievements. Veteran organizations are springing up everywhere. They will be supported by the younger students who seem to fall back into the worst patterns of pre-first world war university life.

4. "Anti-democratic" is not yet a clearly defined attitude. However, it expresses violent and vicious criticism of political parties, parliaments, and professional politicians, and finds a common target of attack in the Occupation authorities. Particularly the former National Socialists, who are only now free to come back into their professions and to public life, and who therefore did not have any official contacts with the Occupation, are making virtue of necessity and advertising themselves as non-collaborationists.

At the same time, they are trying to make their own past more acceptable by romanticizing and sentimentalizing the National Socialist regime and the people who supported it.

In this process they stress German sufferings without ever linking them at all to the National Socialist regime which caused them.

5. There is a general attitude of callousness where everybody looks out for himself only. This is true of the parties as much as of individuals. The lack of social responsibility, of any willingness to sacrifice, and of any understanding of the claims of others, is one of the greatest handicaps in German life today. It is bound to affect Western Germany's role in international cooperation.

6. Everybody realizes that there is no alternative to Germany's making her contribution to Western defenses. Nevertheless, this proposition is still very unpopular, particularly with the people of draft age who, while admitting the necessity, are individually decided not to do any fighting.

The Federal Republic gives every evidence that it is willing to defend itself on the inner front. Recently the Penal Code was amended in order to safeguard the democratic institutions. However, the law is so formulated that it can easily be misused if applied by the wrong people.

As for external defense, those in charge are making an impressive effort to keep the military establishment under civilian control, and to avoid any damage which the reintroduction of a military establishment could produce. Nevertheless, those who are going to join the German element within the European army will have a very limited incentive, particularly if compared with the issues which made them fight well during the last war.

7. At best, Germany will be as reliable an ally as any other country which allies itself with the United States exclusively for reasons of its own. Some of our other allies do not have an alternative. This is true, for instance, for Spain and Yugoslavia. The trouble is that what with the international situation and the geographical position of Germany it has an alternative—and there are quite some people who are willing to consider it.

8. One cannot say that reorientation in Western Germany was successful. Rather, those with democratic intentions were helped and strengthened, particularly by the American reorientation program. Yet on the whole we are preaching to the converted. We have not reached a vast number of those who still are primarily Nationalists and who resent the very fact that we should try to influence them. Just the same, we too have no alternative because defending Western Europe without the Germans would ask for an American sacrifice of a magnitude which public opinion here obviously is not willing to accept.

"Dr. Schumacher's long-term gamble, which is simply that the Social Democratic party must be strongly nationalist, is paying off at present. The party's opposition to Washington decisions is based on the fact that they do not go far enough toward German sovereignty; its opposition to the German defense contribution is based on the contention that it is not enough and places West German defense under alien, i.e., French, control; and its opposition to the Schuman Plan is based on the argument that it 'benefits French industrialists at the expense of the German worker.'

". . . Behind this attitude lies a bubbling nationalism which always comes to the surface whenever Germany is about to receive another major concession from the Allied powers."

(*Drew Middleton in the New York Times.*)

Inside Germany

EVADING THEIR RESPONSIBILITY

"The nine million embittered German 'expellees' from the East, constitute a serious menace to the Bonn republic's newly founded democracy.

. . . "Western democrats have looked askance at German fumbling of this crucial task. Aware of the implications, the Economic Cooperation Administration last year organized a joint American-German Technical Assistance Mission to examine the situation.

. . . "The mission was quick to go to the root of the unsolved problem—the anti-social policies pursued by the West German Economic Minister, Ludwig Erhard, and the chronic evasion of responsibility by the German state and local governments. Its report is sharply critical of German tax policies, which are overindulgent toward business and upper-income groups, and of the lax economic controls which allowed Germany to overdraw her European Payments Union funds to import luxuries, while large sections of her population did not have the minimum of subsistence."

(From a report to the New Republic)

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THE "THIRD FORCE"

"The Chairman of the Fascistic First Legion, Schmalz; the second president of the so-called German Union, Greismeyer; the attorney for the defense at Nuremberg trials, Dr. Aschenbach; the former German Fascist Minister to Mussolini, Rahn; and Dr. Enrich of the German Party, held a meeting in Cologne in order to found a central organization of all the West German Fascist organizations, grouped together under the name of the 'Third Force' . . . These fascist organizations believe the time is ripe to unite all the splinter groups in one general orientation."

(As reported in Neues Deutschland)

"The lack of moral standards leads to another phenomenon: the collaboration between Nazis and Communists. Small neo-Nazi parties are reported to have accepted slush money from the Red Army headquarters. The most powerful group of ex-officers, the Bruderschaft, consists of two groups, one in Western and other in Eastern Germany, whose cooperation is evidenced by the meeting between a leader of the Bruderschaft, Franke-Grietsch, and a delegate of the National Front of the Eastern Zone, former General von Lenski, to discuss coordination and cooperation between the two organizations. . . .

"The lack of revulsion against Nazism is evidenced nowhere more clearly than in the composition of the administration of the Federal Republic. Most of the former high Nazi officials returned, after a mock denazification, to their former or similar positions. Nobody seems to care about it. . . .

"Are the Allies willing to pay the price in return for the cooperation of a questionable ally of such questionable moral standard?"

(From Nehemiah Robinson in the Congress Weekly)

THE GOOD OLD DAYS ARE BACK

"The State Department charged that the Free German Youth Organization, the host to the world youth festival in the Soviet zone of Berlin, bore close resemblance to the former Hitler youth movement.

"It was an organization that could develop only in a totalitarian state, the Department declared in a formal statement based on a study conducted by the Office of Public Affairs."

(From a special dispatch to the New York Times)

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REMILITARIZATION PROGRESS IN EAST GERMANY

"The British High Commissioner's office charged today that units of the People's Police in East Germany were being trained as 'potential operational units' rather than as police. The British also charged that the force was heavily weighted with Russian officers and with Germans fresh from a year's military training in the Soviet Union.

"The accusations were contained in the longest and most detailed statement made by the Western Allies on the rearmament of East Germany.

(From a special dispatch to the New York Times)

"German recriminations against their Western conquerors are more open and intemperately hostile than at any time in the six years of occupation. Allied impatience and frustration are similarly waxing."

". . . The complaints are being coupled with threats; threats to refuse to arm Germans for the Atlantic Pact forces, threats to withdraw from Schuman Plan commitments even muttered hints to turn entirely from the West.

"And on the other side, Allied statemen here profess the greatest irritation at both the complaints and the threats. They note with asperity that the Western conquerors have steadily and rapidly conceded freedom and authority to the Germans but that with each concession the demands became louder and more acrimonious."

". . . In sum, the Germans are using the freedom of the press and political utterance which the Allies have granted them to turn more sharply on Allied personnages and policies than ever before. At the same time, they venture to accuse them of 'selfishness' and 'failure to sympathize with Germany's great needs and problems.' Over and over German political figures and editorialists are asking, as has the Frankfurter Allgemeine in a reproving comment, 'Are the occupation powers seriously trying to gain the trust and support of us Germans?"

(Ernest Leiser to ONA)

THE GERMAN EXPORT BOOM

"The expansion of West German exports in the last twelve months has been more serious than is generally realized, and it is still going on. Exports of manufactured goods from Western Germany now exceed the pre-war level even without counting inter-zonal trade."

. . . "It will be seen that the impact of renewed German competition in the world's markets has been particularly sensational in metals and metal products, machinery, and chemicals. In the case of metal and chemical products shipped to other European markets the German sales had reached almost double the British figures, but even the overseas exports in these important groups are already about half the size of British exports." *(From a report to the Manchester Guardian)*

★

GERMAN IRANIAN FRIENDSHIP

"German recovery in the West is being paralleled by a German upsurge in the Middle East, particularly in Iran. For a still unrecognized government, Western Germany enjoys an extraordinary backstairs prestige.

. . . "The German revival is coming out of the same roots as in the old days. The Iranian view is best expressed in the words uttered in Isfahan to the American representative of one of the agencies that has been spending millions in Iran. 'Next to the Germans,' said an Iranian, 'we like you Americans best.'

. . . "One hundred Germans have registered themselves as oil technicians to take the places of the British in the oil establishments.

"A flood of German popular magazines and books is appearing on newsstands.

"A formal invitation to Hjalmar Schacht, the acquitted financial wizard of Hitler, to speak at Teheran University in the autumn."

(George Weller to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

★

SIGNIFICANT STATISTICS

"Critics of the GIs have also been too prone to overlook one important fact—that a major share of responsibility for the increased number of incidents lies with the Germans themselves. Even before the present wave of reinforcements began to arrive, the German civilian population was beginning to show increasing aggressiveness toward the GIs in their midst. . . . Today, a great many Germans—fretful under the presence of foreign troops, regardless of the fact that their own government has asked for more of them—themselves are looking for trouble.

"Entirely unprovoked attacks on members of the occupation forces have increased in considerably greater proportion than the GIs' crimes against the Germans. The Army's records show 100 crimes committed by Germans against U. S. military personnel and property, in July, 1951; the figure was only 51 in July, 1950."

(Ernest Leiser in ONA)

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SIX YEARS AFTER . . .

"It is known that former branches of the Wehrmacht are being reconstituted as veteran organizations grouped under the name of Bund Deutsche Soldaten which are led by Admiral Hansen, whose political reputation is deplorable. In allowing the reformation of these veteran groups as well as the 'Steel Helmets' which number already 100,000 members, aren't the Bonn Government and the Allies committing a terrible mistake? Admiral Hansen, President of the League of German Soldiers, has recently addressed a wire to the Czech Prime Minister in which he protested against the death verdict rendered by the Prague Tribunal against the German Generals Schmidt and Goltschalk, the perpetrators of the Lidice Massacre.

"The swastika has been causing the federal government additional anxiety. Having recently created seven new civilian decorations, the Bonn Government could do nothing else but permit former soldiers to wear also the military crosses won in various Nazi campaigns. In this connection, the Allies had forbidden the wearing of all military decorations. Bonn has just decided the opposite; no doubt with the permission of the High Commission.

"A few weeks ago, in Madrid, as General Franco was bidding Admiral Sherman farewell, General Munoz-Grandes, the leader of the Blue Division which fought against the Russians during the last war, and his soldiers stood at attention proudly displaying the German Iron Cross, 1st and 2nd class, as well as the swastika.

"The Frankfurter Zeitung, writing about this story on the 27th of August was astounded that this even caused so much repercussion in the Western World."

(From a dispatch by Georges Blun to the Journal de Geneve)

"An Israeli Foreign Office spokesman said that termination by Western powers of the state of war with Germany cannot be regarded as having brought an end to 'Germany's war against the Jewish people.'

". . . 'Six years after the end of hostilities, the German people have not made expiation or reparation for the crimes committed by the Nazis. To this day, every new election shows that the evil doctrines of Nazism are rampant in Germany.' . . ."

(From an Associated Press dispatch)

"Press analysis experts have noted recently a concerted effort on the part of German newspapers to criticize the Allied powers."

". . . The more numerous and speedy the concessions, the louder and more numerous have been the complaints of the German newspapers to and about the Allies.

"Even those newspapers which had previously sought standards of impartiality in their news coverage, whatever their editorial line, have joined in the hue and cry. Papers which used to be pro-Allied or at least temperate in attitudes are now digging all their invective out of the 'hell-basket' to sling back in type at the Western powers; it would appear that their editors have become convinced that this is the only way to maintain circulation."

(Ernest Leiser to ONA)

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THEY MEAN EVERY WORD

A French newspaper man relates a conversation he had with a German journalist, who told him the story that 600,000 Germans had signed a petition asking for clemency for the seven war criminals who were hanged recently. He also related that the Bonn Government did the impossible to save their lives and went so far as to pay $12,000 to hire an American lawyer to fight the execution up to the last minute.

Dr. Thomas Dehler, Minister of Justice in the Bonn Government provided the money for the American lawyer. The following letter was addressed to this French newspaper man by this prominent German journalist:

"Those of my generation who are still living in their fatherland know that it was purely a whim of fate which saved the lives of some and hanged the others. Those of Landsburg did not have the good fortune to wage their war in a quiet corner such as Copenhagen or to be taken prisoners in 1942. That is the sole reason why they had to pay with their lives. Today, we, the survivors, have to be resigned to our fate. Tomorrow, we shall perhaps become Anarchists who will rejoice in the misfortunes of the world that has vanquished us. If the German youth that is growing up today in Germany were given, one day, two atom bombs, they will throw the first one on Moscow, but the second will certainly be reserved for New York. You will be very much surprised to know the vow which thousands of young people from the ages of 15 to 20 have taken when they heard over the radio the announcement of the American High Commission that the sentences had been carried out."

(Georges Barbul in the Parisian publication, Rivatol)

WORTH PONDERING

"And then there is the ever present fear of Germany. In our determination to unite and rearm Europe against the threat of Communism, we tend to forget that Germany was our enemy, but no one over there does. Both in England and in France I found men darkly suspicious of the ease with which the Schuman Plan is progressing through the German Parliament. They think Germany has already been handsomely bribed by being relieved of restrictions on her production in return for her adherence to the plan, and they expect the worst with respect to German influence when the High Authority is established and begins to function. They say that Italy and Holland may be counted upon at critical times to support German proposals—Italy because both politically and commercially she has been close to Germany for so long, and Holland because she competes so vigorously with Antwerp for the inbound and outbound Ruhr traffic. Working control over the High Authority might therefore be precisely the device an unrepentant new Germany might seize upon to dominate Europe in another decade."

(From "European Steel: Monopoly in the Making," an article in the Atlantic Monthly by Clarence B. Randall, President of Inland Steel)

REUNION IN BONN

"Seventy-eight former German generals, admirals and staff officers met in Bonn to federate various veterans' associations in West Germany.

"The new federation is to be called the Association of German Soldiers. Its chairman will be former Col. Gen. Hans Friessner, who commanded the Fourth German Army and also, toward the end of the war, commanded the North and South Army group in Russia.

"The federation embraces nine veterans' organizations including the German Soldiers League, which has 85,000 members and other organizations representing the Afrika Corps, the parachute troops, the Waffen S. S., and the navy . . .

"The most distinguished units of Hitler's Wehrmacht and most of the distinguished leaders still alive, hale and at liberty were represented at the meeting in the Bergischer Hof . . ."

(From a special dispatch in the New York Times)

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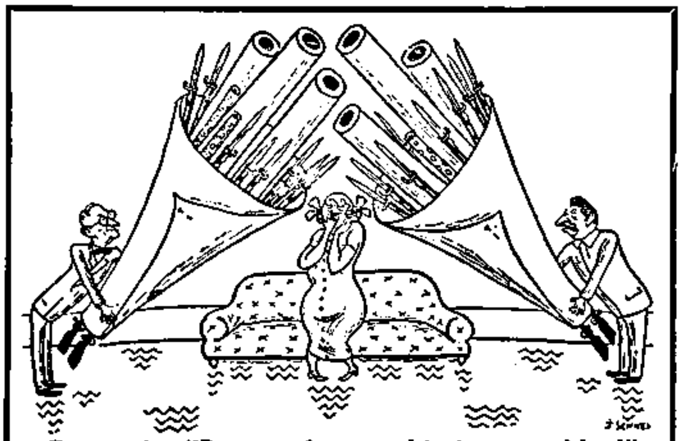
MILITARISTS AT WORK

"The League of German Soldiers which was established by the heads of various ex-service organizations is a merger formed in order to urge claims on the state, and lay down terms for co-operation in its defense . . .

"The sponsors of the new League affirm that it stands for 'our democratic State' and rejects, however, extremes of right or left . . .

"On the other hand, the League is also backed by Generals Guderian and Ramcke, who were as good Nazis as Remer and show no signs of having become supporters of democracy. Major-General Gille of the SS 'Viking' Division and SS Colonel-General Hauser, who was the original operational commander of the Waffen SS, have also taken part in the merger, and it is certain that the new League intends to demand the full rehabilitation of Himmler's army. The Norwegian, Flemish and other units in the 'Viking' Division are now said to deserve special honor as forerunners of the European army. Since the Allies made no distinction between the Waffen SS on the one hand and the security forces and Gestapo on the other, but condemned the entire SS as a criminal organization, they will find it hard to meet this demand . . ."

(From "Notes of the Week," London Economist)



Germania: "But gentlemen, this is so sudden!"

(Die Weltwoche, Zurich)

IN MEMORIAM — ARTHUR SZYK
(1894 - 1951)

It is with profound regret that we report the passing away of *Arthur Szyk,* the noted artist. His premature death has caused great sorrow among all those who knew of his works and of his tireless efforts on behalf of humanity against the forces of barbarism.

Though Mr. Szyk as a youth had studied for a business career at the Julian Academy in Paris, his creative ability in the arts inevitably turned him to his life's work.

He was particularly outstanding in the field of manuscript illumination. From 1921 to 1931 he lived in Paris where he studied deeply the art of the early masters. Many of the hundreds of miniatures in his richly colored semi-medieval style have been exhibited in the most famous galleries of the Western world. In 1931, he began the illumination, at Geneva, of the League of Nations Covenant. This unfinished work was later shown in the Museum of Art History at Geneva. Subsequently, Mr. Szyk did a series of 38 miniatures entitled, "Washington and His Times," a two year work, issued as a monumental portfolio for the Washington bi-centennial.

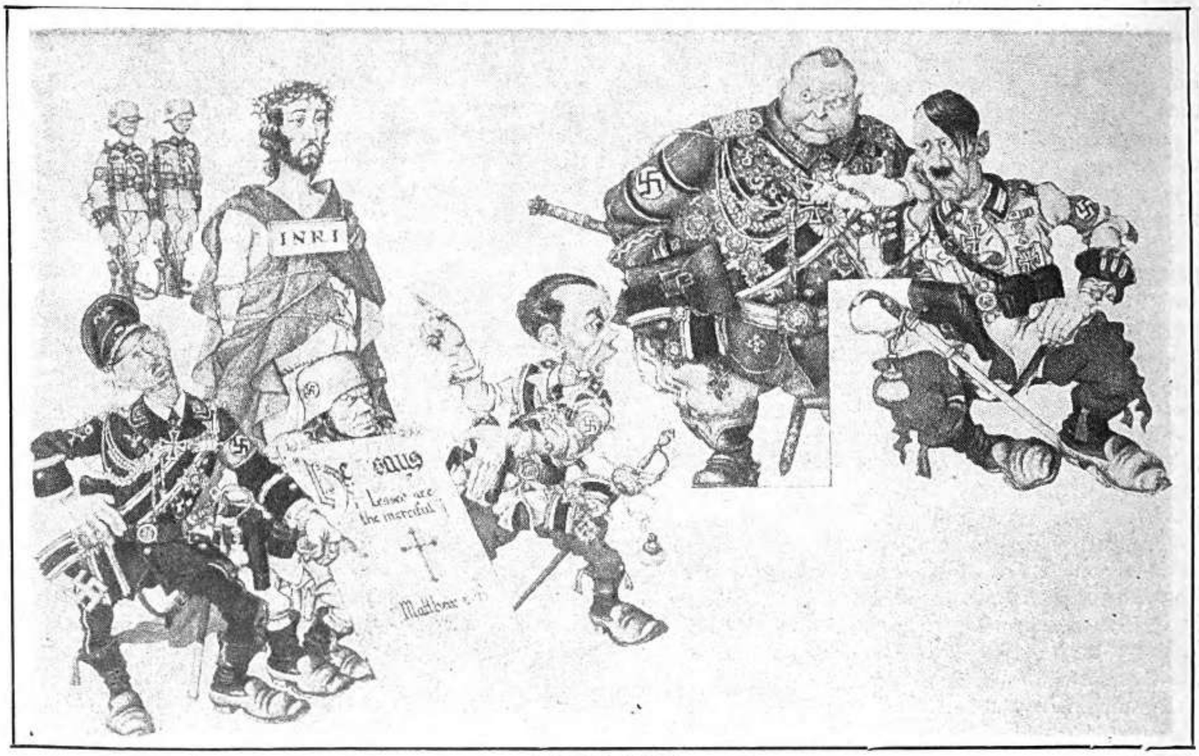
One of Mr. Szyk's greatest works was his illustrated version of the *Hagadah,* the sacred Jewish book dealing with the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt. Arthur Szyk worked for four years illustrating the Hebrew text in full colors and illuminating in gold. The first copy of this masterpiece was presented to King George VI of Great Britain in 1941. Among other great works to which Mr. Szyk applied his unmatched skills were: *The Canterbury Tales, The Temptation of St. Anthony,* and *The Song of Songs.*

The close association of his works with great historical events equipped him in the time of the grave emergency of World War II to utilize his creative powers on behalf of the Allied cause. As a cartoonist for the N. Y. Post, Time, Life, PM, the American Mercury, The Chicago Sun, Fortune, and Colliers, Mr. Szyk's talents were popularized throughout the country. His devastating barbs against the Hitler regime as depicted in his cartoons were regarded as effective weapons in the struggle against Nazism. As the New York Times noted, his cartoons "were used to inspire our armed forces, having been shown by our authorities for that purpose to the men at West Point and Annapolis and by the United Service Organizations in many army recreation centers."

A collection of Mr. Szyk's more outstanding cartoons under the title, *Ink and Blood,* which describe the plans and activities of the dictators, was published in 1946.

Truly, Mr. Szyk was a brave soldier in freedom's fight against the Nazi hordes. Nevertheless, Mr. Szyk did not rest on his past laurels. Indeed, until his very last breath he applied all of his efforts and ability to strengthen American ideals and democracy through his unsurpassed talents. Shortly before he died he had illuminated a reproduction of the Declaration of Independence. By this work Mr. Szyk registered his affirmation of his boundless faith and confidence in the dynamics of our democratic heritage.

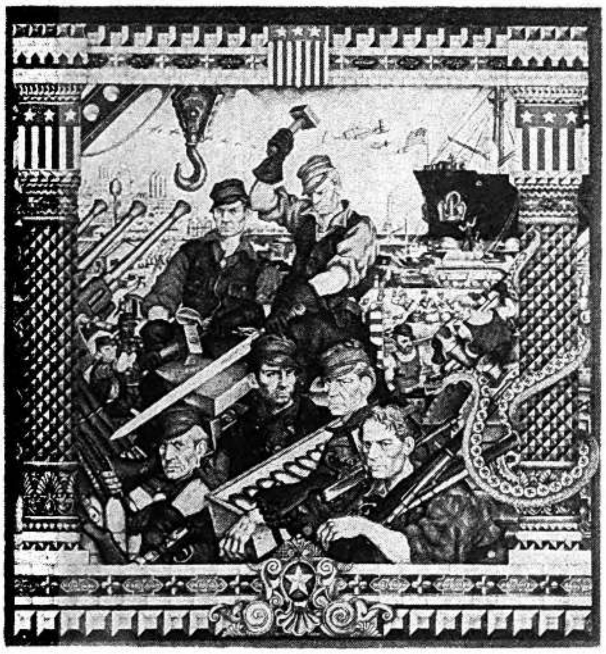
Arthur Szyk was a great artist who loved humanity and abhorred obscurantism and bigotry with all the fibre of his being. We, in the Society, were always proud of the fact that he was one of us serving as a member of the Advisory Council. The Society has lost a dear friend and a staunch fighter for peace and justice, the world has lost one of its finest artists, and the United States has lost a great and inspiring humanitarian.



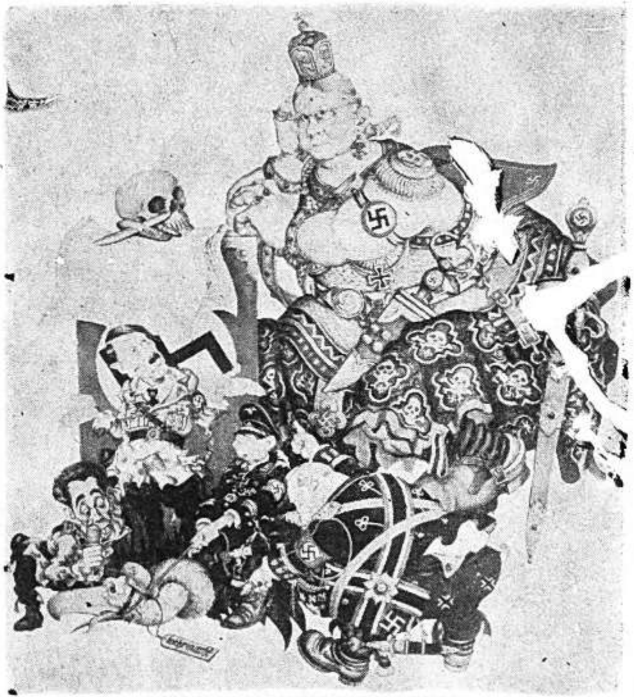
CHRISTMAS

"He preaches the brotherhood of man, and denies there is a master race."

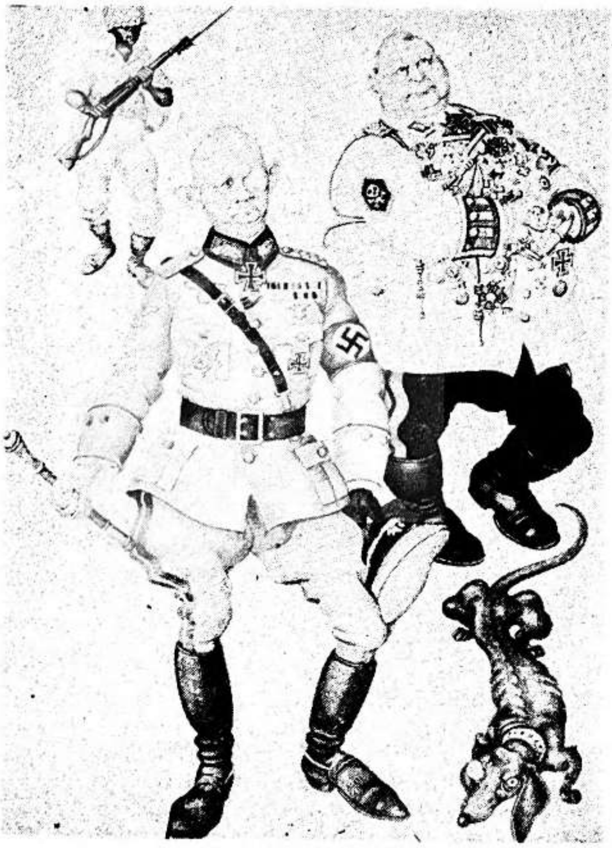
The 5 *cartoons by Arthur Szyk on pages* 20 *and* 21 *are taken from his book,* Ink and Blood.



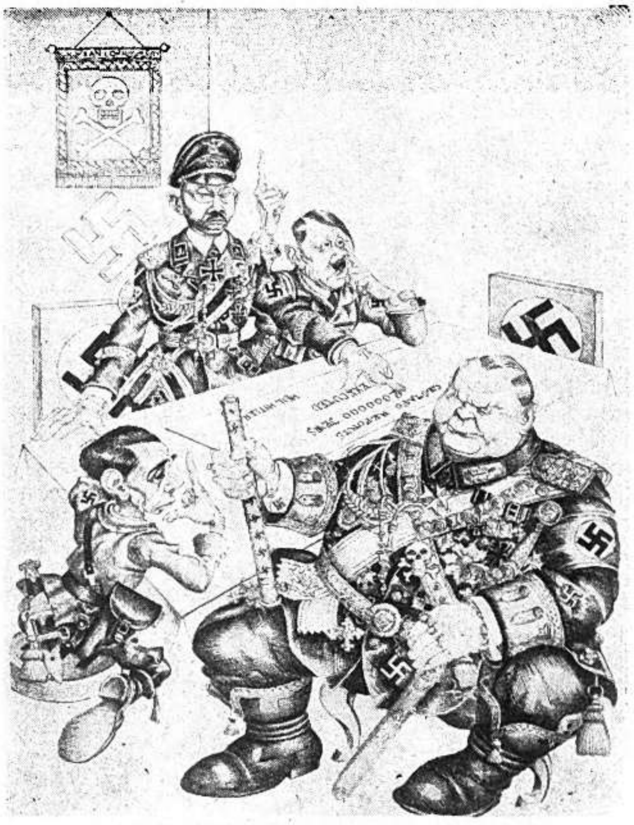
AMERICA: Democracy at Work



"I NEED PEACE NOW!
I must prepare for the third round!"



CLEAN MURDER
And out of the Jews they murdered they made soap to keep their consciences clean.



WE'RE RUNNING SHORT OF JEWS

The Neo-Fascist International

"The graveyard is the condition of resurrection."
—Nietzche

From time to time over the past five years certain events have occurred from which it could be deduced, if not very easily demonstrated, that there exists a loose association of fascist and nazi sympathizers who are working together. The functioning of this informal fascist international has been suspected, for example, because of the smoothness with which a number of nazi criminals and fascist leaders have managed to reach South America via Italy, via France-Spain and via Denmark-Sweden. Another indication of some international cohesion has been the growing exchange of fascist propaganda and literature, bearing similar themes, across national frontiers.

Now fascist sympathizers in Europe feel that the time has come when they can organize more formally and more openly on an international basis. Fascist and neo-nazi representatives from Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Norway and Denmark came to the city of Malmo, Sweden, on May 14th, to attend a conference sponsored by the New Swedish Movement of the Swedish Opposition, a group led by Per Engdahl of Upsala, one of the braintrusters of totalitarian movements in Sweden for the past twenty years.

All but one of the thirty fascist chieftains who participated in the Malmo meeting are "outsiders" in the political life of their own country. With the exception of the German delegate, Dr. Franz Richter, none of them, so far as is known, commands sufficient support to capture a single seat in elections to his national parliament. Richter, however, represents a link with the leading neo-nazi party in Europe, the Socialist Reich Party of Germany, whose stronghold is in Lower Saxony, where it recently polled almost 400,000 votes. And at least one Italian representative is known to be connected with the Fasci for Revolutionary Action (FAR), a terrorist group associated with the neo-fascist party in Italy, the Italian Social Movement (MSI).

For various reasons, Sweden was an excellent location for holding a conference of fascist and nazi leaders. Since Sweden was not occupied by the Germans that country, unlike others, adopted no legislation penalizing Nazi collaborators after the war. There was no wave of intense revulsion against those who had espoused the Nazi cause, even though they did lose support and popularity. Thus Sweden became one of the few countries where, even in the immediate post-war period, a small number of totalitarian sympathizers, like Per Engdahl, could carry on their activities and maintain an organizational structure.

Included among the thirty fascist leaders at Malmo were:

From France—Maurice Bardeche, Henri Bernard and Jean Walther;

From Italy—Fabio Lonciari, Fausto Gianfranceschi, Stefani;

From Belgium—Johan van Dyck.

The Swiss representative at the conference remained anonymous, and the Norwegian and Danish representatives stayed in the background, completely overshadowed by Engdahl.

The French weekly *La Victoire* (a Petainist paper working for an "authoritarian" French republic) declared in its June 10th issue that France was represented by a delegation of eleven persons, including five delegates from an organization called the French National Committee, which is supposed to coordinate the action of fourteen fascist-like groups in France.

The international conference resulted in the appointment of a four-man council and of a European secretariat. In the future, European collaboration is to be organized by this four-man "study commission" which consists of a representative from Germany, France, Italy and the Nordic countries. Engdahl was appointed Nordic representative, with unlimited powers from the Danish and Norwegian delegates.

The city of Trieste was chosen as the site of the European secretariat. There use will be made of an organization already in existence known as the Italian Centro Studi. This organization already has a press service, which was adopted as the medium for collaboration with the "nationalist press." In addition, the four-man council was requested to organize a youth group with its seat in Rome. (It will be recalled that there was a youth congress in Rome last fall with representatives from nine countries, which was addressed by Anna Maria Mussolini, the Duce's oldest daughter.)

The program adopted by the international conference at Malmo was largely based on that featured by the New Swedish Movement of the Swedish Opposition in its organ, *The Way Forward*. The main theme of the paper is the need for "a united Europe." Its watchword is "unite with Germany," which "needs a new Europe." The Swedish movement also states in its program that it works for economic equality among European nations and a levelling of the intra-national labor market, a common European currency, and the abolition of customs. Referring to the Peace of Versailles, Engdahl asserts that "the people's right to choose has never been respected." His program declares, furthermore, that "the fact that nazism suffered defeat in the war proves nothing as to its actual purpose." "It was right in respect of the fight against communism," he emphasized.

The international congress averred in its own declaration of program: "support of a free and independent, but united Europe; of German re-armament only in connection with German equality; and, after the western powers become strong, of the replacement of the Atlantic Pact in its present unsatisfactory form by a European defense union as part of a system of alliances with non-European powers; of the inclusion of Spain in the common European defense organization; and of efforts to persuade back-sliding communists to align themselves with the national socialist movement."

The congress called for the "defense of Western culture against communism," and the carrying out of its economic aims—such as equal wages and food prices for all Europe—through the creation of a strongly central and cooperative European empire, with government leaders to be elected by plebiscite.

Concurrently with the meeting of the international congress there took place the national convention of the New Swedish Movement of the Swedish Opposition. There the internal problems of the New Swedish Movement were dealt with. . . .

Despite the fact that the Malmo meeting was accompanied by shouts of "Heil Hitler" and salutes with outstretched left hands, attempts were made at the national convention to throw a smoke screen around the aims and program of the Swedish movement by explanations that neither the New Swedish Movement nor the representatives at the international congress were nazi. The concept of a "united Europe" and the emphasis on the "national" element of Engdahl's program (that is why the word "Swedish" is mentioned twice in the party's title) are also part of the attempt to show that the aims and purposes of the organization are really "new. . . ."

Significance of the Neo-Nazi International

The importance of the international congress of neonazis and fascists at Malmo does not lie so much in the actual strength of the elements gathered there. Bardeche is not a prime mover of the collaborationist elements in France, nor Richter of the neo-nazi Socialist Reich Party in Germany. These men are, rather, apologists and fronts. Even a nazi leader like Engdahl in Sweden must depend for his success, or lack of it, on the strength of neo-nazi movements in other, more crucial areas.

The Malmo conference is significant, however, for a number of reasons.

First, it shows that the general European situation is such that neo-nazi and neo-fascist groups no longer have to fear any consequences when they peddle their wares openly and publicly, though they would not have dared to do so a few years ago. It is not only the successes of the SRP in Germany or the MSI in Italy which has made their reappearance possible. It reflects the whole European trend to the right and toward the release and pardoning of collaborationists, a trend which signifies to many rightist extremist groups that they, too, will be acceptable in the public arena as long as they stress their "anti-communism."

Second, the Malmo conference is significant as a portrayal of the neo-nazi strategy at present. Besides anti-communism, the emphasis is on a "united Europe." Closer examination of this thesis, however, so noble-sounding on the face of it, reveals that it is by no means the kind of united Europe sought by European democrats and Americans as a counter to Russian strength and infiltration, despite its loudly-avowed anti-communism. Rather it is a united "continental-type" Europe where Germany shall be the central directing force and have hegemony as a third force able to play off the "outsiders," United States and Russia both, for its own aims.

Other strategical concepts are to continue an emphasis on the "new" face of the various movements, on the "neo" rather than on the nazism. In official programs these days only the social and welfare "gains" possible through a strongly centralized and corporate state are mentioned; the more vicious parts of the nazi program are, for the present, soft-pedaled, and the pretense is maintained that political parties like those of Engdahl and the SRP have learned to extract only the "good" things in nazism.

The Malmo conference, therefore, was valuable as a propagator of the "line" to be followed by neo-nazi groups elsewhere. Finally, by coming out into the open, a neo-nazi international movement could attract those persons in various lands who have been passive sympathizers in the past, but who have not yet taken the trouble to seek out neo-nazi elements. A well-organized international movement should make it easy for them to come back to the fold.

Nowhere, probably, have present neo-nazi aims been more clearly expressed than in the report of the French Petainist newspaper *La Victoire* on the Malmo congress. Says this weekly:

"In the course of the sessions and of banquets, Messrs. Maurice Bardeche, Per Engdahl, Franz Richter and Stefani have defined the character of the Congress. We are not fascists or nazis, they proclaimed to the applause of the delegates, but we do not renounce the idea of drawing from past experience and from all that remains valuable in ideas, in sacrifice, and in men. It is inconceivable that those who have given their best to the service of certain ideologies, often going as far as to make the supreme sacrifice, have not left a message from which one can draw valuable lessons for present and future generations. This message, associated with the various national traditions of Europe, ought to facilitate the *creation of a European ideology able, at one and the same time, to oppose Marxism and capitalist liberalism and thus to make possible true European independence, certain gage of world peace. Would it not be to the interest of the two antagonistic blocs now facing each other to have an arbiter between them?*"

Concludes *La Victoire;* "There must be constituted an independent and strong Europe, capable of victoriously confronting with its own forces and its own ideology both Stalinist and Marxist imperialism and the colonization of American high finance."

(From the pamphlet, "The Recent Growth of Neo-Nazism in Europe" published by the A. J. C., September, 1951.)

OUR COMMENTS:

The above study of the emergence of a neo-fascist international bears close watching by freedom-loving peoples. Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, the *New York Times*' chief foreign correspondent, devoted a lengthy article on the movement some time ago. His observations are worth pondering. For example, he mentions that this movement "seems to be at least as hostile to the United States as to the Soviet Union." He reported that the Fascist Convention at Malmo assailed the North Atlantic Pact and that, as to be expected, the German Nazis led the rest in whipping up defiance against Western democracy.

Among the German Nazi representatives who spoke at Malmo was Otto Remer, a former general in the Nazi Army and a leader of the neo-Nazi Socialist Reichs Party. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Socialist Reichs Party together with several lesser neo-Nazi parties received nearly 900,000 votes in the Lower-Saxony elections held last Spring. Among Remer's choice statements as reported by Mr. Sulzberger was the following: "*Instead of letting our women and children be overrun by the Russians and our men bleed to death in the Maginot Line we should stretch out our lines so that the Russians can march as speedily as possible through Germany.*" Commenting on this statement Mr. Sulzberger notes that the theory of General Remer and his colleagues is that an East-West war is inevitable "*and that 'Germandom' can be preserved biologically only by facilitating a swift Soviet passage farther westward.*" Concluding his observations of the Malmo Conference Mr. Sulzberger repeats the warning that must not go unheeded in this country; that this international fascist movement while shrilly declaiming against Communism "is marked by an equally loud anti-U. S. counterpoint."

From other sources we have learned that the German, Karl Heinz Priester, one of the founders of the neo-fascist international movement has invited former members of the German Condor Legion to a pilgrimage to Spain where they will celebrate the "good old days" with Franco's henchmen. It is important to bear in mind, however, that this fascist movement is not merely confined to Europe. Indeed, its tentacles stretch right into the United States. This aspect of the movement which is closer to home was not dealt with in the above article, but nevertheless there are certain pertinent facts which cannot easily be ignored.

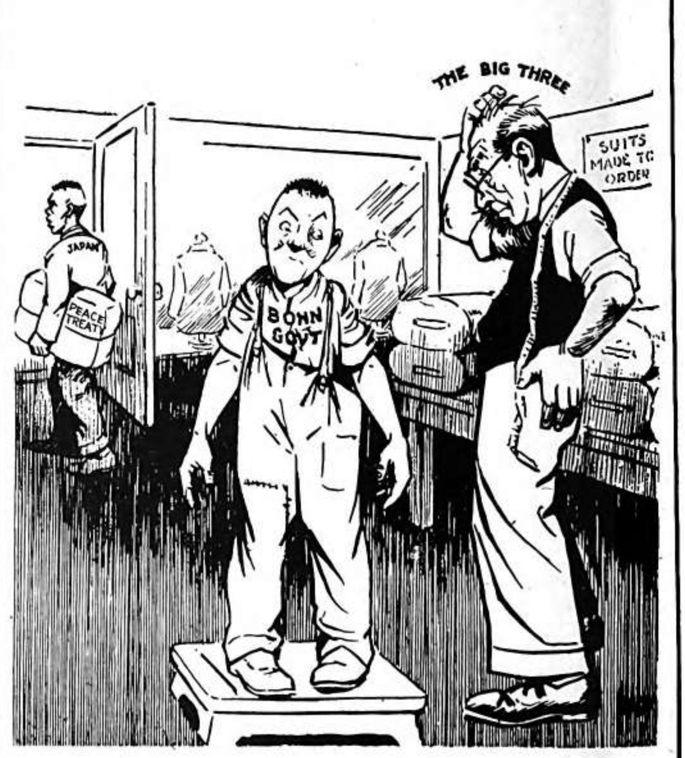
The New York Times on May 18, 1951, in reporting on the international fascist movement, disclosed that the Voters Alliance operating out of New York City was an active participant. As reported by the *Times*, spokesmen for the International Fascist Movement said that "*the Voters Alliance which was described as consisting of* 600,000 *Americans of German origin, had established contact with the European Social Movement and was sending a representative to Germany.*" The Voters Alliance for Americans of German Ancestry has been the subject of many articles and editorial comment in the pages of PREVENT WORLD WAR III. In the No. 37 issue we published additional information on the activities of the Voters Alliance under the title: "Deutschland Ueber Alles." We pointed out that the President of this organization, E. A. Fleckenstein, had wired the representatives of the Bonn Government in Washington urging that the Bonn Government blackmail the defense of Western Europe until the Allies admit their "crimes" against the Germans and submit to every German demand. We also mentioned the fact that the *New York Post* in April, 1949 ran a series of articles on this organization which indicated that it was considered a successor to Fritz Kuhn's defunct German Bund.

We reported that on June 4, 1946, Supreme Court Justice Hammer denied the Voters Alliance permission to become a membership corporation on the grounds that "the name, in connection with the purposes set forth . . . appeared provocative of the notion that an attitude was indicated to organize for domestic political action persons who might be resentful over the victory of the United States of America over Germany."

One of the former leaders of the Voters Alliance, A. O. Tittmann, had already established a record as a villifier of American democracy and of the government. He made no bones about his defense of the German war criminals and violently denounced Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. In his pamphlet, "The Planned Famine," Tittmann attacked the internment of German enemy aliens during the war and stated, "The whole is an outrageous violation of international law and human decency and shows into what depths of iniquity and depravity the Roosevelt-Truman dictatorships have cast the country." (Page 11.)

This un-American spirit has pervaded the Voters Alliance since its founding and was re-emphasized in the above-mentioned wire from Fleckenstein to the representatives of the Bonn Government in Washington. We quoted at length from this wire which attacked the President of the United States and made the following brazen assertion to Chancellor Adenauer. "I want to warn his excellency (Adenauer) that any agreement which his Government enters into with the Truman administration is at its peril. The German Federal Government should therefore break off all further negotiations concerning the question of rearmament, unless the iron-clad guarantee for the defense of all Western Germany is given." Apparently the boldness of the Voters Alliance these days knows no limits or bounds. They are now spreading their poison on an international scale in cooperation with the international fascist movement.

To underestimate the danger of the activities of this organization and others of its type in the United States is to truly gamble with our democratic heritage, let alone our national security. That's why we believe that the appropriate agencies of the Government and Congress should investigate.



HARDER TO FIT

(Cartoon by Marcus, Courtesy N. Y. Times)

The Mirage of Peace With Germany

(*From an editorial in the* United Nations World)

If a third World War breaks out, it will be over Germany. All other issues are sideshows. It is Germany alone which, with its economic and military potential, is capable of decisively influencing the balance of power between East and West.

In view of this, the question arises whether the Japanese peace treaty should not be followed now by a similar settlement with Germany. Although the four-power occupation and division of Germany poses much more vexing problems than did Japan, the belief is widespread that a peace treaty, at least with the Federal Republic, would normalize relations between the Allies and the German people, improve the political atmosphere, strengthen the Bonn regime and serve the cause of democracy and peace. Since the Soviets are unwilling to cooperate, why not go ahead without them?

Such arguments are advanced not only by well-meaning laymen; the Bonn government too, looking upon the San Francisco conference as a kind of curtain-raiser for the subsequent Foreign Ministers Conference in Washington, placed high hopes in its deliberations. Such optimism was at least partly shared by the Allied camp. Political circles in Washington believed that most of the differences of opinion between the three powers had been ironed out, leaving the foreign ministers only the task of formalizing the agreement.

However, the Japanese analogy as applied to Germany is so misleading that it obscures the basic difficulties of a settlement.

For one, America shouldered almost the entire responsibility for the treaty with Japan, while in the case of Germany both England and France have very definite interests which don't coincide with those of the U. S.

Equally important: while in Japan the U. S. found a common platform with the government and the people, the German demands cannot be reconciled with the present course of allied foreign policy.

The Germans insist on complete equality of defense forces and their sovereign power in the organization of the European defense force. The French are justifiably concerned with the danger of resurgent German militarism. They wish to make a German army an integral part of a European army, and no more. They do not wish to repeat the cycle of building Germany to buttress the bastion of defense against Russia, as was done a *hundred years* ago, only to find their defense more *dangerous than* the threat.

These fears are augmented by German demands for territorial claims and end to the autonomy of the Saar and an assurance that Germany's lost lands beyond the Oder-Neisse line will eventually be returned. In addition the Bonn Government has hinted that the United States must pay for a German defense force, if it is to be undertaken at all. Another billion marks is demanded for Germans exiled east of the Oder-Neisse line and elsewhere—to be paid by the United States and other nations.

An even more foreboding development, generals of the former German army are sponsoring, in the name of that organization, a program which they say the Allies must adopt. In essence, it declares that the honor of the German soldier shall be acknowledged in word and deed. And the Waffen SS is included in the demand. The threat is implied that unless the Allies fall in with this program, they will have only themselves to blame should the German units of the European army go over to the Russians en masse in the event of war.

The possibility of a revival of Nazism, or at any rate some form of excessive and militant nationalism, cannot be ignored. It is a serious question indeed whether the Republic has reached a point of political maturity where it can be trusted with the responsibilities and freedoms which a treaty or "contractual agreement" would give it by definition. . . .

. . . No less important is the fact that a divided Germany is in itself a source of friction between East and West. The vital interests of both sides are too tightly bound up with German power—and it is, after all, the power relationship which is paramount—for the situation to be otherwise. In a world which hovers periodically on the verge of war, it does not seem sensible to perpetuate and congeal such a *status quo*. . . .

. . . Realizing that a divided Germany would remain a bone of contention between East and West and a permanent incentive to war, Kurt Schumacher, leader of the Social Democratic opposition, favored from the outset a settlement whereby all occupation forces would be withdrawn from the country. The Social Democrats felt strong enough to thwart any communist conspiracy, and were sure the democratic forces could win an overwhelming majority in the parliamentary elections and protect the republic from a communist coup d'etat.

In America, Walter Lippmann followed the same line of reasoning in advocating the neutralization of Germany. He wanted to take the Russians at their word and accept their proposal for the simultaneous withdrawal of the Allied and Soviet armies behind the German borders.

This proposal was rejected on the ground that the Russians, even if they took their armies out of Germany, would be able to control the Government through the German communists. Czechoslovakia was cited as a warning example.

But such a calamity need not occur if the Atlantic powers serve notice on Russia that any attempt on the part of any German minority to seize power by force or intrigue and pull a Gottwald would be regarded as a *casus belli.*

Whether Stalin could be deterred by such a declaration would not depend on the presence of 150,000 American, British and French soldiers in Germany. The overwhelming industrial potential of the democracies and the might of the American Air Force—including the atomic bomb—are the real deterrents.

But what if Russia should attack in a year or two, when she possesses an atomic bomb stockpile and has reached the peak of her industrial mobilization? To meet this threat is it not essential to integrate Germany into the defense system of the West? It is for this eventuality in particular that German remilitarization is being advocated by quite a few.

The whole German problem today can be reduced to a simple formula: either the West admits the inevitability of World War III and plans accordingly, or develops a policy for the prevention of that war. In the former case, the subservience of any and all political, social, economic and spiritual questions to purely military and strategic considerations is logical. This means dividing Germany and remilitarizing its western republic.

Acceptance of the possibility of preventing war, on the other hand, implies trust in political and spiritual factors, even to the extent of taking a calculated military as well as a strategic risk.

The possibility of a Russian attack can never be excluded, and no course must be followed which actually jeopardizes the security of the West. But even were the military point of view accepted and a German army started today, it would remain a paper army for at least two years—during the critical period when it was most needed. It would contribute little, if anything, to the strength of the West, but much to internal dissension and agitation in Germany.

The question is: does the military advantage of arming Western Germany as a bulwark against possible Soviet aggression outweigh the political disadvantages as demonstrated in the growing power of the Nazis, in the weakening of democratic forces, and in the undermining of the moral position of the Allies? It is impossible to combine both approaches. One cannot have one's cake and eat it too.

The remilitarization of Germany is only one of the problems that divide the three powers. The French, who have gradually veered toward the American point of view, gave the impression on the eve of the Washington conference that they differed only in technical matters: the size of the German units and organization, for instance. At the conference they brought up another point: who is to pay for the German army? Germany has reached, in taxes and occupation costs, the limit of her financial capacity. She cannot carry the additional burden of rearmament. Therefore, in order to build an army, Germany must ask a reduction in the occupation cost. The difference will then have to be made up by the American, British and French taxpayer. The French want this question cleared up before they continue discussion on a German army.

From this point the debate turned inevitably to the economic, industrial and financial problems which must be solved if a genuinely peaceful relationship between Germany and the western powers is to be established. The question of prewar debts is a relatively minor one, yet last April it held up revision of the occupation statute for more than four months. The question of German exports primarily of coal and scrap iron, and the limitation of her war-making powers—steel production—cannot be solved when the West wants Germany on the one hand to become an active partner in defense, and on the other is rightly afraid that in allocating this role to her they are actually repeating the blunder of the period following the first World War and unleashing dark forces that may again plunge Europe into chaos.

No German settlement, that is, no genuine peace, is possible unless and until the division of Germany is overcome. At present the Soviets seem to have forsaken their hopes of conquering the whole of Germany, and are now willing to accept the division as permanent. For the reasons described, the western allies must not follow the same line. Rather than aim at "consolidation" of the federal republic in its present form, they should prepare and organize a political offensive for the unification of Germany. Even if this offensive should necessitate renunciation of German rearmament by the West, the eventual psychological and political gains and the strengthening of the morale and spirit of the democratic forces in Europe would amply justify the gamble.

Such was the great chance of the Washington conference. It has not been taken. But sooner or later a settlement along these lines will have to be tried, if a way out of the impasse of the cold war is to be found.

The alternative is to turn Germany into the "sick man of the Rhine," whose infectious wounds will never heal and whose disease will poison friends and foes alike.

(By courtesy of the magazine, United Nations World*)*

"Any notion that German divisions can be created as co-equals in Western Europe's defense armies while, at the same time, the creation of a new German general staff can be avoided is 'preposterously unrealistic.' So say the West's top military men in Germany. . . .

" 'You can call that staff anything you want,' one senior Western soldier commented to the writer, 'but it will be doing the work of a general staff and it will operate like a general staff.' . . .

"United States officers, especially, believe there is one major curb that the West could place on the formation of a tight-knit 'clique' of German general staff officers like that which has traditionally been so aloof from, and arrogant toward, the population as a whole. In authorizing the creation of German military units, the Allies could insist that the Germans agree to a regular rotation of their officers between staff and command posts. . . .

"However, this is definitely not the 'German way' of organizing an army. German professional soldiers remain convinced that their system of staff organization is far and away the best. . . .

"But any promise to control German military manpower by eliminating the central staff which directs its organization is completely illusory, the West's soldiers maintain. If we are to accept the idea of Germans bearing arms in our common cause, they say, we will also have to get used to the idea that once again we will have a 'Generalstab' corps with us. The politicians may be able to find another name for it; they won't be able to change its essential nature."

(Ernest Leiser in a Dispatch in ONA)

Anti-American Propaganda In the United States

Recently the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany released some interesting facts and figures on the progress of the Exchange Program for Germany initiated in 1948. Since then, roughly 5,400 Germans have or are visiting the United States on the basis of this Program financed by the United States Government. Out of this total, 1,247 have been German university students assigned to study at colleges and universities throughout the U. S. A. The Exchange Program, in the words of the Press Release, is: "designed to foster international good will and orient Germans in democratic procedures in almost every phase of public life. . . ."

We believe this is an admirable objective. Nevertheless, those who have conceived the program will have to cope with the fact that there is in this country a German language press which has a notorious record of pan-Germanism and pro-Nazism. It is only logical that most of these German visitors should want to read the German-American press, part of which is using the "Big Lie" technique to distort American motives and actions, thus inciting their less informed readers against our country.

If the German exchanges are influenced by this cunning manipulation of fact, then we are afraid that all of the praiseworthy efforts to inculcate the spirit of democracy among them will be in vain.

Through the years PREVENT WORLD WAR III has conducted surveys of some of the German language press and has exposed its anti-democratic tendencies and its apologetics for Nazism and pan-Germanism. Today some of these sheets have become even more bolder and more vicious in their diatribes against the Allies and in their defense of Germany's war crimes.

An example of this kind of "journalism" is the article which appeared this summer in the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Burger-Zeitung,* written by one who signs himself "Politicus." It would be more appropriate, in our opinion, if the author of this article had signed himself Furor Teutonicus, for the tenor of the entire piece is more in keeping with the traditions of the rantings of the rabid pan-Germans.

Here are some of the choice statements made by this character, Politicus:

> *"Of course it is no secret, that this state of war with Germany still exists for although we have permitted (by we, are meant the victors) that Germany have a government, that government is so much under the fist of the conqueror, that it has very little power and even that little can be withdrawn any day and any time the victors see fit to do so. Among other things, that government has been given permission to give visas to persons who wish to visit Germany. But at the same time it has been given a list containing several thousand names to which that government must not give a visa. The writer knows two of them. One is Otto Strasser who is now living in Canada and who wants to join his family from whom he has been separated many years, and the other is Austin J. App, that fighter for decency in the treatment of Germany and the exposer of the terrible things done to the German people by the victors.*
>
> *"That state of war does exist in spite of the fact that we are wooing Germany, ask her to forget bygones and join the western victors against the eastern victor. It is something which baffles the intellect. How can Germany fight on the side of nations with which it is at war?*
>
> *". . . Today the German people must feel that we are hypocrites if on the one hand we try to make friends with them and on the other permit irresponsible people to treat them as underlings, prevent, by theoretically being at war with them, that help may be given even to orphans. One cannot help but compare how the much-maligned Germans treated their enemies when they were on top.*
>
> *"The latest time that took place was when in* 1940 *to* 1944 *German troops of occupation were in France. Regardless of the lie, for that is what it is, that Germany three times since* 1870 *attacked France, it is a historical fact, that France was the aggressor all the times against Germany in times ago and in* 1870 *it also was France. That country also was the aggressor in* 1914, *there was nothing between the two countries in* 1914 *which forced France to go to war. And the same can be said about the last war. This writer never will forget the touching letter Hitler wrote to Daladier of France begging him to save his country the misfortune of a war, that there was nothing between the two countries which could not be settled at the conference table. France chose war.*
>
> *"Our papers have glibly forgotten that and keep on telling the lie about poor France which has been attacked three times in recent times by terrible Germany. Germany has all the excuses she wanted to treat France harsh after she was on top. But what took place? When it became clear in* 1871 *that Paris was going to surrender, the Germans assembled hundreds of freight trains with food for the starving French people around Paris so that, on the very day of the capitulation food could be rushed into Paris. How did the victors treat Germany instead, which victors included France? With their permission or at least without their protest, England in* 1918 *kept food out of Germany for almost a year with the result that almost one million of German men, women and children died of starvation.*
>
> *"What happened after the end of the second world war? Eisenhower, who has recently gone to Germany and asked the Germans to let bygones be bygones and fight on our side, prescribed a starvation diet for the German people. And that after it had become known that, according to American testimony, over 99% of the American soldiers in German hands during the war, had returned in good physical condition to their home country. He also handed many hundreds of thousands of German war prisoners over to France and England as wage slaves for years and what France did to them is best not mentioned. It is also a fact, that in* 1871 *Germany imposed on France the return*

of Alsace-Lorraine, old German province and a money fine of 5,000 *francs, at that time the equivalent of* 1,000 *million dollars.*

". . . Now let us look at what France and her allies did to Germany after the two world wars. The infamous "Treaty of Versailles" of 1919 *robbed Germany of* 10% *of her land. . . .*

". . . The end of the second world war did things of which one almost hates to talk, if one belongs to a victor country. Six years and more have elapsed since the shooting ended but peace is not even in sight, nor seems to be any intention to make peace. Germany was torn up in four parts which were turned over to the four big shots, America, England, and France, called the Western Powers and Russia the Eastern Power. Every power is reigning its zone as it sees fit.

". . . Furthermore, large occupation forces are stationed in Germany by all victor powers and Germany must pay for their upkeep. Complaints have been made by the German government against the unreasonable demands of these forces, who live way above the standards existing in their respective countries. Without result. And they are there to stay. . . ."

Obviously, the above-quoted statements would never reflect the American point of view nor that of our Western Allies. They are more in keeping with the mouthings of the Nazi propagandists and their predecessors in the Weimar Republic and during the reign of the late but unlamented Kaiser. They are nothing short of half-truths and apologetics designed to rewrite history and to place Germany once more in the role of the eternal innocent and martyred nation.

Space does not permit us, of course, to deal with all the slanders and distortions concocted by Politicus, but we cannot refrain from exposing some of his more blatant falsehoods. For example, Politicus brazenly accuses General Eisenhower of having "prescribed a starvation diet for the German people." This was the fairy tale dreamed up by the Germans immediately after the war for the purpose of discrediting the Allied occupation and creating disunity among the victors so that Germany could eventually evade the consequences of her crimes. The volume of propaganda that was employed, alleging that the Germans were starving, was simply fantastic after the war. It was so effective that it tended to drown out the pleas for help of Germany's victims who had suffered years of torture and starvation under the German occupation.

In spite of Germany's black record during her occupation of many countries of Europe, the Allied forces did not treat the Germans with the same medicine that the Herrenvolk had handed out to their victims.

In the No. 14 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, April, 1946, we quoted from authoritative sources exposing the lie that the Germans were being starved. General Eisenhower himself, in a letter to Senator Alexander Wiley said: "I assure you that within the American zone the mass extinctions which you fear by reason of starvation will not occur." Subsequently General Clay, United States Military Governor for Germany, repeated General Eisenhower's assurance and stated categorically that: "There is no starvation in the U. S. zone of Germany, nor is it intended that there shall be." General Joseph T. McNarney, who preceded General Clay as United States Military Governor for Germany, asserted that the United States does not have a starvation policy for Germany and denied that "innocent people and the aged are dying from starvation in the streets." (*New York Daily News.*)

Senator Tom Connally, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that stories of starvation among the German people were apparently based on "a deluge of misinformation and exaggeration." Two able American journalists confirmed these official views. Raymond Daniel in *The New York Times* reported: "No one is starving in the U. S. Zone of Germany." E. P. Morgan in the *Chicago Daily News* noted that: "If Germans are starving, they are hiding the fact behind some of the roundest, rosiest cheeks I have seen in Western Europe." In a letter to the *Christian Century Magazine*, John A. Troxler, Chaplain (Captain), U. S. A., Third Infantry Division, took issue with the *Christian Century's* editorial alleging mass starvation in Germany. He branded it as a "composite falsification of the actual situation." On the basis of his investigations, Chaplain Troxler said he was yet "to learn of a single individual who has died of lack of food. . . ."

As for the present, Politicus to the contrary notwithstanding, Western Germany is probably the best fed country in Western Europe.

Politicus is indignant over the fact that *Otto Strasser* and *Austin J. App* are among those to whom the United States Government does not give visas for visits to Germany. It is perfectly understandable why the Government should refuse visas to these two characters.

Otto Strasser was one of Hitler's buddies in the early days of Nazi free booting. Though he broke with Hitler, he never broke with the basic ideals of Nazism. Indeed, according to a lengthy article published in an American magazine, Strasser "thinks he is a better fascist than Hitler."

Though Herr Strasser lives in Canada at the present time, there is plenty of evidence which is well known to the Allied occupation authorities to prove that he has not lost his Nazi contacts in Germany. One of his organizations, "The League for German Recovery," was banned in 1949 by the British because it was deemed to be "undemocratic." More recently Dr. Strasser wrote a letter to the *Saturday Evening Post* in which he castigated the Allies, warning that the Germans "will fight for Danzig and Koenigsberg, for Stettin and Breslau, but will not fight for Brussels and Paris, nor for Churchill's London and for Morgenthau's Washington."

In the same letter he accused the leaders of the Bonn Government of being Quislings. It is not by accident, we are sure, that Mr. Strasser's letter to the *Saturday Evening Post* was republished in the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Burger-Zeitung*. Finally, it should be noted that Mr. Strasser in outlining his plan for a revived Germany stated that: "The possible emergence of a revived Nazi Party . . . would be an eventuality to be wished for rather than a danger. . . ."

Dr. Austin J. App is not far behind Strasser when it comes to whitewashing German crimes and villifying the Allies, including the United States Government. He was the author of the pro-Nazi pamphlet: "History's Most Terrifying Peace." This pamphlet was exposed in the No. 19 issue, February, 1947, of PREVENT WORLD WAR III. Mr. App, then Professor of English at Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Texas, denounced the denazification policies and the prosecution of German war criminals.

He spread the tale that in Stuttgart, "troops under Eisenhower's command raped more women in one week in one city than troops under Hitler's command *seemed* to have raped in four years in all of France." After defending the Hitlerites and whitewashing German war crimes, App wrote: ". . . Instead of going on talking about 're-educating' the Germans, we must beg them and many other peoples, to forgive us the awful atrocities our policy caused to be inflicted upon them. . . . America must thoroughly repent of its arrogant policy of dictating a peace to the vanquished."

Is it any wonder that the United States Government refuses Messrs. Strasser and App visas to Germany?

Politicus seems to be shocked over the "harsh treatment" accorded the Germans by the Allies. In contrast he endeavors to make a case for the leniency shown by the Germans to their victims. He doesn't mention the crematoriums and the concentration camps. Undoubtedly he would say that this was a figment of the imagination of prejudiced peoples.

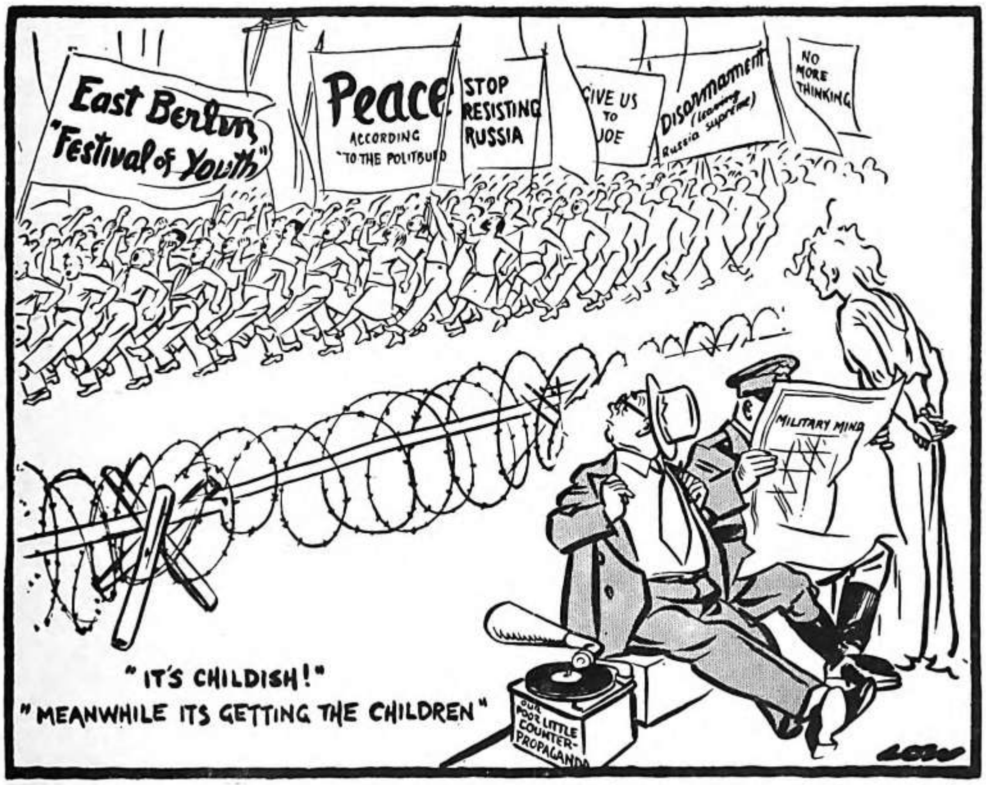
He tells us how generous the Germans were to the French after the Franco-German War of 1870. Yet he is forced to admit that the Germans grabbed up Alsace-Lorraine and exacted the enormous sum of 5 billion gold francs as an indemnity. By acting so considerately to the French the Germans succeeded in impoverishing France and making her economic subjection to the Germans inevitable. Bernhard Menne, the noted German historian, observes that the enormous growth of Germany's industrial war potential "was the direct result of French gold which streamed into the country as reparations payments after the War of 1870-71."

Like all German apologists Politicus weeps over the "harsh" terms of the Versailles Treaty. He resents the fact that the treaty restored stolen properties such as Alsace-Lorraine to rightful owners. Whatever the failings of the Versailles Treaty, it never imposed on Germany the severe terms which Germany placed on her victims. The German industrialists whose industries in Lorraine were taken over by the French received a preliminary compensation of 920 million marks and German ship owners received payments of 1 billion 300 million marks. Indeed, the reparation agreements based on the Versailles Treaty did little if anything in the way of reducing Germany's industrial power.

As regards reparations after World War I, C. R. S. Harris, in a report published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, estimated that Germany borrowed from abroad three times as much as she paid in reparations. This is how Germany experienced "defeat" on the basis of the Versailles Treaty.

And what about World War II? The amount of reparations paid by the Germans since the end of the war amounts to no more than a couple of hundred millions of dollars. Yet from France alone Germany extracted during the four years of occupation a total of 6 billion dollars. These were Germany's occupation costs for a defeated nation and our authority for this figure is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, Robert Schuman (*U. S. News and World Report*, September 28, 1951).

The leniency accorded to the Germans after World War I is now being repeated so that today Germany's industrial might has forged ahead of French economic development. Does this sound like a harsh peace? Naturally, these facts are seldom published in the German language press because these mouthpieces for Germandom have a job to do which has nothing in common with American democracy or our national interests. This is but one sample of the German language press today. Here is a challenge to our officials who are trying to reorient German students toward the democratic way of life through the Exchange Program.


East Berlin "Festival of Youth"
Peace ACCORDING "TO THE POLITBURO
STOP RESISTING RUSSIA
GIVE US TO JOE
Disarmament (leaving Russia supreme)
NO MORE THINKING
MILITARY MIND
OUR POOR LITTLE COUNTER-PROPAGANDA
"IT'S CHILDISH!"
"MEANWHILE ITS GETTING THE CHILDREN"
LOW

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Flashes

A MEETING recently took place between the German Admiral Hansen, defender of the Nuremberg war criminals and leaders of the West German Trade Union Movement including the chairman, Christian Fette, at which time the labor leaders agreed to give full support toward the attainment of the aims of the new German Veterans Organization headed by Hitler's former generals and admirals.

* * *

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR OF LOWER SAXONY, BOROWSKI, recently reported to the Federal Minister, Dr. Lehr, that German frontier guards at the Siegfried barracks of Braunschweig are "enjoying" themselves by singing Nazi and nationalistic tunes such as the "Horst Wessel Song," "Bombs for England," "We Fly Towards England," and "We Fly Over the Boundary" (The Condor Legion Song).

* * *

OTTO GROTEWOHL, Prime Minister for the Soviet satellite, East German Republic, is bitterly opposed to the export of Ruhr coal which he charges is an "American imperialist" plot in spite of the fact that the West German Government, as he very well knows, is sabotaging the delivery of adequate quantities of Ruhr coal to America's Western Allies.

* * *

TO WIN THE GERMANS over to the Soviet brand of a "united and democratic Germany," mouthpieces for the Russians are promising the Ruhr barons that markets of the Soviet Union and Communist China would keep every factory throughout Germany working overtime.

* * *

THE SUCCESS OF THE NEO-NAZI SOCIALIST REICHS PARTY in Lower Saxony has now been duplicated during the recent elections in Bremen where it has almost overtaken Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party.

* * *

THE GERMAN NEWSPAPER, KASSELER POST, revealing its undisguised antipathy for the Allies and reflecting the growing nationalistic sentiments in Germany accuses the newspaper of the United States High Commission, Die Neue Zeitung, as being a "cheap occupation nursemaid" because the paper had printed a series of articles warning against the revival of antidemocratic tendencies in German universities including student dueling.

* * *

THE GERMAN GENERAL VON STUDNITZ wrote in the Hamberger Allgemeine Zeitung that all German exiles who express their hostility against Hitler's government must be reduced to silence.

* * *

HEINRICH HELLWEGE, Chairman of the German Party has sent a letter to Chancellor Adenauer demanding the termination of all denazification trials and suggesting that all denazification documents be destroyed.

DR. FRITZ STEUBER, a member of the Austrian Parliament representing the Neo-Nazi Union of Independence, was recently acquitted by a court in Vienna on the charge of incitement to racial hatred, though he had made a violently anti-Semitic speech in which he described members of the Austrian Parliament who had been victims of Nazi persecution as "pests who Reich Party, too.

* * *

THE OLD NAZI GENERAL HENSCHEL is working closely with the "apostle for peace," Noack; together with the former commander of a German submarine, Von Muck; and with Erich Gluckauf, an agent for the Russian secret police and with other dubious characters for the "defense of peace" in Western Germany.

* * *

GENERAL RAMCKE, who was graciously received by Chancellor Adenauer after his release from a French prison where he was interned for war crimes warned Western powers that they "cannot count on German Youth as long as they will not renounce the defamation and discrimination against the German people and soldiers including the SS."

* * *

THE BERLIN TAGGESPIEGEL published a list of about 75 war plants in East Germany which are now working for the Russian war machine and producing munitions of various calibre and special optical instruments for the Soviet air force."

* * *

PRINCE HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN, head of German Action, goes up and down Germany demanding restoration of Germany's pre-1937 frontiers.

* * *

NEW PUBLICATIONS: "DEUTSCHER BEOBACHTER," weekly of the "National Front." It is being published by Schmidt-Verlag (Schmidt was a former Hitler Jugend leader), the manager is Jurzek, another former Hitler-Jugend leader, and the chief-editor Siegfried Zantke, also a former Hitler-Jugend leader. The printing firm in Hamburg is printing the paper of the Socialist Reichspartei."

* * *

THE HORST WESSEL and other Nazi tunes are again being heard through the length and width of Germany. Hundreds of Jewish tombstones are being desecrated. In public gatherings Germans lustily shout: Juden Heraus! Amerikener Heraus!

We are witnessing a bold attempt at reviving Fascism on a world-wide scale with three main focus points: Germany, Argentina and Spain.

> **"To date the Bonn regime has done tragically little to vindicate the hope that a new democratic day is dawning in Germany. There is obviously more sentiment for total forgiveness and forgetfulness in the U. S. Congress than there is in Paris or London or those Eastern European nations where we are trying to crystallize disaffection against Stalin's puppet regimes. . . ."**
>
> *(From an editorial in the New York Post)*

The Schuman Plan and German Revival

by

LIONEL GELBER

Would the unity of Europe add to the unity of the West or detract from it? To answer that question is not as easy as we might at first imagine. For there are all kinds of unity, some good, some bad. The free world has been unanimous in welcoming a political innovation such as the Council of Europe; the impetus given to European economic co-operation by the European Recovery Programme; the common action in defence which the Atlantic Alliance envisages. Yet British diffidence towards the Schuman Plan indicates that a semi-continental unity which is overdone may serve only to undo the wider unity of the Atlantic region.

Which would be better for the West—a European union of which a Franco-German industrial combine is the economic core, or a perpetuation of that Atlantic partnership which was twice an agent of victory and whose *rôle* is not yet finished? For we cannot have both; it must be the one or the other. The recalcitrance of the British, when the Schuman Plan was announced, drew more fire from the United States than from France herself. Yet without promptings from Washington the French might never have put the Entente under so unexpected a strain. Franco-British disaccord over the Schuman Plan was thus, at bottom, an Anglo-American quarrel. Yet the friendship of the English-speaking peoples with their many household rifts, is tested and tried. A Franco-German industrial pool, to absorb the impact of a German productivity which postwar Allied policy itself has fostered, would be a gamble of hope against experience.

How is it that the United States was eager, so soon after VE Day, to take that risk? Americans bicker over where they went amiss in East Asia. But towards Western Europe, as passage of the European Recovery Programme and the Atlantic Alliance generally attest, there has been a larger degree of bi-partisan agreement. Nor has the cultivation of West Germans or the establishment of the West German State been a subject of serious discord within the Congress. Yet, as the two world wars of the twentieth century ought to have demonstrated, no Administration policy needed a closer or more minute scrutiny. And this it did not get.

In the light of East-West antagonism an intelligent Opposition would, for example, have supported the European Recovery Programme, the North Atlantic Security Pact and mutual arms assistance. But without the most searching consideration of all possible consequences, the favourable together with the unfavourable, there would have been no blank cheque for a precipitate German rebirth, nor for schemes of European union through which a resurgent Germanism is to be curbed and held. Bismarck brought together the various sections of the modern warrior Reich. To maintain peace, its break-up and regrouping was, with the assent of Generalissimo Stalin and the more hesitant British, sponsored during the war by President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself. This cardinal fact was, however, not divulged at Potsdam but only in postwar memoirs when the German revivalists of Washington and Frankfurt were in full cry. Did the East-West schism compel so early a shift? The contrary may be the case. At Potsdam, moreover, the post-war cleavages which are now cited to excuse that drastic shift, had scarcely begun. Yet the Opposition uttered no word of dissent. It endorsed uncritically Administration policy instead.

And from that policy stems American support of the Schuman Plan. When the British balked at it a few irate Senators, cracking their golden whip, even threatened to withhold dollars from Britain herself. The root cause of this Atlantic dispute, Entente and Anglo-American, was the course the English-speaking Powers had pursued in Germany. Yet a proposal that Congress investigate what has been done there was quietly shelved.

For let us not delude ourselves. Incompatibility between controlled and uncontrolled economies was not the only reason for British rejection of the Schuman Plan; on it a non-Socialist Government would also have had to turn thumbs down. Not that the Paris-Bonn project—blessed, presumably, from Washington sight unseen—is in every respect one destined to liberalize international trade; from it all cartel features would first have to be eliminated. Nor did Labour Ministers always slow up the free exchange of money and goods; to the European Payments Union, which the United States herself inspired, they also acceded. Yet the Schuman Plan, as originally enunciated, went far beyond that sort of limited economic unity; only as the industrial heart of a wholly federalized Western Europe can the coal-steel pool accomplish its Franco-German purpose. And a Europe so organized, with its supranational authority over the entire national life of its constituents, the British could never enter. For what fundamentally Britain has had at stake is her historic position as a Great Power—not the structure of a society but the society in itself.

East-West differences are more than ideological. So too, this Atlantic dispute over the organization of Europe goes deeper than any ideological feud between the rival doctrines of socialism and capitalism. After World War I the French statesman, Aristide Briand, suggested a United States of Europe; after World War II, another French statesman, Robert Schuman, brings forward an economic plan which is the first concrete step towards the fulfilment of his predecessor's famous inspiration. But before the first step is taken we ought to foresee where the second and third will lead. There can be no West European federation whose independent components do not merge their national sovereignty into a larger, semi-continental sovereignty. Each subordinate member-State must therefore divest itself of any exterior connections it may have; the British, the French, the Belgian, the Dutch, the Portuguese colonial dependencies can belong only to a European federal union or to the United Nations as a whole. Nor, as part of a European sovereignty, would there be any way for a federated Britain to retain her unique association with other sovereign countries of the Commonwealth or they with her. A Schumanized or federalized Europe will thus split the Commonwealth asunder. At a time of peril and among the few durable factors of world stability, it would, in other words, dissolve a going concern for a venture that is highly speculative. The overseas affiliations of the United Kingdom were, moreover, an inestimable boon when, not long ago, all else seemed lost; when, as Britain resisted the German fury for an entire year alone, she did much to preserve our free world order. And they are still a mainstay of her stature as a Great Power.

Canada, too, is an important member of the Atlantic Alliance and other non-Asian partners of the Commonwealth will, in an emergency, range themselves alongside it. Yet, upon countries such as Canada, British integration into a Schumanized Europe might have a very adverse effect. For Britain would have to relinquish any preferential trade arrangements with other parts of the Commonwealth, Occidental and Oriental, if her national sovereignty were to be fused with an overriding European federal sovereignty. And that is not a result we should welcome. Depression in Commonwealth lands overseas contributed heavily to the world slump of the nineteen thirties; the same cycle—unless a federal Europe can provide some adequate trade substitute for intra-Commonwealth tariff preferences—may recur. And if the Canadian economy goes into a downward spiral, such a decline would be felt in the United States first of all. She has larger investments in Canada than in any other foreign country; by robbing a Commonwealth Peter to pay a European Paul she may only do harm to herself. There is, moreover, the service which Britain, as banker of the sterling bloc, renders world trade—one which the United States herself will not or cannot take over. For global is as global does and to unify Western Europe at the expense of other interrelated associations—Entente, Commonwealth, Anglo-American—may be to hinder and contract rather than facilitate and expand the unity of the West.

The bases of British power are Atlantic and world-wide. Continentalism may be no more a solution in Europe now than, for a century and a half, it was in North America. The gods on Olympus might laugh when American isolationists, past and present, chide as isolationist efforts by the British to reconcile with each other their European and overseas commitments. Never again will Britain be as strong as she was. But as a matter of enlightened self-interest we ourselves should want her to be as strong as she can be. When her power is misused we have a right and a duty to protest. Yet that right and that duty are in themselves a tribute to what can still be a great world *rôle*.

Why did the French, ever suspicious of Germany, adopt a contrary policy which assumes German good faith? The economic recovery and military security of France depend, as never before, on the firm support of the United States. Paris concluded no doubt that it had more to lose by holding out against Washington than, as the Americans desired, by embracing Bonn. And so we get the spectacle of the French, bled white in the first world war, and knocked out in the second, assuring us that by some mysterious federal alchemy they have discovered overnight how to transmute the base metal of an obdurate German nationalism into genuine pan-European gold. Nor is it only the dread Teutonic spectre across the Rhine which they have feared; the real danger is that when fully resurrected it might consort with a still more ominous one across the Elbe. West European union to prevent a Russo-German reunion—such was the motive which, under American pressure, goaded the French into their dramatic *volte face*. Theirs is a striking exemplification of the classic theory that if you can't lick 'em, join 'em.

Europe's need of military and economic unity is manifest. But politically its outright federalization would be a leap in the dark. Against Eastern tyranny, the strength of Britain has, in two German wars, been a cornerstone of Western freedom. Do we throw over a sure thing for so unsure an experiment? Europe in combination with Britain can achieve a measure of workable unity; without her the genuinely democratic elements in a federal union would be less safe than before. Between the rearmament boom and a federalizing project such as the Schuman Plan we are in for the maximum redevelopment of German steel—that bedrock of Teutonic military power and diplomatic intransigence. And of this process even the economic outcome might not be as beneficial as it would seem. Britain, for one, may be unable to compete. And if that happens we shall have done more than retard a recovery on which we ourselves have spent a lot. The security of our whole Atlantic world will be in a worse shape than it was.

In East Asia, too, the maximum development of German steel might have consequences we shall yet regret. For the German steelmasters, in accordance with the strategic traditions of the German Right, may, with their steel surplus, turn to those vast Sino-Soviet markets which Moscow alone can provide. Over the menace of a Communized Asia we are all apprehensive. Yet it is with the resources of the Ruhr-Rhineland complex that the Sino-Soviet power might, in its own image, best industrialize the Far East. Responsibility for the setback to American policy in Asia may be a topic of bitter debate. But if Sino-Soviet rule is fortified there with the aid of German heavy industry, the blame will be less difficult to apportion. A bi-partisan American policy which reunified and rehabilitated the West German Republic may prove more self-defeating in distant Asia than anything done or left undone by the United States on the spot.

But if all the foregoing objections could be waived, there is still no reason to believe that the defence of the West itself would be improved by the sort of federal unity which the Schuman Plan foreshadows. To assess the defensive value of a federalized, Schumanized or Third Force Europe, we shall have to spell out its strategic implications. Pacifism was discredited by Axis aggression. Our uneasy atomic truce has, however, reawakened it. Could Europe, by disentangling herself from both East and West, by setting herself apart from the Atlantic Alliance, now purchase physical immunity? A neutral Third Force, rather than face the horrors of an atomic onslaught, might even prefer to surrender its liberty to a Soviet invader. But no such choice would be open to it. On its own soil, Third Force Europe, so far from debarring hostilities by others, must, by undermining our common Atlantic front, bring them nearer. To air-atomic bombardment North America is also vulnerable. But we are not as directly exposed to it and with us the scars of world war were never so grievous. Yet from Hitler, as from Wilhelm II before him, we have learned that we cannot be both neutral and free; peace by power is a lesson as valid now as then. Third Force escapists may have hit upon some other formula. But unless they have, their ideas testify not so much to Europe's own defensive capacity as to that returning vitality which a close link with North America alone can generate. For it is the security of unneutrality which has allowed Western Europe to indulge in idle dreams of remaining neutral.

To a full-scale Soviet advance the strength that Western Europe alone can muster would be no barrier. Under General Eisenhower, however, a stouter local defence by the Atlantic Allies—European and North American—is now being prepared. But at bottom what counts is that aggression upon Western Europe will evoke the ultimately preponderant power of the entire West. And if a Third Force derogates from such power, if it diminishes thereby our joint ability to resist, aggression itself is more likely to occur.

Underpinned by a Franco-German industrial union, a European federation might thus plan for prosperity at the cost of security. Today the safety of Western Europe rests on transatlantic rather than continental power; and that transatlantic power Western Europe may supplement but could never do without. What this means our occupation armies in Germany have illustrated. Assigned to impose a victor's writ, they have been discharging another, even bigger task. Once the Russian juggernaut rolls on toward the Rhine, they could not halt it. But to sweep away the armies of the West would be instantaneously to summon up on land, at sea and in the air that world balance, headed by the United States, through which an irretrievable balance of European power is slowly being replaced. At Berlin and at softer spots in the ramparts of the West, sleepless probings by Russia will not stop. The inner lines of her Eurasian power allow her to alternate pressure upon the Occident and the Orient. And from Korea the United States has now perceived that her preoccupations do not cease when her occupations are abandoned.

Asia nevertheless is still too backward to be, in any global contest, the main zone of decision. Between the free world and the Russian sphere, the line is demarcated by the armies of the West stationed in Western Germany. Behind them in turn begins the screen of defence, meagre in actuality, massive in potentiality, which the atom bomb and American strategic air power represent; one which permits the Atlantic Allies in both Western Europe and North America itself to rearm unmolested. Peace by retaliation may not be the peace for which we long and pray. But if a federalized or Schumanized Third Force Europe stays aloof that would deprive us not only of human, material and strategic assets; it must rob Atlantic power of immediate, landbased, air access to some of the vitals of Russian power. To reduce a countervailing threat of air or air-atomic reprisal from the West is to make still more precarious our truce with the East. And if it does that—if the onset of war is hastened by it rather than averted—a Third Force will be the first victim of its own endeavour to be neutral.

In normal circumstances as West Germans, under either Atlantic or pan-European auspices, cast off other Allied servitudes, their rising nationalism would anyhow find occupation armies hardest of all to stomach. But for the moment cross-currents are stronger than the stream itself. German opinion is torn between the sentiment of neutrality and the demand, engendered by Sino-Soviet aggression in Korea, that to repel an invader the occupying forces of the West be increased. And to this latter demand heed is being paid. Yet, since the United Nations reverse in Korea, West Germans have doubted our ability to come to their rescue; afraid of being left in the lurch, they have been reluctant to commit themselves to the defence of the West. Nor were they likely to show more enthusiasm in this regard as Moscow refused to accept or tolerate their rearmament. But what did American legislators and policymakers really expect? Towards German revival and European organization they have proceeded on the singularly wishful hypothesis that their West German *protégés* will tend automatically to march with us. In the short run West Germans themselves may not want to be penalized by Russia on our behalf. In the long run their interests and ours have never been the same.

Western Germany has her eastward *irredenta*—only in collaboration with Moscow can she repossess land and brethren now in its grip. Some European capitals may suspect that the West Germans, rearmed and with us at their back, will strive through an anti-Soviet war to recoup their losses in the east. Yet once they have thrown off Allied fetters, it may be simpler for them to fulfil national ambitions by looking not to Washington but to Moscow for support. War might then come but after, and not before, West German power will have shifted to the other side. Within the Bonn Republic German militarism, since the fiasco of its recent Nazi phase, is under an eclipse. Yet what matters in the world equilibrium as a whole is not the few divisions which West Germans could now furnish, but the total economic strength of which we ourselves have rendered them more and more free to dispose.

Nor is the Soviet denunciation of West German rearmament surprising. The war industries of the Ruhr and the Rhineland could, at this point, lend strength to the West; and whenever there is any prospect of that Russia will not acquiesce supinely. But by one who warned against a Nazi-Soviet pact when it might still have been forestalled, Bonn-Moscow antipathy cannot be deemed fixed or immutable. Russian intimidation is, as Voltaire said when the English hanged Admiral Byng, *pour encourager les autres*. The Kremlin, by presenting its bill in advance, does not only inform the Atlantic allies and the Bonn Republic of the price they may have to pay for any close military linkage; it tells West Germans where a less costly bargain can be struck. Russians and Germans have, after all, always oscillated in their relationship between threats of blandishment, between coercion and conciliation. Failing in one tack they may try another and even as they appear to clash on the surface they might converge below.

It is because the East has ultimately more to offer Germany than the West that no Schumanizing project can endure. As we pull the Bonn Republic in one direction, we equip it to spring back in another. In the administrative procedures of a coal-steel pool or a federal Europe, there is nothing irrevocable. Beyond recall, however is the industrial productivity which these would release and abet. For the more we restore the permanent material foundations of German power — whether it be under a European Recovery Programme, an Atlantic rearmament scheme or a Schuman federal plan—the more we redress the inequality of Western Germany in the eyes of Moscow itself. And the more the Bonn Republic thus acquires a freedom of manoeuvre, the more it sheds its inferiority in power as well as status, the less improbable is it that any Schuman Plan can, at a fit hour, be revised or misused. Whatever raises the steel output of Western Germany must add to her bargaining strength. For in the zoology of politics there is nothing to prove that by unchaining a leopard you can change its spots.

Acclaiming the Schuman Plan as the harbinger of a Third Force, Chancellor Adenauer let the cat out of the bag almost at once. And while he must vanish from the scene, those twin immortals, his Nazi steel advisers and the Ruhr steel barons, go on forever. Not that German industrialists favoured the Schuman Plan; the unregulated development of German steel seemed too near for any such orderly progression toward their goal. The goal remains. And within it may be the makings of a tug-of-war for Western Europe between our Atlantic world and that Slavonic or Teuto-Slavonic world whose advent we ourselves will have quickened.

Americans are all for a Schumanized or federalized Europe and critical of Britain for dragging her feet. Eventually, however, the United States herself will not be content to rebuild economically and underwrite militarily a Third Force Europe, whose independent middle stance must augment the very hazards a more integrated Atlantic defence may yet dispel. To the sort of European unity which the British now decline, Americans later on might object. For the world contest is not one solely between Russia and the United States from which others can disengage themselves politically at will. Isolation everywhere is obsolete. And if neutrals must rearm, then so must a neutral Germany. To the problem of German rearmament a European Third Force has often been held up as a solution. It would in fact be no solution at all.

British rejection of the Schuman Plan is, at any rate, not a blow at the unity of the West but a cogent reminder of the solid political substratum on which it should rest. The Atlantic Alliance was, in the French view, aimed against the Germans as much as against the Russians. The Schuman Plan signalizes more than a decrease in Gallic targets; in making our top military dispositions, it would take for granted the identity of Germans with the West. Yet East-West peace is kept by a world and not a European balance; it is a German resurgence which, more than anything else, may tip the scales from West to East rather than from East to West. And to make the defence of the West hinge upon German rearmament is to misconceive the dimensions of the world contest. Our Atlantic community will be safer when Allied arms on the continent of Europe are stronger. But it is through the total power of the West, and not just through its European segment, that peace has been and may be maintained. And if German power, as a buttress of that segment, is unreliable, our security will be greater without it.

Between peace at any price and war at any price there is a middle ground. On it statesmanship will seek to preserve major interests, moral, political, strategic, through peace if possible, through war as a last resort. Appeasement is when you sacrifice those major interests gratuitously and to no avail. But what evidence is there, past or present, that the remilitarization of Western Germany itself, as distinguished from our common Atlantic defence of German territory, can be reckoned among them? So dubious is German loyalty to the West that we appease when we foster German power (whether the project be one of economic rebirth, a Schuman Plan or a rearmament programme) and not when we keep it within bounds. And that, too, is why we can, in this particular context, afford to be flexible rather than rigid.

But we live in a fool's paradise if we pretend that some federalizing or Schumanizing paper device, as fashioned in Paris and Bonn, can disguise indefinitely the iron realities. Through the uncontrollable power of a large German State, reindustrialized and politically equalized, we may yet undo with one hand what we do with the other.

How, then, should the West be consolidated? To plan in semi-continental rather than Atlantic or oceanic terms may be to narrow and not broaden its scope. Twice already in the twentieth century Western Europe has been united—most of it under William II and virtually all of it under Adolf Hitler. Federalized or Schumanized as a single politico-economic unit, its fate—and ours—will be determined by a central Germanic dynamism. Yet if it avoids intimate organic ties, it can function with less apparent logic but with more underlying regard for its own freedom and our common heritage. Atlantic unity, with bonds as loose as we have them, as tight as may be practicable, is a safer bet than European union. For only in that manner can each major portion of an interdependent West fully pull its weight.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lionel Gelber was born in Canada and taught international affairs at the University of Toronto. He is the author of many outstanding works on international problems including Reprieve From War (*Macmillan*, 1950). *One of the important topics in that book dealt with the post-war appeasement of Germany and the danger of a Russo-German Agreement. Reviewing this book in the "New York Times," Mr. Erwin Canham, Editor of "The Christian Science Monitor," described it as "brief and vigorous" and added that in* 1942 *Lionel Gelber had written* Peace By Power *"which today may be regarded as something of an authentic prophecy." In* Reprieve From War, *Mr. Canham observed, Lionel Gelber "takes the lessons of hard experience from history and projects them into the steps ahead we must take."*

Lionel Gelber has warned against Russo-German agreement before—forecasting in March 1938 (*the London "Fortnightly"*) *that Nazi-Soviet Pact which during the next year precipitated world war.* Reprieve From War *is his third book.* Peace By Power *was preceded by* The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship.

JOIN AND STRENGTHEN THE SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, INC., A NON-PROFIT EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

ALLIED CRITICISM VERBOTEN

From Ernest Leiser to the ONA:

"The conservative press in West Germany was up in arms at the valedictory statement of Jean Cattier, retiring chief of the ECA mission here and economics adviser to John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner.

"Mr. Cattier, an international banker whose background would hardly make him a red-eyed radical, hit hard at the Bonn Government of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer for fostering a 'free enterprise' economy in which 'a small number of people live in luxury while the great masses of people have a meager existence.'

"For venturing this candid verdict, he has been attacked by conservative newspapers and, in private remarks, by members of Ludwig Erhard's Economic Ministry. The mildest of the epithets used to describe his comments have been 'tactless' and 'impertinent.' . . .

"The Conservatives have charged that the 'day is gone in which such American criticism of a German government policy is proper.' The influential Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung has commented editorially that 'no United States official would dare offer such presumptuous criticisms of any sovereign state in Europe.'"

★

A "NEW" BEST SELLER

From The Washington Evening Star:

"Shorthand notes of Hitler's dinner-table conversations during 1941 and 1942, published in book form, are becoming Germany's best seller of the year. Issued by the 'Institute for History of the National Socialist Epoch,' the book is likely to become a successor to 'Mein Kampf' as a textbook for would-be fuehrers and neo-Nazis. . . ."

★

THE SOVIETS GET A HELPING HAND

From a United Press Dispatch:

"Soviet Russia's deadly MIG jet fighters, opposing UN air forces in Korea, were designed by German engineers.

" 'Photographs I have seen of the latest-type Soviet jets made me absolutely sure they were built by German engineers,' said Prof. Ernst Heinkel, who started experimenting with jets in 1929.

" 'I distinctly recognized the style of Siegfried Guenther in the latest MIG planes,' he said, adding he had 'no doubt because Guenther was my collaborator for over 10 years.' . . ."

★

GERMANY IN DEFEAT

From the Wall Street Journal:

"In Western Germany, with its rapidly expanding automobile industry, great strides have been made in the motorization of traffic. According to the latest available figures, there are now about 2,500,000 passenger cars, trucks, and motorcycles registered in this country of about 48 million people. That's considerably higher than the European average."

FOR FUTURE REFERENCE

From Combat, Paris:

"Heinz Beck-Broichsitter, the leader of the Bruderschaft, wrote: 'The future and the heart of the German Reich is neither in Bonn or at Pankow, but in the ruins of the Reich Chancellery. Both the Eastern and the Western regimes were conceived in German defeat and they can only survive through the expediencies of the moment. The new regime doesn't like the Bruderschaft, but the latter will continue as a political system which will safeguard the traditions of all the struggles it has waged for the Reich and will pursue the struggle that will eventually rebuild the Reich.'"

★

NEO-NAZISM ON THE MARCH

From Le Populaire, Paris:

"Neo-Nazi movement is again on the march in Schleswig-Holstein. During a celebration that was given near Flansburg by a riding circle, about 250 members of the circle asked the orchestra to play the Badenweiler-Marsch which in the Third Reich was played only in the presence of Hitler.

"This march was vigorously applauded and the orchestra was then asked to play many other National Socialist songs during which the audience sang the refrain: 'We shall continue to march even when everything around us is destroyed, for today Germany is ours and tomorrow, the World.'

"In Lower-Saxony, the night before, various rightist extremists hauled down the Federal Flag from the city hall of Hildesheim near Hanover. This is the fifth time that such a thing happened in Lower-Saxony since the end of June."

★

FIGURE THIS ONE OUT—IF YOU CAN

From U. S. News and World Report:

"Britain's steel industry gets the small end of the stick in the compromise deal with West Germany over exports of scrap from Germany. After five months of heated controversy between London, Bonn and Washington. . . .

"West German steel industry can count on 325,000 tons of scrap in a month.

"Britain and U. S. together can be sure of no more than 30,000 to 40,000 tons a month of West German scrap. Compare that with British monthly imports of 100,000 tons of West German scrap last year, 130,000 tons the year before.

"Germans, allowed to use most of their scrap at home, seem to have won this round. British steel users will look to U. S. for steel more than ever.

"Russians figure to win in this deal, too. West Germans are now free to turn out more steel for machinery to go to East Germany, a Soviet zone. What makes this possible is the newly signed trade pact between West and East Germany.

"Soviet interference in Berlin trade, you'll remember, held up this pact for months. It was signed when Russians and West Germans knew there'd be enough scrap kept in West Germany to fill East Germany's orders for steel."

NEW" LEADERS IN EAST GERMANY

From Bulletin on German Questions:

"The number of former high officers who hold high positions in the Eastern Zone is increasing. Lieut. General Breithaupt is general of the People's Police in Saxony-Anhalt, Maj. General Lattmann in Brandenburg, Lieut. General Schubert in Thuringia, Lieut. General Weisenberg in Mecklenburg. It may be mentioned that Wilhelm Feldmann, Minister of Light Industries and member of the NDP (National Democratic Party), Brauns, treasurer of the NDP and owner of the Berolina-Verlag, Siegfried Dallmann, NDP, former Nazi students' leader of Thuringia, now Brandenburg's Minister of Finance, and Max Schneider, former HJ subleader, chairman of Berlin's NDP and deputy mayor of East Berlin, were officers too."

SONGS THEY NEVER FORGET

From Georges Blun in the Journal de Geneve:

"A few days ago, in a West German town, German sharpshooters met at a conclave known as Schutzenfest. These sharpshooters were dressed to celebrate the occasion and represented all classes of the population and all parties, ranging from Socialists to Nazis.

"Some of them had too much to drink. Music was blurting aloud. At the end of the celebration, the orchestra came out loud with the song, 'We Shall Destroy France Victoriously Again' (Sigreich wollen wir Frankreich Schlagen)."

AN APPEAL TO THE KREMLIN

From the J. T. A. News:

"The daughter of Baron Constantin von Neurath, former Nazi Foreign Minister and Hitler's 'Protector' for Bohemia and Moravia, has appealed to Premier Josef Stalin of Russia asking his consent to the release of her father from Spandau Prison in Berlin.

"Von Neurath is serving a 15-year term following his conviction by the Nuremberg Tribunal for war crimes. During the trial he admitted responsibility for a plan to destroy the Czechoslovak nation by the systematic elimination of its educated class. He also told the court that he believed the persecution of the Jews by the Nazi regime had been necessary. During his regime in Czechoslovakia, von Neurath once refused to sign anti-Jewish legislation for the Protectorate because he believed the draft submitted for his signature was too lenient."

> **. . . "American ideas have not put a nick into the nationalistic revival that this year gave rise to neo-Nazi parties.**
>
> **"The Germans' uproar over the seven hanged Nazi felons made well-wishers of the new Germany despair. So does anti-American feeling, bluntly and widely expressed in the Ruhr and in Bavaria.**
>
> **"In fact, Allied officials believe that the No. 1 problem in western Germany is not the Communists but the diehard Germans."**
>
> *(From John P. Leacacos in the North American Newspaper Alliance)*

MEMO TO TAXPAYERS

From The United Press:

"Representative Charles B. Brownson (R., Ind.), who is in the paint business himself, demanded to know yesterday why the Navy in 1944 and 1945 bought up enough tint to paint 10,666 battleships of the Missouri class, when mixed with white paint.

"What was worse, according to Brownson, was that the Navy turned around and disposed of tons of it as surplus to a German corporation, and now a German firm has offered to sell it back to the American paint company that made it. . . .

"The surplus paint was turned over to STEG, a German government corporation, he said.

"Another German firm, Wikolin-Werk of Bremen, has offered to sell 100 tons of it to the Perfection Paint and Color Co., Indianapolis, for $1.26 a gallon. . . ."

FROM ONE OF THEIR ADMIRERS

From The Chicago Daily Tribune:

"Germans, who form the third largest racial group in Canada, are being admitted to this country in large numbers again.

"In five months this year Canada took in 5,993 German immigrants compared with 1,600 to May 31 last year. . . .

"Rodney Adamson, member of parliament from Port Credit, Ont., visited Germany last winter and . . . urged the government to hasten the admission of more Germans.

"'The best immigrants are the West Germans, and there are hundreds of thousands who are anxious to come to Canada,' Adamson said. . . ."

THE PAN GERMAN DREAM GETS A BOOST

From The Chicago Daily Tribune:

"Newfoundland Premier Joseph R. Smallwood is importing all the German technical brains he can get to start new industries here with governmental financial backing. . . .

"Smallwood admires German technical efficiency.

"'Evacuate the 150,000,000 Americans from the United States and turn the country over to 50,000,000 Germans,' he said, 'and the Germans will advance the country more in the next 25 years than the Americans could.' . . ."

JUST A TOURIST

From The Washington Evening Star:

"Former Nazi storm trooper Otto Skorzeny, who once rescued Benito Mussolini and later spearheaded the 1944 Ardennes counteroffensive, no longer has a wanted sign on his head.

"He flew in two days ago and apparently is regarded as just a tourist in West Germany. . . .

". . . He was scheduled for denazification prosecution as a 'major Nazi offender.'

"The ex-SS colonel flew to his native land from Zurich on a Swiss Airliner. . . .

". . . United States authorities have no charges pending against him. . . .

"Skorzeny also sparked an advance force of troops in the Ardennes attack in the last winter of World War II. It was rumored then that he intended to try to reach Allied headquarters and kill Gen. Eisenhower."

Recommended Reading

In the publication of *The Conduct of Life*, Mr. Lewis Mumford has completed his monumental series of works dealing with the nature of man and society. From every point of view *The Conduct of Life* is a brilliant and thoughtful work revealing Mr. Mumford's profound grasp of human events and their inter-reaction on human beings.

Mr. Mumford is one of America's outstanding social philosophers and historians. He demonstrated his talents in his former works including "Techniques and Civilization," "The Culture of Cities," and the "Condition of Man." There is no doubt that *The Conduct of Life* is a logical and fitting sequel to these former works and we concur with Van Wyck Brooks' statement that *The Conduct of Life* is "one of the most important events in modern American thinking and writing."

The Conduct of Life is a penetrating study of man and his environment. Optimism seems to pervade every page, for Mr. Mumford is confident that man's inner reorientation will eventually make "possible the eventual emergence of united humanity, no longer separated by impassable cultural walls." For him there is no contradiction between universality and individualism. On the contrary the higher unity of life must come through the merging of these two basic tendencies of history. Mr. Mumford believes that man's potentials are great. While he does not deprecate the advances of science he believes that man's dreams and inspirations are real driving forces which will lead humanity to greater heights. Mr. Mumford is by no means a rugged individualist, neither does he accept Marxism because "it makes the processes of history external to human choice and plan and buries the person in society."

The Conduct of Life endeavors to point a practical way toward the development of a universal brotherhood through the establishment of vast cultural and economic projects on a world wide scale. Mr. Mumford bases these proposals on his firm conviction that mutual aid and exchange are the key methods by which man can survive and enjoy the fruits of his labors.

As with his previous works, Mr. Mumford's *The Conduct of Life* endeavors to see beyond the day to day struggle and to work out the great objective which will fulfill the dreams of all men. Yet in a wider sense *The Conduct of Life* can serve as a guide to practical action too, and we believe that its message deserves to be pondered by all of us.

It is our considered judgment that Mr. Mumford has made another great contribution to social philosophy. He has succeeded in holding high the banner of human culture. *The Conduct of Life* should serve as a shining shield in the defense of humanity against the forces of obscurantism and inhumanity.

(The Conduct of Life, by Lewis Mumford, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.)

"LONDON.—Germany's comeback—it is one of the marvels and possibly one of the menaces of the age.

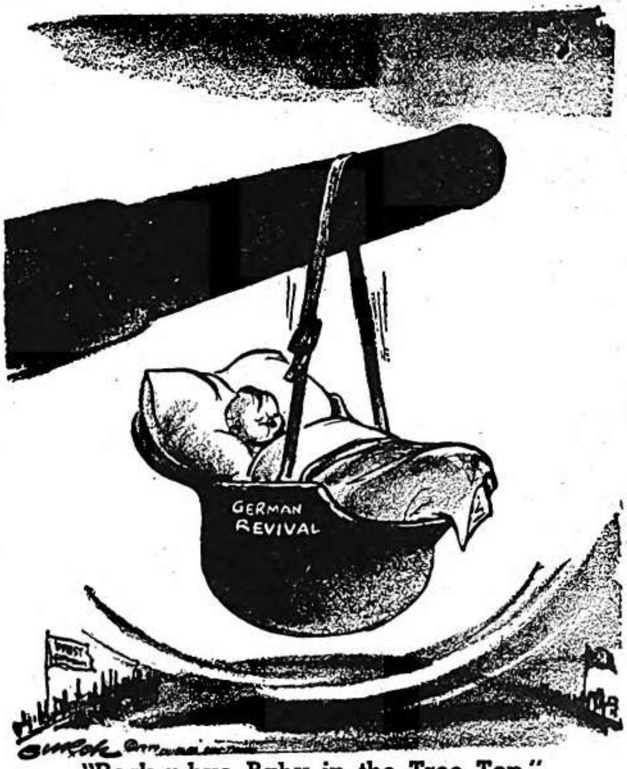
. . . "Nothing quiet, hesitant, or self conscious about it—the 'Master Race' is at large, assertively, confidently, again.

. . . "Australians may be absorbed and concerned by fears of Japanese resurgence, but we do worse than spare a thought for the corresponding German problem.

. . . "German nationalism rears its provocative head again, high and excitedly. All the Schuman plans, North-Atlantic pacts, and the European Army schemes, even the fact that the Germans, for the moment, are not permitted any rearmament industry of their own, aren't likely to keep Germany down.

It is all so like the aftermath of 1918. The Germans, having lost everything, are starting from scratch. Yet already, today they have achieved miracles of recovery in some respects they are in a position to blackmail the West, and they so feel their strength that British Government quarters talk about the Germans as being in 'a bellyaching mood.' "

(Trevor Smith in the Melbourne Herald, Australia)



"Rock-a-bye Baby in the Tree Top."

(Burck in the Chicago Sun-Times)

Old Nazi Cartels Never Die

by JEAN PAJUS

Old Nazi cartels never die—they never even fade. Ponder the latest activities of the infamous I. G. Farben cartel and its spokesman in the United States, Ernest K. Halbach. In one of the most brazen attempts in the history of the United States, Halbach, with the help of Leo Crowley, former Alien Property Custodian appointed in 1941 to protect the interests of the U. S. against the machinations of the enemy, succeeded in tacking to the Joint Resolution 289—a bill to end the state of war in Germany—an amendment that would enable the I. G. Farben to regain its former power in the U. S. The amendment, which was introduced in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee by Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, provided that any citizen whose property was seized during the last war without a court trial to determine its enemy status and who entered into an agreement accepting compensation and relinquishing any further claim to the property will be permitted to institute a suit in court to have the settlement set aside and to recover the property or to receive additional compensation for it from the U. S. Treasury. This infamous rider was suggested to Senator Wiley by Leo Crowley, who in turn acted on behalf of E. Halbach, former president of the vested General Dyestuff Corporation.

And who is this Halbach who enjoys such power that a treaty is written in his behalf? Halbach, to be sure, is an American citizen of German origin. Way back in 1917, he was in the employ of Kluttroff and Pickhardt, and the New York Badische Company the German subsidiaries which later became part of I. G. Farben Company. Already in 1917, Halbach's employers claimed that their companies were strictly American, very patriotic and in no way connected with the enemy, Germany.

In 1941, shortly after Germany declared war on the U. S., Halbach was indignant at a statement made in the *New York Times* that his company was German owned and controlled. He wrote a letter to the *Times* in which he forcefully denied this statement while claiming that he and his company were very patriotic and very American. The Treasury and the Justice Department had something to say about his claims, for the evidence available was so conclusive that both Halbach and his company were indicted for conspiracy, and Leo Crowley was forced to seize the General Dyestuff Corporation stock as a German and Farben-owned corporation.

Mr. Halbach had at all times claimed that his company was American, but the official records clearly reveal that as far back as 1926 Halbach turned over the control of General Dyestuff Corporation to I. G. Farben. This was what the official record said about the true nature of Halbach's company: "None of the General Dyestuff Corporation stockholders, Halbach included, ever owned their stock outright . . . Their stock was always subject to option agreements restricting free sale or transfer of the stock and which provided for purchase from the holders at fixed prices and under fixed conditions. These option agreements were the means by which the I. G. Farben continuously retrieved control of the stock, allowing the current holder merely an interest of, at most, $100 per share."

And as regards Mr. Halbach's patriotic activities on behalf of the U. S., again Senator Kilgore's hearings would show him in his true light: "After the outbreak of war in the fall of 1939, Halbach zealously guarded Farben's interest . . . In January 1940, Halbach went to Italy to confer with Farben's officials on ways and means for Farben to evade the British blockade. On this and other occasions, Halbach worked out a program for supplying the Farben agents in South America with dyestuffs which they were no longer able to import from Germany. When these firms were placed on the British statutory blacklist or American proclaimed list, Halbach shipped the dyestuffs to consignees who were dummies for the Farben sales outfits."

Surely Halbach's "patriotic" efforts on behalf of the U. S. were known to Leo Crowley, the Alien Property Administrator. Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Halbach was indicted for conspiracy, Mr. Crowley saw fit to turn the management of General Dyestuff over to Halbach, although he removed him as president of the company. And why did he do that? Apparently there was a "dearth" of talent in the U. S.; consequently, he was forced to rely on Mr. Halbach to run the General Dyestuff Corporation. For his efforts, Mr. Halbach was paid $36,000 a year plus a bonus of $46,000. Mr. Halbach's indispensability to the company lasted until 1950. Between 1942 and 1950, Halbach received a total compensation of over $550,000. While in charge of seized enemy property, Mr. Crowley was badly in need of legal advice to formulate the basic policies of his office on the methods of controlling foreign property. He was unable to find suitable counsel, he said. In desperation, he turned to the well-known firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, the head of which was John Foster Dulles. By a strange coincidence the firm of John Foster Dulles also acted as legal counsel to Mr. Ernest K. Halbach.

As we can see from the above, Mr. Halbach had no cause to complain about the treatment he received from Leo Crowley. Nor was Mr. Halbach unduly perturbed when the Alien Property Custodian filed an affidavit in December of 1944 against Halbach's company, which stated that "General Dyestuff Corporation and the record owners of stock who were acting on behalf and for the benefit of I. G. Farben, a national of an enemy country, Germany."

A few months later, on February 2, 1945, Mr. Halbach felt that it would be to his advantage to make a settlement out of court by withdrawing his claim on the General Dyestuff stock. Mr. Halbach and his friends accepted the sum of $696,544 out of the U. S. Treasury. But that was in 1945 when Mr. Halbach was convinced that Germany was defeated and that the policy of the U. S. to eliminate the pernicious I. G. Farben cartel was to stay.

Many things happened since February 2, 1945. Germany was defeated indeed, but in the Spring of 1951, a new wind was blowing in Washington, and Germany is now supposed to be the defender of our Western

Christian civilization! But Mr. Halbach felt that the time was opportune to reassert himself. Mr. Halbach decided to sue the U. S. Government for recovery of his stock, claiming that the U. S. Government had coerced him to make the agreement of 1945. His chief witness was Mr. Crowley who testified to the fact that duress was used against Mr. Halbach. A few months later when Mr. Crowley was shown the documents by the Justice Department, he suddenly discovered that he was wrong in his earlier testimony. Both Mr. Halbach and Mr. Crowley decided to bide their time.

The time came early in October 1951, when the House of Representatives voted Resolution 289 to end the state of war in Germany. Although Mr. Crowley is a prominent Democrat, he did not hesitate to go to his Senator from Wisconsin, Senator Wiley, to ask him to attach a rider to Resolution 289 which would reopen the old I. G. Farben case.

Senator Wiley is the ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, whose present chairman is Senator Tom Connolly of Texas. Although Senator Connolly does not usually see eye to eye with Senator Wiley, he did not mind obliging Senator Wiley. Thus, not only did he not object to Senator Wiley's rider, but gave him all the support in the Committee. On October 8, 1951, Resolution 289, including the Wiley rider, was ordered placed on the calendar. Both Senator Wiley and Senator Connolly thought nobody was watching. Apparently, however, there still were public-minded citizens in the U. S. who knew the import of the rider. One of these is Frank Edwards, radio commentator for the AFL, who was the first to come out with a blast against Senator Wiley's amendment. This is what Mr. Edwards said over a national hook-up on October 5, 1951:

> *"If Senator Wiley's proposal goes through, the real victims will be the American boys who were the prisoners of the Germans, and the thousands of men who suffered through the misery and filth of the Nazi prison camps. Senator Wiley is proposing that we let the Germans get their clutches on the* $240,000,000 *worth of property and money which we took from them during the war. That money next into the Alien Property Custodian's possession and it is used by the War Claims Commission to pay the claims of American prisoners and internees.*
>
> *"Now Senator Wiley is proposing that we make it possible for the German cartels to block those payments to our boys, by reopening court fights to get their property back."*

Mr. Edwards' radio talk sounded the alarm and set in motion a chain of events which indicate that the I. G. Farben scheme to regain their former power in the U. S. may not succeed. On October 11, bill 289 and the Wiley rider were placed on the calendar in the Senate. Senator Chavez of New Mexico and Senator Lehman of New York stood up and objected. The resolution failed to make the calendar. On October 16, 1951, Senator Lehman submitted an amendment to strike from the Joint Resolution 289 the Wiley rider. On October 18, the U. S. Senate voted to end the state of war with Germany and defeated the infamous rider. Through the courageous efforts of Senators Dennis Chavez and Herbert Lehman this unholy conspiracy was smashed on the Senate floor.

Have the Halbach-Crowley machinations been stopped for good? Only time will tell. Halbach will most assuredly try to find a congressman to sponsor a private bill in his behalf. But in the meantime, we take our hats off to Senators Chavez and Lehman and indeed to all the other senators who are ready to fight the battle for the American people and for the GI's.

"But when Germany again achieves complete independence, as in time she will; when five more years of reconstruction have obliterated further the scars of wars; when Germany, with Allied encouragement, indeed at Allied insistence, has raised a military force—then German political leaders will have new opportunities to appeal to latent German nationalism. . . .

"Later, when Germany is again free, economically recovered and possessed of an armed force, the temptation of German political leaders to seek a following by taking a violent nationalist irridentist line will be much greater. . . .

"It should never be forgotten that even if a future German armed force is part of the European army, possibly without a German air force and with little German heavy artillery, the German element could always precipitate an incident that would bring reprisals from the East and confront us with the choice of abandoning all Germany or facing war with Russia. . . ."

(Clifton Utley in the Chicago Sun-Times)

"It is only recently that Herbert Morrison—who is trying gradually to reverse Bevin's policy of keeping Britain clear of European commitments—has accepted what are held to be American proposals for the enlistment of a quarter of a million German soldiers by the end of next year. . . .

"Those who disagree with him believe broadly speaking, that before the army can be raised the Germans will insist upon conditions which will make them free, in fact if not in theory, to use it as they see fit. The political price of such an army, in their opinion, would be more than the Allies ought to pay. Their main argument is that the Germans are notoriously irresponsible and aggressive, that they have a lasting grievance against the Russians (who have given part of their country to the Poles) and ten million refugees who have nothing to lose by going to war. They say that the addition of German troops to the North Atlantic armies would not only constitute 'provocation combined with weakness' but would introduce an essentially aggressive element into an otherwise defensive alliance. They foresee two possible consequences of giving the Germans arms —that they would involve the Allies in an attempt to re-conquer Western Poland for Germany, or that they would come to terms with the Russians (who can re-draw the Polish frontier any time they like.)"

(From Herbert Roberts to ONA)

Notes On Spain

". . . Most certainly we do not forget Spain's official position with and assistance to our Axis enemies at a time when the fortunes of war were less favorable to us, nor can we disregard the activities, aims, organizations, and public utterances of the Falange, both past and present. These memories cannot be wiped out by actions more favorable to us now that we are about to achieve our goal of complete victory over those enemies of ours with whom the present Spanish regime identified itself in the past spiritually and by its public expressions and acts."

(From a letter from President Roosevelt to the American Ambassador to Spain, Mr. Norman Armour, March 10, 1945)

* * *

"A close adviser of the Spanish pretender, Don Juan, declared Saturday the new Spanish cabinet is 'more Nazi and anti-democratic than ever.'

"Jose Maria Gil Robles, exiled Spanish monarchist leader, charged here that Generalissimo Franco in the cabinet announced Thursday has restored the one-party system under the Falange. . . .

"'Franco has once again defied the Western democracies, for his new cabinet is more Nazi and anti-democratic than ever,' Gil Robles declared. . . .

"He charged that the appointment of Lt. Gen. Augustin Munoz Grande as secretary of the army was 'another indication of the pro-German and totalitarian aims of the new cabinet. Nobody should forget that Gen. Grande served under Hitler as commander in chief of the Blue Division, which fought against the Russians.'"

(From a dispatch to the Chicago Sun-Times, August 22, 1951)

* * *

"There are plenty of disturbing signs in Western Europe that our decision to make a military ally out of Franco Spain may have been a major psychological blunder.

. . . "In Paris, Europe's apprehensions seem well-founded. The Administration's stubborn insistence on going it alone in Spain—even at the risk of antagonizing our old friends and allies—suggests that Washington is getting somewhat panicky.

. . . "Needless to say, Western Europeans are unimpressed by the military value of Franco's ill-equipped and underpaid army, and they are not convinced we need more bases in the Western Mediterranean.

"Ideology plays a large part in their thinking. Having suffered more from the Nazis than Americans did, they balk at having a former buddy of Hitler's in the lineup. Tito, though a dictator, is more acceptable to them as an ally—largely because he was on our side during the last war.

"It's easy to brush off ideological arguments. Yet in doing so, we risk brushing off the willing and enthusiastic support of millions of Europeans; and we risk undoing much of the patient, laborious effort that's gone into selling the Atlantic Pact to a war-weary continent.

. . . "It's not enough to reply that Spanish bases are essential to our security. There's an easy answer to that one—if Uncle Sam is so feeble that he needs Franco in his corner to win the next one, then he might as well throw in the towel right now."

(William Attwood in the New York Post, September 17, 1951)

"The United States proposal to slip Generalissimo Franco into the Atlantic Alliance by the backdoor has kicked off a debate in European capitals that will now last until fall. The question at the heart of the debate is simple: 'Just how much strength will the Spanish dictator add to the anti-communist front?'

"The consensus in West European capitals is that Franco represents a drain, rather than an addition of strength.

"Here are some of the salient points of discussion in Paris:

(1) "Official American statements that Spain's inclusion was demanded by military authorities does not include General Eisenhower. . . .

(2) "The military men who applaud the American deal with Franco base their case on geography. Franco has four major naval bases on the Atlantic and Mediterranean, and three airfields that can handle B29s. The U. S. Navy and Air Force want to use them.

(3) ". . . Naval officials and airmen who oppose the Franco deal point out that, geographically, these bases are not really indispensable to the operations of the U. S. Sixth Fleet, the dominant military force in the Mediterranean today.

(4) ". . . Ground generals are more nearly unanimous in their opinion of Franco's Army than Air and Naval Commanders.

"Franco's Army consists of twenty-odd divisions of 8 or 9,000 men apiece, of which two are supposedly 'mechanized.'

"These divisions are among the most antiquated in Europe today. Though their small arms and machine guns are of good local manufacture, their artillery is a hodge-podge of French, Italian, German, Czech and Spanish pieces (usually mixed in a single division) of from ten to thirty years old. The two mechanized divisions are equipped with tanks left over from the Civil War—that is to say, tanks that are fourteen or fifteen years old and not only obsolete but antique.

". . . Finally, Spain's industrial geography works against a useful role in military alliance. Spain is an industrial desert except for the Basque country and Barcelona, the only areas where modern support and facilities might possibly be forthcoming for Atlantic forces. But these areas are precisely those in which anti-Franco feeling is strongest, where industrial unrest and dissidence are closest to the surface.

". . . The chief source of strength of the North Atlantic Alliance, at present, is the spirit of freedom among its peoples, and the challenge freedom offers to the sodden terror of Communism. But Franco is an out-and-out avowed Fascist, a man who was brought to power by the aid of Hitler and Mussolini and who aided them against the Allies during the war. He is as ruthless a dictator as Stalin. As such he is execrated by the majority of people in our major Allies, Britain and France, middle-class and worker, Catholic and Protestant alike. To associate Franco, say European politicians, is to weaken the Atlantic Alliance at its roots in men's hearts and to give to the Communists a propaganda and political advantage of cardinal importance."

(Theodore White to ONA, August 14, 1951)

"Having fought the greatest war in history to defeat fascism are we now in such desperate straits that we must take a fascist regime as an ally?

". . . Perhaps fascism will take root elsewhere, for can one honestly say in this day and age, even in the United States that there is no danger of the contagion of fascism?

"There are those who will argue that our hatred of communism is no less than for fascism and yet we do not balk at cooperating with Tito. That statement is correct but in our judgment can be answered. When we aid Tito we give comfort to an important defection in the Communist Front and to that extent we help ourselves. Yugoslavia might well go one way or another. We want if we can to widen the split between it and the Kremlin.

"In the course of this editorial some leading and necessarily hostile questions have been asked. They should be answered by Secretary Marshall or Secretary Acheson or both.

". . . But until the gnawing questions are answered satisfactorily, many Americans are going to feel that we are making a mistake in linking our democracy with Franco Spain."

(From a New York Times editorial, "Do We Need Franco?", August 30, 1951)

★

"It inflicts a damaging blow to our prestige and dignity. It weakens the Atlantic treaty. It introduces a factor of jealousy and intrigue into Western Europe and opens a way for Europe's fascists in every country to compete with Europe's democrats for America's favor."

(From the London Observer)

★

What Price Spain

"To what extent can the United States afford to offend its principal allies?

". . . Just how can a dictatorship be made acceptable to the democratic world?

"A few new faces in high places will hardly change the nature of Falangist fascism.

". . . So far as purely military considerations go, it is most unlikely that Franco should drift into the Communist camp. After all, Spain is flanked by allied bases in France and North Africa.

"If we insist on a Spanish deal, the British and the French governments probably would be compelled to accept it. But they would do so against their will and judgment."

(From an editorial in St. Louis Post Dispatch, July 17, 1951)

"The spectacle of the German Communist puppet show in East Berlin with its tens of thousands of hungry youths filtering across sector lines for a square meal and perhaps permanent escape in the capitalist atmosphere of West Berlin has more than its amusing aspects.

" . . . Mussolini applied it to the youth of Italy between the two world wars and Hitler refined and intensified its application to the youth of Germany over the crowded decade of the thirties."

(From John C. Henry in The Washington Evening Star)

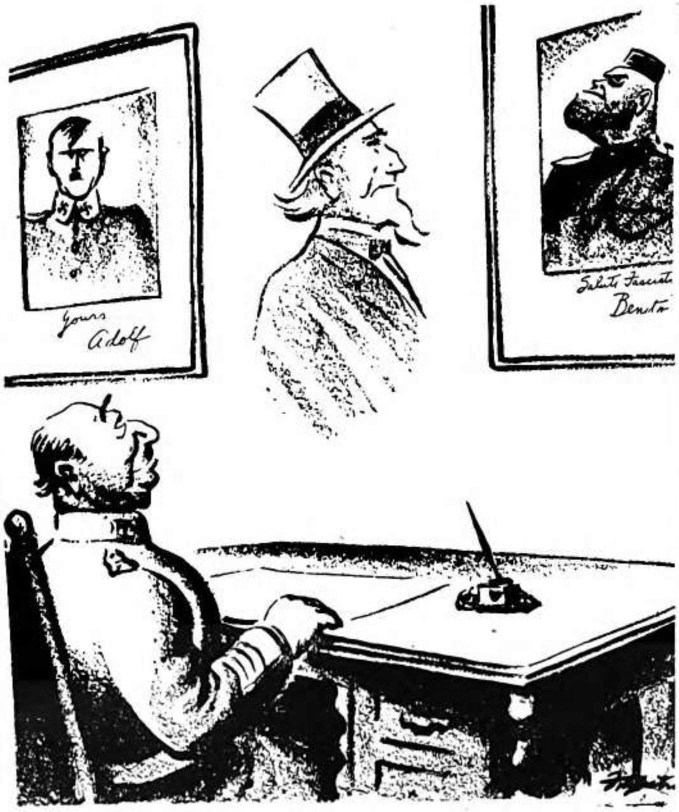
"What the United States is trying to do now is restore some kind of equilibrium throughout this entire area (Pacific). The instruments at hand are not always ideal, but the area has to be policed and policemen must have police stations.

"So United States troops are staying in Japan, and the Japanese are being revived, and by a series of quickly organized ad hoc treaties the Communists are being warned to take it easy.

". . . Nobody here has any illusions about the democratization of Japan. Nobody thinks Japan is going to be happy with a United States dole and a United States policeman in the corner. And there is general agreement that Japan is just as likely to follow the political lead of China proper as that China is likely to follow the political lead of Japan.

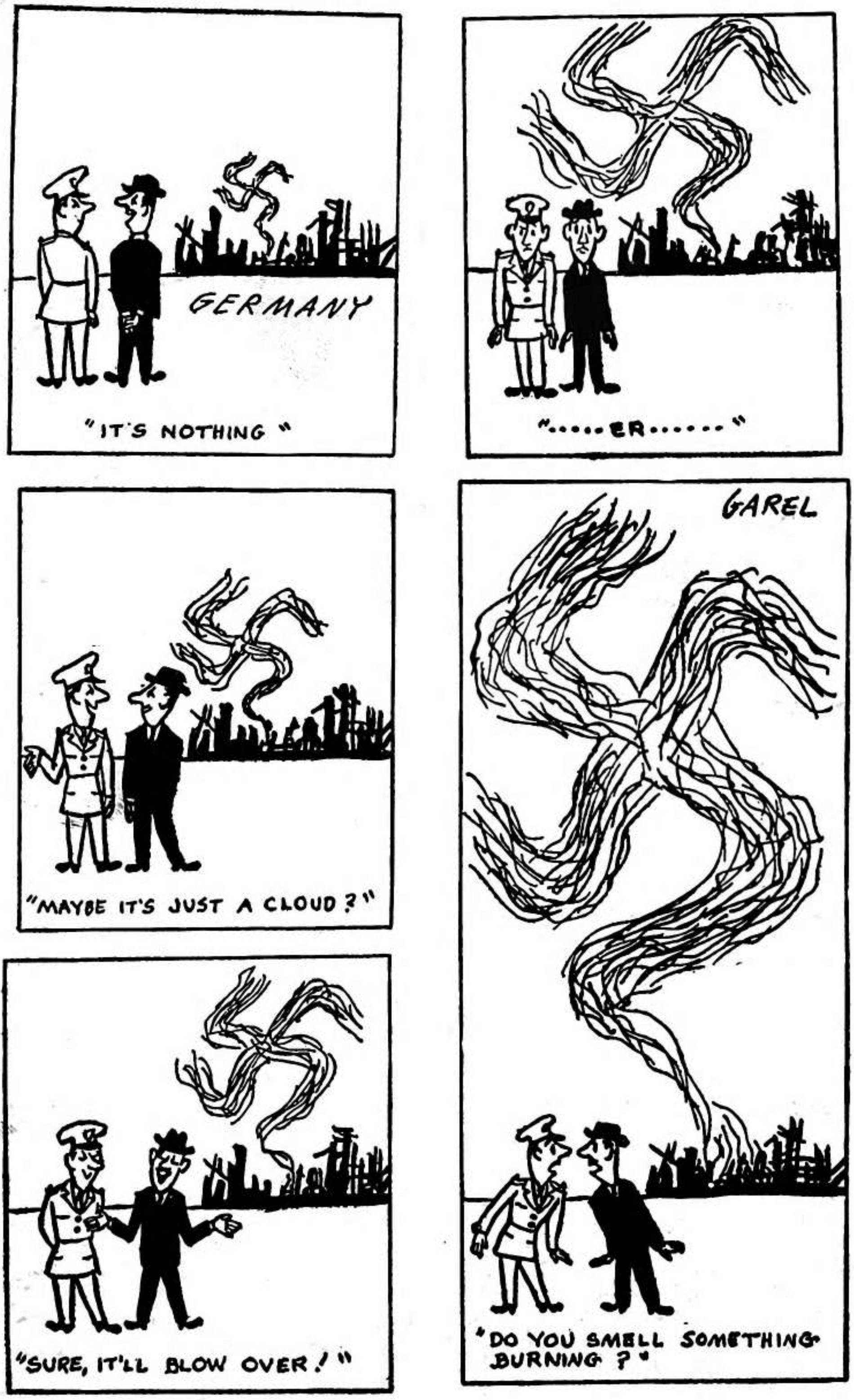
"So the advice of the delegates, even if they don't take it themselves, is not to be diverted from the big thing that is happening here. And that, they agree, is not that the Russians and Americans are slanging one another again, but that the quiet and polite Japanese are regaining their independence."

(James Reston in the New York Times.)



Franco: Another Picture Would Go Nicely.

(Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch)


GERMANY
"IT'S NOTHING"
"......ER......"
"MAYBE IT'S JUST A CLOUD?"
"SURE, IT'LL BLOW OVER!"
GAREL
"DO YOU SMELL SOMETHING BURNING?"

(*Cartoon by Garel, Courtesy The Nation*)

No. 40
SUMMER ISSUE
1952

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PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. **Tel.: PLaza 3-4985**

No. 40 **Summer Issue, 1952**

The Great Gamble

I

It was to be expected, we suppose, that the contractual agreement recently concluded between West Germany and the Big Three would be acclaimed by all officials who have been responsible for this pact. Perhaps the official characterization of these agreements can best be summed up in the words of Secretary of State Dean Acheson who told a nation-wide radio audience that the accord represents "the birth of a new Germany, a new Europe and a new period in history."

As much as we should like to share this official optimism, current developments in and out of Germany give no cause for exuberance. We cannot for one moment forget that the Germans have used every trick and blackmail tactic to extort unprecedented concessions. On the very eve of the signing of the contract, Chancellor Adenauer demanded immediate relief for German war criminals "to popularize" the agreements among the Germans. What a price for Germany's "cooperation"!

The Allied experts who believed the pact would finally put an end to German demands should take another look at what is now occurring in Germany. Dr. Hans Muehlenfeld, a leading member of the German Party, which is part of the Adenauer coalition Government, denounced the contractual agreement as a "second Versailles Treaty." The Nationalist leader of the Social Democratic Party, Kurt Schumacher, declared that anyone affixing his signature to this agreement ceases to be a German. These attacks have been re-echoed in the German press. They come from all sides, regardless of ideological persuasion and underline the fact that the Adenauer policy no longer reflects the basic moods and attitudes of the German people. One leading official of the Social Democratic Party told a group of United States Congressmen that even if the West German Parliament should support the contractual agreement, it would have no validity "since the present Government does not represent a majority of the people."

In France, the people are unimpressed by the official optimism. Everyone knew, of course, that the Communists, taking their cue from Moscow, would howl. But the voices of the many genuine democrats who have experienced the horrors of German invasions and occupations are crying out in protest. Their fears have been reflected in the warnings of many of their outstanding statesmen, including Edouard Herriot.

In England, too, there is a rising crescendo of protests—not merely from the left wing of the Laborites—but even among the more conservative elements including Lord Beaverbrook, one of Prime Minister Churchill's closest war-time collaborators. Lord Beaverbrook said that he opposed the contractual agreement because it would open the way to German rearmament and he opposes German rearmament because he feels that the Germans cannot be trusted. He cited the Soviet-German agreements of 1922 and 1939 as two examples which should serve as a warning to the West. His views are reflected in some of the leading newspapers in Britain, including the *Daily Express,* the largest morning newspaper in Britain, with a circulation of more than four million.

Some of the keenest observers of international affairs in the United States, among them Mr. Walter Lippmann, have also expressed grave doubts as to the good that will come out of these agreements. In short, we find that

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while these accords are celebrated officially as grandiose achievements in the direction of strengthening Western unity against Soviet totalitarianism, they are actually creating the opposite result. They are driving still deeper the fears and suspicions of the peoples of Western Europe who live closer to the Germans, who have suffered at the hands of the Hitlerites and who are well aware of the fact that the Germans will settle for nothing less than complete mastery of Europe.

It is a fact that important sections of public opinion in Western Europe are convinced that they have been pressured by the United States to accept the hand of the former enemy. Meanwhile, many Americans are under the impression that the French and the British are "dragging their feet." Thus, where unity was supposed to have been achieved in the West, the wounds of the past have been opened up and disunity is raising its head again.

This ominous situation recalls to our mind the diplomacy of Chancellor Adenauer's friend, Gustave Stresemann, Germany's Foreign Minister from 1923 to 1929. It was Mr. Stresemann's mission to undo Germany's defeat after World War I and to create the pre-conditions that would enable Germany to make a new bid for world domination.

One factor which had to be overcome was the apparent solidarity of the West in the early twenties. Herr Stresemann succeeded in smashing this unity through the Locarno Pact of 1925. Ostensibly this pact between Germany and the West was to herald a new deal for war-torn Europe. But Mr. Stresemann thought otherwise. *"Our policy," he boasted, "of offering the Entente powers a security pact was undoubtedly correct. . . . It broke up the Entente."* In other words, Mr. Stresemann realized that only by pretending that the Germans had cast their lot with the West could the vigilance and security of the Allied powers be effectively undermined. Once this was achieved, the Germans were able to destroy all the security provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and this finally paved the way for Hitler's Third Reich.

It is unquestionably true that the West must be made stronger against the threats from the East. However, such strength will not be created through paper accords with a people who have been notorious in flaunting signed agreements in the past. We have been told that Dr. Adenauer is a reliable friend of democracy, but right under his nose Nazism is rearing its head again, and when he departs from the scene who will dare to predict how this Germany, uncontrolled and rearmed, will act?

In August, 1943, at the very height of the war, Ulrich von Hassell, a German Conservative and former diplomatic representative of the German Reich, outlined in his diary the method by which Germany could once again become an independent power after Hitler's fall. *"Germany would have to exploit all opportunities. There is only one expedient left—to make either Russia or the Anglo-Americans understand their interest in a sound Germany. . . . In this game, I prefer the Western orientation—but if need be—I would also consider an agreement with Russia."*

This is the way a conservative German who allegedly was anti-Nazi viewed an independent Reich, and yet our experts tell us that the contractual agreement will bring a new era of peace and security to Europe and the United States. Perhaps it would be well for them to ponder the words of another authority, Professor Gordon A. Craig of Princeton University who, in an address to the semi-annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science some time ago, said:

"The present tug-of-war over Germany involves great dangers for the Western World. The chiefest of these we all realize—namely, that Russia may win the struggle and dominate all Germany. But even if that does not happen—even if the Western Powers succeed in establishing a viable Western German state—there is the danger that, in doing so, we may forget the original objectives of our German policy, restore to power individuals and groups whose values have nothing in common with our own, and create a state which is a source of embarrassment and danger to the Western bloc.

"It is important for Americans to assess the dangers inherent in their present policy in Germany; and one way for them to do so is to turn to history. For Germany once before was a defeated Power—once before she stood between the East and the West—and, on that previous occasion, she was able to exploit her situation in order to escape the controls which military defeat had brought upon her and to involve the world in another war. . . ."

"Strong Western Germany, . . . is on the horizon.

"German troops, not French troops, will thus seem to U. S. strategists as the ones to count on, the ones ultimately to relieve U. S. forces in Europe.

"In this case, Germany will again be the big power in Western Europe. And, instead of Western Europe bossing Germany, it may be the other way around.

"This isn't the way U. S. planned it, but it's the way things are going."

(The U. S. News and World Report)

"Germans make no concealment of their aims in Eastern Europe. They are out to regain wide territories now Polish, Czech and Russian. Could that come about without war? . . . German rearmament might prove to be an irrevocable stage along the road to hell on earth."

(Mr. Hugh Dalton, British Member of Parliament)

II

The recent Soviet Notes which made a grandstand play for the hand of the Germans caused much confusion and embarrassment in the camp of the local comrades. It has not been easy for them to "explain" the Soviet somersault which unmasks Moscow's pretentions for a de-militarized and de-Nazified Germany. The Soviets have now gone all out for the "rehabilitation" of the Nazis and for the resurrection of a new German Wehrmacht buttressed by a non-controlled industrial war potential. For months prior to the Soviet Notes, the Communist press had been harping on the theme that it was the West that was re-Nazifying Germany and rebuilding its war potential. Now these mouthpieces of the Kremlin must find the balm to take out some of the sting of the latest Soviet proposals.

The local comrades were not the only ones to be embarrassed. Many anti-Communists are equally perplexed and confused. They have been saying all along that anyone who opposed the remilitarization of Germany and the "rehabilitation" of the Nazis was really spouting the Communist line. Despite their protestations of anti-Communism, they now find themselves in the awkward position of advocating a policy which runs parallel to that of the Kremlin.

The confusion in the anti-Communist camp runs all the way up to the Chancelleries of the free world. The State Department has been taken aback by the Soviet bombshell and so has the British Foreign Office. Basically, the Foreign Offices of the Western powers were unprepared because they have been so immersed in their own schemes to reinvigorate the German power-house that they forgot that two can play at the same game.

Indeed, we have gone so far in cultivating the hand of the former enemy that even at this crucial juncture, we seem to be willing to depend upon the Germans for the answers.

Mr. William Henry Chamberlain, who has been a staunch advocate of German rearmament and has regarded the original American de-Nazification policy as playing into the hands of the Soviets, has tried to analyze the meaning of the Soviet notes in his regular column in the *Wall Street Journal.* On April 3, 1952, he discussed the Soviet notes, but he offered little in the way of a positive program to meet the challenge. He seemed to take comfort from the fact that the Germans would obtain a better deal from the West, and that they would be happier in a Western European army where they would be treated as equals and wear the same army uniforms as their Western neighbors.

However, Mr. Chamberlain is not at all sure that these attractive concessions will win over the Germans. Therefore, he finds himself admitting *"in the last analysis it is the mood of the German people that is likely to decide which turn Germany will take at the historic crossroad where it stands now."*

In the *Wall Street Journal* on April 18, Mr. Chamberlain returned to a discussion of the Soviet notes. But once again he had to admit that *"Germany can be a valuable, perhaps an indispensable ally, but only if the majority of the Germans are genuinely convinced that this is in their own national interest."*

The prominent British publicist, Norman Angell, writing in the *New Leader* of April 14, 1952, was also appalled over current developments as regards the German problem. He notes that the present situation *"now makes Germany the arbiter of Europe's destiny; perhaps that of Western civilization as a whole . . . It is a strange outcome of two wars against Germany that they should have become part of the process by which our fate now depends upon the political wisdom of the German people."*

Discussing Germany's military role in Western Europe, the *N. Y. Times,* April 22, 1952, observes: *"So far as Germany is concerned, the success of the whole defense program depends largely on one man—Chancellor Adenauer."*

We have come a long way from 1945 when we have to shape our own policies on the basis of Germany's moods, self-interests, and the popularity of one Bonn politician. The views quoted above do not reflect the strength of the United States, rather do they express a feeling of helplessness—a feeling that we are actually at the mercy of the former enemy we had supposedly crushed in 1945.

Even if we should be willing to admit that the fate of the free world rested on the moods and national interests of Germany, we could hardly afford to be optimistic. For example, the *London Economist* of March 22, 1952, admits that while the West has friends in Western Germany *"they are still, it's true, in a minority."* The *Economist* further observes that the Western policy *"of integration and limited rearmament hangs in the balance because most Germans believe—rightly or wrongly—that partnership in Western Europe does not offer them the real substance of sovereignty."*

Thus, we can see from these restrained admissions with regard to Germany's moods and what we know she considers to be her national interests, that we have little to look forward to in that direction.

It is no exaggeration to state that since 1945, we have been shaping our policy toward Germany precisely according to the moods and national interests of the Germans. These moods have nothing in common with the democratic aspirations of the free world. They are moods which breed aggressive nationalism and contempt for the allied program of punishing Germany's war criminals. As for Germany's national interests, they have always been best expressed in the slogan "Deutschland ueber alles." If we can find no better solution than to mercifully hope for a favorable change in Germany's moods then we have reached a point of bankruptcy in our handling of the German problem and in thwarting Moscow's ambitions.

Viewpoints

JAMES P. O'DONNELL
(The Saturday Evening Post)

. . . "Are we winning our gamble in Bonn? I put this frank question to American diplomats . . . and got frank answers. Most, some with their fingers crossed, think that we are. They realize that there are quite a few explosive mines floating about in these troubled waters. They had hoped to be able to mount their policy on a broad coalition between Adenauer and Schumacher, but found that impossible. They realize that the Soviets can float a serious unity proposal at any time. But they think it will be booby-trapped, and that they can convince the Germans it is booby-trapped. . . . This is American optimism at its best. . . . We say that we are out to build up the military strength of Western Germany in order, at some later date, to negotiate with the Soviets about Europe. There is a paradox hidden here somewhere. For if we are going to negotiate about Europe, a German settlement would have to be part of it. This might be easier to get, now in 1952, than after we have raised the Frankenstein monster of a new German army.

"For even if the Western powers and the Soviets no longer have any mutual aims in Germany, they certainly have mutual fears. Germany has been the sad occasion of two World Wars, and even the Germans have no belly for a third. Yet there are forces lurking around in the Teutonic political underworld yearning to use the East-West clash as a springboard for one more attempt to cut the throat of the world. Now—while most Germans are more interested in unity than conquest—might be the best time to get a German settlement that even the Germans would be glad to sign."

★

WALTER WINCHELL
(The Washington Post)

"Commissioner McCloy casually dismissed West Germany's adoption of 'Deutschland Uber Alles' as its national anthem by arguing 'the important thing is not what people sing but how they act.' McCloy is wrong on two counts. The songs a nation sings are an indication of its national character—and the singing itself is a significant act. . . . The history of the past half-century certifies that 'Deutschland Uber Alles' has not only been the German national anthem, but a reflection of its national policies. Its lyrics represent the world-conquering ambitions of the Kaiser's legions as well as the super-race theories of the Nazi hordes. The grim echoes of the ominous anthem have been the thunder of two World Wars. . . . Nations live by symbols as well as laws. Frequently the symbols offer a clearer insight into a country's fundamental tenets than the speeches of its leaders. 'The Star-Spangled Banner' symbolizes the ideal of liberty and 'Deutschland Uber Alles' obviously signifies the ancient German dream of world domination.

"The march of free men has never included those who goosestep to the sound of 'Deutschland Uber Alles.' "

WALTER LIPPMANN
(The Washington Post)

"Once they have gotten from the West all that the West has to give them in the way of sovereign rights and help in the restoration of their power, their great unsettled problem will be in the East. It is to the East that they must turn to end the partition, to readjust their eastern frontiers, and to open up the markets and resources of Eurasia to German industry. The Russians alone can satisfy these needs and ambitions without a ruinous war. On the other hand, the Germans, once they are again the first power on the continent, will have much to offer the Russians in return.

"It is only reasonable to suppose that both the Germans and the Russians will, when that time comes for a show-down, prefer a mutually profitable and cold-blooded deal to a suicidal war."

★

JAMES P. WARBURG
(Noted Political Analyst, in a Letter to The New York Times)

Contends:

"That Western Europe cannot be made defensible with German help;

"That rearming West Germany is more likely to provoke than to deter attack; and

"That if our present plans do not invite a Russian 'spoiling attack' they will confide the future of Europe into the hands of a dominant Germany—a Germany which will either drag the West into war in order to regain its lost provinces, or regain those provinces by selling out the West in a new Rapallo.

". . . In other words, the present NATO plan is inadequate; the danger of rearming Germany is real. The answer is more British and American troops permanently stationed in Europe, not only to defend its frontiers against Russia but to keep Germany from achieving dominance in Europe and to prevent Germany from either dragging us all into war or sell us all down the river. . . .

"The answer is, as I have said, to try to negotiate the future of Germany with Russia, before a rearmed Germany takes its future—and ours—into its own hands."

★

DREW MIDDLETON
(Chief, Berlin Bureau, New York Times)

"To the German people Chancellor Adenauer's announcement will represent a moral victory for those pressure groups in this country who for the past four years have maintained a sustained campaign for reduction of sentences of war criminals, a campaign which has expanded into a criticism of the whole theory of punishment for war crimes and for crimes against humanity such as those committed in concentration camps far from the battle lines.

"This campaign was assisted by the failure of the war crimes trials to make any deep psychological impression on the German people. If such trials were intended to impress the Germans with the penalties for inhumanity, they failed signally. This does not mean that the German people universally pardon the war criminals or the Nazi regime. It does mean that the Germans as a whole did not accept in 1945, when they thought of it, the legal concept behind the trials and that in the intervening years they have come to doubt the efficacy of such trials, the justice of the legal process and the efficiency with which these trials were organized and carried out by the occupation powers in Germany.

"In the light of the present mood of the German people it would be a mistake to expect any gratitude for the decision reached in London by Foreign Ministers Acheson, Eden and Schuman which will allow the establishment of new clemency boards. The Germans feel that at last something has been done to restore a situation which they regard as unfair and dictatorial."

DR. MAX WINKLER

(Bernard, Winkler & Co., Members N. Y. Stock Exchange)

"American investors made their first official acquaintance with German securities around the turn of the century: In 1903, the City of Frankfort-on-Main obtained a loan in the New York market at 3½%, payable in marks or in dollars at the prevailing rate of exchange on Berlin. . . . The investment was practically wiped out. Thus ended Round One.

"Between November, 1918 and 1923, during the steady decline of the mark, Americans were heavy buyers of German currency and bonds of the German government, German states, cities and corporations, payable in marks. It has been estimated that $2½ billion were so invested (sic). These investments vanished with the virtual disappearance of the mark. Thus ended Round Two.

"While the mark was deteriorating the vanishing point, German bonds were declining in price correspondingly. Americans were disposing of their holdings to salvage whatever little was left, and Germans were re-purchasing them on a large scale. After they had re-acquired the bulk of American holdings for an insignificant fraction of what they had originally received, Germany passed the so-called Revaluation Law, which revalued mark holdings from 1½ to 6½ per cent of their 'gold' value. In this way, the American investor (sic) in German marks and mark obligations was caught 'coming and going,' and Round Three came to an inglorious end. . . .

"In the middle Twenties, loud cries went up for the urgent rehabilitation of Germany, the 'heart of the Continent' without which the Old World could not function. Americans were urged to invest in Germany, as a patriotic duty. . . .

"The 'assurance' that loans to Germany would serve three concrete purposes, viz., profit, humanitarianism and peace, appealed to the American investor and within five years, he contributed towards these ends, directly and indirectly, another $2½ billion. . . . It is generally admitted that without these billions, Germany's ability to wage war would have been greatly impaired.

"When Hitler came to power, virtually all dollar loans were repudiated. Payments were resumed in part, but ceased completely, when war broke out. Thus ended Round Four.

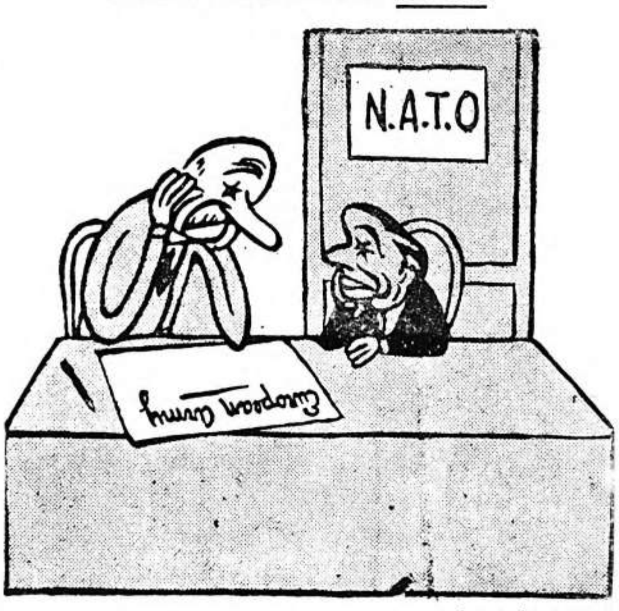
"Will American investors be prevailed upon to succumb for a fifth time? Pouring billions into Germany may lead to the same tragic results as before. A third World War will hurt Germany less than the so-called victors of World Wars I and II. American dollars supplied will never be returned. American lives lost could never be restored." . . .

THE LONDON ECONOMIST

"The policy of the western world towards Germany, as it stands today, amounts to a colossal gamble on Dr. Adenauer. It is doubtful whether the British public realizes the risks that are being run. The western powers have had more luck than they had any right to expect in finding, as the first Chancellor of the revived Germany, a statesman whose ideas run so largely parallel with their own and who has proved himself to be skillful in managing his own people. The present policy assumes that this good fortune will continue. . . . But opposition to him is strong and growing; and he is 76 years of age.

"The aspect that the Federal Republic of Western Germany now presents to the world might easily change within the next few years. Indeed, there are two separate threats. One is that Dr. Adenauer and what he stands for might be swept away, as Stresemann's republic was, by nationalist fervor and trade recession. It was less than seven years from Locarno to Hitler. The risk that Dr. Adenauer runs in this direction is that his policy of integration with the west cannot, from its nature, offer much to satisfy the nationalist longings of the German people. The other threat arises from the fact that the Russians and their East German puppets are now offering the German people their national unity—on terms the danger of which is not obvious on the surface."

"IS IT DEUTSCHLAND UBER ALLES OR IS IT DEUTSCHLAND UBER ALLIES?"



(Carrefour, Paris)

HECTOR McNEIL

(Member of Parliament addressing a memorial meeting in London on the 9th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising)

. . . "But there is no capacity to understand this mass social insanity that claimed and possessed large sections of the German people so that they became devoid of judgment, robbed of compassion, capable of bestialities not to be found even in the jungle.

"If this is for us impossible, there is other thinking both relevant and possible. . . . I find myself greatly distressed to observe that in many areas of life in the Western German Republic, Nazis are again being permitted to assume positions of responsibility. We know that you cannot put a race in prison. Yet I say, quite apart from party considerations, that the Government of Great Britain, and I submit deferentially, the Governments of France and the United States, must affirm that not only will they not deal with Nazis, but that their attitude towards the Government of Western Germany must be heavily conditioned by whether or not that Government or its officials maintain a firm and just opposition to the Nazis, their propaganda and all their works.

"If we are in earnest, we must continue to exert the greatest caution towards Germany and her rearmament. It is unfortunately true that neither the policies nor the activities of Soviet Russia will permit us to conclude otherwise than that there cannot be stable conditions achieved in Europe at the present time. We cannot therefore as a people and a country escape from the regrettable necessity to forge at this moment adequate defenses. But these defenses, in my opinion, will continue to rest primarily upon the coincidence of British and American foreign policies. Anyone who argues otherwise is not only an opponent of peace in Europe but is trifling with the peace of our own country. Equally, we cannot take any risks with Germany. Germany is at this moment being permitted to maneuver the democratic powers, so that she might find herself in a position to demand the terms upon which she will consent to rearm. No one doubts that there is not a political party in Germany just now which does not harbor in its heart the hope that in the forefront of these terms will be the demand to revise the German frontiers of 1945. That is not the road to peace nor to our safety.

"It would be disastrous to halt our defense preparations. In my view, it would be almost equally disastrous to hurry German rearmament. Germany, in my opinion, must be at the bottom of a European queue for rearmament. Those whom we know to be our friends, as much by their thinking as their past association, are the people whom we first must arm for collective defense before we give help to those who still have to demonstrate that they are worthy of the trust of the democratic powers." . . .

* * *

FROM AN EDITORIAL IN "UNITED NATIONS WORLD"

"There is a German proverb 'the worst a tailor can do is to try to fit a coat to the design of a button.' It seems as if the rearmament of Western Germany, contrary ~~to American be~~lief, is not an incentive for the federation of Europe but one of the strongest obstacles to it. In trying to make use of the 'button,' America may ruin the 'coat.' When in the autumn of 1950 Washington decided on the remilitarization of Western Germany, it took for granted that the Germans would be the first to hail it as an important concession. It was a miscalculation.

"When the other European nations, under the leadership of France, objected to the resurrection of Germany's military machine, Washington took for granted that the European army would allay their fears. Again a miscalculation.

"And today in trying to make the European army, with German participation, the cornerstone and test for European unity, the whole concept of a European federation is being jeopardized. By putting the major hope for the defense of the West on the German soldiers, Washington has subordinated political and social moves to considerations of military expediency—a strategy which, incidentally, in view of Germany's attitude, does not even promise the attainment of purely military objectives.

"A really efficient European army is dependent upon the unity of Europe, and not the other way around."

THE SHAPE OF THINGS

"Somewhere on this earth there is a congenial home for the follower of every political philosophy save the anti-Nazi. He alone has become a kind of international outlaw, a pariah as unwelcome now on the other side of the Elbe as he has long been on this. So much emerges unmistakably from the Soviet proposal that 'all former members of the German army, including officers and generals, and all former Nazis' should have the right to participate in the building of a united 'democratic peace-loving Germany.' The Russians propose further that Germany, having achieved democracy and a state of peace-lovingness with the aid of former S. S. Brigadenfuhrers and general staff officers, be permitted to have its own 'army, navy, and air forces.' The moral obtuseness of these proposals are unfortunately paralleled in the West's answer . . . We share with Russia a fervid desire to rearm the Germans, except naturally we want them to fight on our side. So we offer the Germans, instead of their old gray-green uniforms of unhappy memory, the more colorful garb of the European army—British cloth, perhaps, with a French cut to the jacket and more than a touch of American in the pockets. Both sides offer all-German elections, but only under conditions—again naturally—which would assure predetermined results. The exchange of notes are further moves in the courtship of a Fraulein whose 'yes,' *The Nation* is convinced, will make the successful suitor an even unhappier man than the rejected one."

(The Nation)

Editorials

THE TRICKERY OF THE 'TRUST BUSTERS'

In a dispatch from Bonn, Germany (May 13, 1952), the *New York Times'* correspondent, Jack Raymond, reported that the West German Government had prepared a draft for an anti-trust law. According to Mr. Raymond, this law against restraints of competition "could hardly have been foreseen in a country that created the greatest and most notorious cartels in the world." It would be a great day indeed if and when the Germans decided on their own to take the necessary steps to smash the trusts and cartels.

But a further reading of Mr. Raymond's dispatch, reveals that the proposed German law contains so many loop-holes that one can seriously question the sincerity of the "German Trust Busters."

Among the loop-holes mentioned are the following:

1. "In the event of a crisis in which a temporary decline of sales could be proved not related to fundamental change in demand, a producer could arrange for an exemption (from the law) for a limited period."

2. Permission is granted for the "rationalization of products and agreements to specialize. . . ."

3. Exceptions to be granted for "a possible cartel arrangement only upon application, if necessary, for the promotion of foreign trade."

At this writing, we do not know whether there are any other exceptions, but those cited above expose the trickery perpetrated by the German cartelists, with the apparent acquiescence of the Allied High Commission. The Bonn government is apparently advocating anti-trust legislation in principle, but in practice it is taking another line. This is further made clear by Mr. Raymond's concluding remarks that West Germany continues to object "to the demands made by the Allies for carrying out the program for breaking up the present steel, coal and iron trusts, as well as film and chemical trusts under Allied laws."

Mr. Raymond's observation is confirmed by several facts which have received little publicity. In the first place, the Allies have not succeeded as yet in breaking up the D. K. V., which are the initials for the monopolistic German Coal Selling Agency. This organization has been utilized by the German coal cartelists to strike at the economic welfare of those nations dependent on Ruhr coal. In this connection, the Allied High Commission, on July 17, 1951, announced that no less than 36 German coal combines would be exempted from the decartelization law. The Associated Press, commenting on this action, declared that it resulted in a "victory for the Germans."

The so-called deconcentration and decartelization of the German steel industry is also subject to serious question. (See November-December, 1951, issue of Prevent World War III, "The Triple Threat.")

The chemical industry dominated by I. G. Farben, is another field where the Allies have failed to carry out the effective decartelization and deconcentration measures.

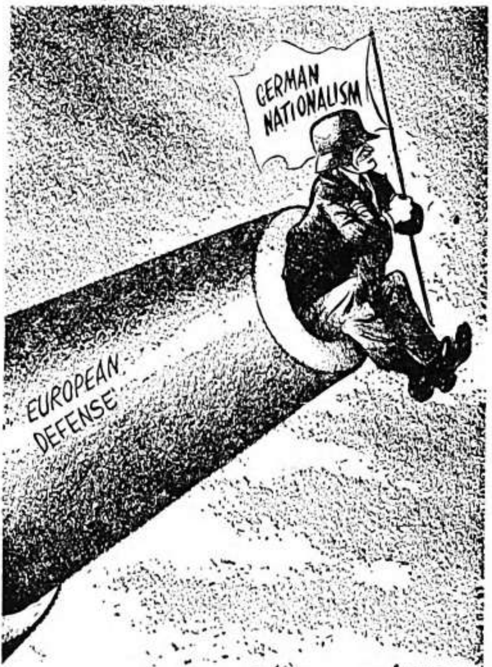
Ever since the beginning of the occupation stories have come out of Germany telling about the wonderful successes achieved by the Allies breaking up the I. G. Farben octopus. However, on December 27, 1951, the *New York Times* carried the following report from one of its correspondents in Germany:

"A responsible source associated with the decartelization of I. G. Farben expressed today the view that the program was slipping through the Allies' fingers while former functionaries of the great cartel were regaining influence in the successor concerns.

"He cited the names of the members of the new Boards of Directors for the three I. G. Farben successor companies, adding that these three major companies easily could re-establish the old cartel relationship once the Allies had disappeared from the scene."

The Allied spokesman, quoted above, could just as well have applied his remarks to current developments in the German banking field. In previous issues of Prevent World War III, we discussed the tactics employed by the German bankers to regain their former positions

THE PLUG



(*Cartoon by Hesse, Courtesy The St. Louis Globe-Democrat*) of power despite Allied laws which were aimed at breaking up the German banking monopoly. Now a report from one of the German banks (Rhein-Main Bank, an offshoot of the Dresdener bank—March, 1952), boasts to its readers how successful the German bankers have been in thwarting these laws.

Significantly the report is entitled "Larger Banks Again." It tells how "handicapped" the German banking monopoly was in the early days of the occupation, but assures its readers that that "dismal" period has gone, never to return. The bank states that "the tremendous amount of suspicion and mistaken attitudes" on the part of the Allies "have been alleviated in the past seven years. . . ." The report goes on to say that "the interest and wishes of the banking industry will be the dominating factor in shaping future developments." In other words, the bankers are confident that they not only have won over the Allies to their way of thinking, but it will be the Germans and not the Allied laws who will determine the kind of banking structure that will exist in Germany in the future.

In the past the German economy was in the grips of three mammouth banks, i. e., the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdener Bank and the Commerz Bank. It was their financial power that provided the sinews for Hitler's war making machine. They were the arch profiteers in the looting of German occupied Europe. They were supposed to be broken up, but according to this report, the Allied laws, which were promulgated for this purpose, are withering on the vine. Instead, there will be a new "reorganization" based on the proposals submitted by German bankers led by the notorious Hermann Abs, one of Hitler's chief pay masters. The report further declares that "the reorganization of the bank structure will involve no modification in possible relationships with clients here or abroad. The fact that firm names will change again . . . is of no practical importance." *Plus cela change plus c'est la meme chose.*

Of course, much has been said of the Allied determination to deconcentrate and decartelize German industry. According to the new contractual agreement the necessity for this action, "in the case of Germany arises from the fact that the excessive concentration of economic power, which formerly existed, directly contributed to the growth and aggressive power of the Nazi regime." This is true, but we cannot understand why the above statement should talk about "former" concentrations of excessive power. They are still with us despite our avowed intentions to break them up.

TIME OFF FOR GOOD BEHAVIOR

"Someone handed Alfred Krupp von Bohlen a bouquet that day more than a year ago when he stepped out of the Landsberg Prison a free man. Krupp, the reigning monarch of Germany's great industrial house, had served five years and ten months of the twelve-year sentence he was given at Nuremberg for exploiting slave labor and plundering occupied countries. According to the sentence his property rights were also confiscated, but they were restored along with his freedom.

"Krupp, a pale man in his middle forties, had systematically looted the equipment of rival firms in occupied countries. His labor relations were nothing if not straightforward. On one occasion the Krupp firm brought three hundred young Jewesses to Germany from the gas chambers at Auschwitz, not to save their lives but to work them until they dropped dead of exhaustion and malnutrition.

"But in 1949, during the Berlin blockade, it was decided that Krupp's holdings would not be actually confiscated but only be "subject to" confiscation. Now we learn that soon Alfred Krupp will be given back all of his property—the machine shops, the real estate, the locomotive works, and all the rest of it. He won't get the steel mill which went to the Soviet Union, and he won't get the coal mines, but for them he will receive a generous settlement in cash—some tens of millions of dollars, we understand.

"Alfred Krupp, who managed to keep even Adolf Hitler aware of how much he owed to the Krupp empire, will once more find himself in the comfortable position of a multimillionaire in a country that is starved for capital."

(The Reporter)

"In the atmosphere of crisis we have yielded time and again to German nationalism. All our submission has not even produced a dependable military army.

"The Germans have steadily raised the price of co-operation; each time they hear that they are free Europe's indispensable men, their price rises higher. Decent democratic voices are lost amid the noise. As long as Germanys' leaders are convinced that nationalist bluster pays off, they will be unresponsive to any democratic idealism and scornful of true European federation."

(From an editorial in the New York Post)

. . ."Can the Allies really afford to give the Germans a free hand in connection with such serious issues as the reconstruction of the Ruhr cartels? Can they take a chance on the revival of German nationalism? Would German approval of the Schuman plan continue if Dr. Adenauer's right-wing opponents, rather than the Socialists, were to succeed him? And what might a West German regime, completely free of Allied restraints, do to bring about a reunion with East Germany?"

(From an editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

DECEIVING ECONOMICS

The *New York Times* on January 3, 1952, carried a special supplement dealing with international business conditions and the economic prospects for world trade and finance in 1952. Germany was prominently featured not only in detailed articles by leading *Times* correspondents in that country, but also by extravagant advertisements which covered almost four full pages of the supplement. It may be true that German organizations and agents paid for these glamorous and expensive advertisements, but it is also true that the American taxpayers in particular have made it possible for the Germans to advertise their boasts and wares in one of the leading newspapers of the country.

The advertisements contain interesting information or, to be more accurate, misinformation, with respect to Germany's present economic status and her value to the West. To illustrate what we mean, we shall have to quote some of the choice statements contained in these ads and examine them in the light of the truth.

One of the full-page advertisements contains the following gem: *"Western Germany has cast her lot with the Western world and is sincerely attempting through industrial and economic cooperation to express her appreciation to her friends in the West for the valuable assistance offered. . . ."*

Has Western Germany cast her lot with the Western world and is she sincerely attempting to cooperate economically with the West? The *Wall Street Journal* of December 26, 1951, provides part of the answer: *"While Britain and the United States grapple with shortages in defense industries, some West German firms are collaborating to build up the Soviet bloc's war potential with scarce materials. Western officials call this 'Operation Doublecross.' The materials are sold and delivered by West German business men to the Soviets by way of middlemen in neighboring countries. It is a way of making a 'fast mark.'"*

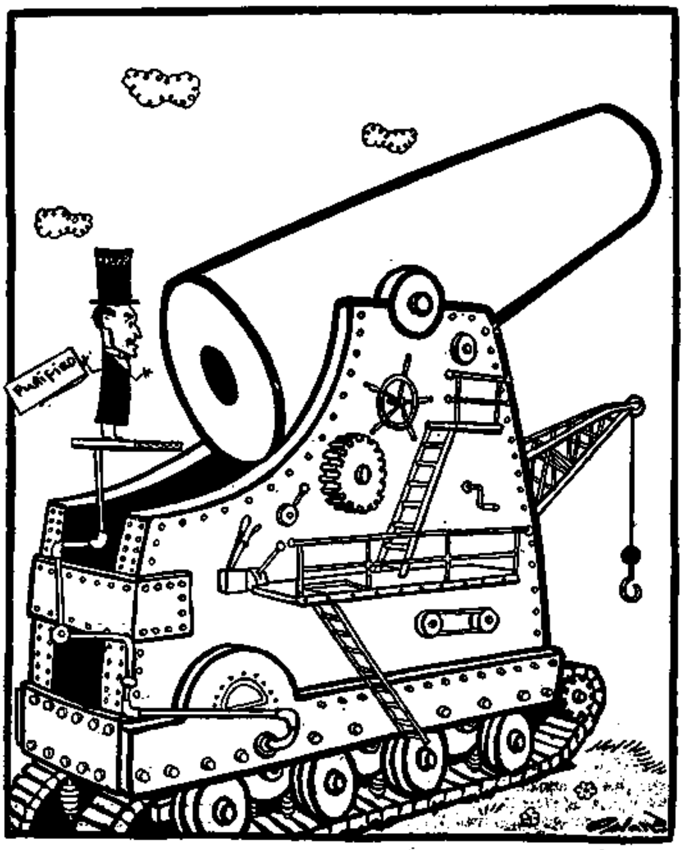
More recently (April 23, 1952), the U. S. High Commission blacklisted 61 Western Germany firms charged with selling strategic materials to the Soviet Bloc. Nevertheless, this action did not deter the Lower House of the Bonn Parliament from passing unanimously a resolution on May 6, 1952, demanding that Western Allied restrictions on trade with the Communist East be abolished.

As is well known, Western Europe depends to a large extent for its economic development and defense on Ruhr coal. Are the Germans, as the advertisement intimates, helping in this direction? The *London Economist* of November 17, 1951, speaking about Germany's efforts to reduce the export of coal to her neighbors, makes the following disclosure: *"Last week a leakage made it evident that the Germans' official statistics of coal production have been 'cooked' to support their claim for lower exports. Over 500,000 tons of coal per month have been sold internally at black market prices over and above official figures of availability. It is a long time since Germany's foreign trade statistics were censored in order to hide Hitler's rearmament drive, but little has changed except that corruption has spread. Germans still appear to think that they need take no trouble to cultivate friends."*

Do the Germans appreciate Allied assistance which, according to one reliable source (*U. S. News and World Report*), runs as high as 9 billion dollars from the United States alone? The Associated Press several months ago quotes Kurt Schumacher, the leader of the German Socialist Party and candidate for the Chancellor's office, as stating that the Western Allies have been following "a ruthless policy of the victor." He painted the Allies as being "haughty, unrealistic, and stubborn." He further charged that Allied policy in Germany is the biggest obstacle to European reconstruction.

> **"Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European Army is to be able to recover our Eastern territories."**
>
> ***(Chancellor Konrad Adenauer)***

MR. KRUPP RIDES AGAIN



(*De Groene Amsterdammer*)

There are other leading politicians in Germany who share Herr Schumacher's viewpoint, including members of Chancellor Adenauer's cabinet. (See editorial, "They Dine and Whine," No. 38 issue of Prevent World War III.) In other words, key German politicians, let alone hundreds of other important figures who do not receive as much publicity but who are well known to the Allied authorities, have shown little appreciation for the unprecedented assistance which Germany has received since the end of the war. No wonder Mr. Benjamin Buttenwieser, former U. S. Assistant High Commissioner, complained that the Germans were playing "hard to get."

In the advertisement mentioned above there is an effort to paint a dark picture of Germany's present plight due to the influx of refugees. But the advertisement goes on to stress that Western Germany is striving to see to it that all refugees will "be housed and fed, and must be given the opportunity to make a decent living."

Authoritative sources show that the German Government has done little in this direction. As early as March, 1950, Guy J. Swope, Chief of the Displaced Population Division in the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner, wrote, *"If the German leadership resolutely took the position that the refugees, who are, it must be remembered, of German blood, and therefore should be easily assimilable on that score, can be converted into a strong asset through establishing conditions under which they can add to the German production, it would be an indication of sound and sensible planning."*

We proved at that time that the Bonn politicians have been reluctant to take positive steps because they regard these refugees as pawns in their long-range policies which have nothing in common with security or peace-time German economy.

Speaking about the unemployment situation in Germany which is supposed to be aggravated by the refugees, the *London Economist* declared that the Bonn Government "does not object to having a pool of unemployment at present. . . ." Why? Because this pool keeps wages low and therefore enables German exporters to undercut competition on the world market. German industrialists are not enthusiastic about creating new jobs because, according to the *London Economist,* home industries "reduce the volume of credit available for financing the present boom in imports and trade in consumer goods."

The economic motive is a partial explanation of the Bonn Government's real attitude toward the refugees. One must bear in mind, as the *London Economist* observes, that *"the worst factors are rather that the refugees became penniless and that many of them are officials of the Nazi state or Party and dispossessed families for whom no jobs can be found. These are the men who represent a dangerous hotbed of nationalist ideas."* In other words, these refugees can serve as an instrument for the furthering of policies which are diametrically opposed to the genuine democratization of Germany and the development of a peaceful Europe.

More recently the *Manchester Guardian* noted that hundreds of thousands of these refugees would make excellent farmers, but they are prevented from pursuing their trade because the bigwigs at Bonn have sabotaged the Allied land reform program. The German politicians prefer to keep the pot boiling. Though they weep for the refugees in public, they have other plans which are for private ears only. These plans are tied up with the super nationalistic campaign for the creation of a new Reich.

In another advertisement dealing with the "excellent" services of German banks, an appeal is made to American business men to deal with these banks. "No one knows Europe like these German banks"—this is the leading statement in the advertisement. We would agree that the German banks know Europe "like no one else." It is a truism because it was the German banks that preyed like vultures on the corpse of German-occupied Europe and milked it dry. There was no profitable enterprise of importance in any of the countries of Europe which the German banks did not infiltrate and/or appropriate. The records of the Deutschebank, the most powerful in Germany, is proof enough that the German banks "know Europe like no one else."

Drew Middleton, one of the *Times* correspondents, quotes a Ruhr company executive, as complaining that "we have no machines and no machine tools." (January 3, 1952.) This is an ironical note because one receives the very opposite impression from the advertisements which boast of the great machine tool capacity in Germany today. Here is but one example: *"The wide variety of products of the German machine and machine tool industry, which are of especial interest to the United States, range from the smallest special machines to the mightiest power machines. There are almost 4,000 machinery manufacturing plants in Western Germany. . . . Today Germany is as well qualified as any country to fill shortages caused by the change-over of United States industry to defense production."*

Does this sound as though Western Germany is suffering from machine tool starvation? The United States statistical report for December, 1951, reveals that Germany "is regaining her pre-war position as a world supplier of machine tools." Indeed, according to this same report, West Germany ranks next to the United States in this industry.

Reporting on the Paris Exhibition of European Industries, the *Wall Street Journal* of December 31, 1951, reports an American industrialist as declaring that the outstanding thing about the show was the "tremendous recovery made by the Germans in the development and production" of machine tools.

In view of the contraditions noted above, would it not be appropriate that the Bonn Government seek the services of an efficient public relations outfit in this country which could "coordinate" the lies with the truth?

Admittedly, the recovery of Western Germany is of tremendous significance, but there is nothing miraculous about it. In the first place, the Allies, and especially the United States, poured billions into Germany. In the second place, Western Germany's industrial might remained largely intact in spite of Allied bombardments. Even the puny reparations program hardly affected Germany's economic position. Yet while the advertisements on the one hand boast about achievements to date, there is still the overall theme that Germany is desperate and must continue to receive additional billions from the taxpayers of this country. This theme of helplessness is to a large extent deflated by an analysis of the German economy today. According to Jack Raymond of the *New York Times*, *"by the end of year (1951) the question arose in many minds whether Germany, in 1952, would again rise to dominate the economy of Europe. . . .*

"Germany has what the other nations of Europe do not have. She has a combination of great coal resources, a great steel plant (despite dismantling), and a disciplined labor force that puts in long hours at comparatively low pay. . . . Some experienced Allied officials even charged that the German cartels that dominated Europe will rise again because the Allied anti-trust program was bungled and many industrialists who proved themselves unreliable democrats in the past are returning to positions of influence."

Mr. Raymond's observations were recently confirmed by William H. Draper, Jr., the U. S. representative to the North Atlantic Council.

During a hearing in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Senator Hickenlooper declared:

"I was told . . . that Europeans were not so fearful of German military resurgence but that basically there was running through the minds of each of those countries, the French, the British, the Italians and so on, the thought that if they took Germany into a comparatively integrated Europe, in 10 years' time, Germany would own all of Europe; that is, the German industry, the German organizing ability . . . would completely dominate the economy of Europe, and the rest of them would be more or less economic satellites of Germany within about 10 years' time. . . . Within 10 years, they will have obtained by peace what they could not obtain by two wars . . ." Mr. Draper replied: *"There may be something in that. I think you exaggerate it, but it is there."* (March 21, 1952.)

This is not a picture of an economy which is desperate or weak. On the contrary, Germany's economic potential is growing in strength and the Allies are providing uninterrupted help on the spurious grounds that Germany's economic strength is the *sine qua non* for the recovery of Western Europe.

We feel, however, that the support which a "rehabilitated" Western Germany will ultimately render the West is the same kind of support that the noose renders its victim.

OUR NEW ALLY

"How do the people of Britain like their new ally?

"We have taken a step which, unless retraced, must lead to the Federal Republic building up the most powerful land forces in Western Europe.

"The Bonn Government, conscious of its key position in the plans for European rearmament, will have nothing less than full sovereignty. The Wehrmacht and the Luftwaffe will be rebuilt.

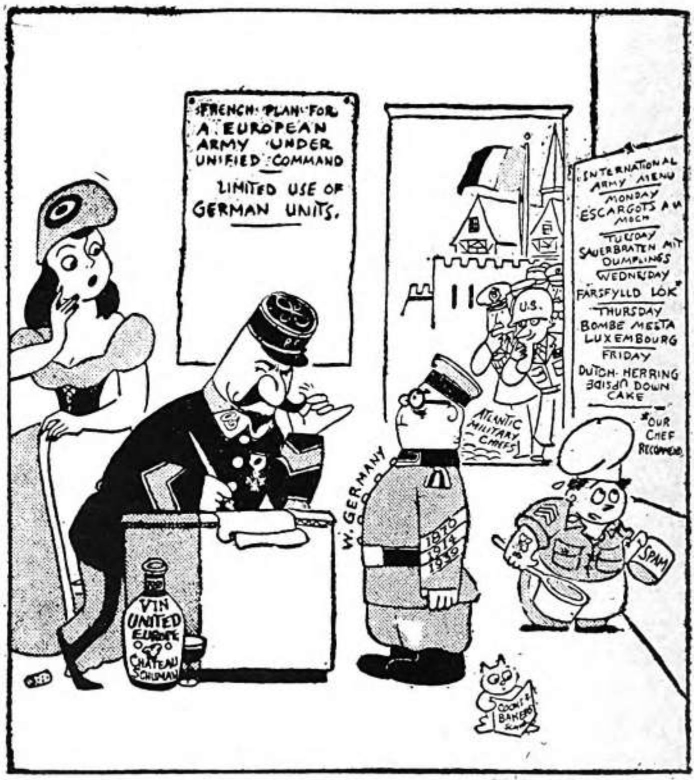
"Who are the men leading our new ally? In the main they are the same people who served the Nazi regime.

"A few weeks ago Congressman Arthur Klein gave to the U. S. House of Representatives a long list of former colleagues of Ribbentrop who hold high office in the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

"Ribbentrop was hanged following the Nuremberg trial, but the vile creed which he expounded is by no means dead.

"The German Social Democratic Party is organizing a mass protest against the statement made in the United States by Walter Hallstein, West German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the aim of his Government was the 'unity of Europe up to the Urals.' "

(The Reynolds News)



"The recruit with a dubious record."
(Cartoon by Yardley, Courtesy The Baltimore Sun)

The German Deal: Should We Outbid the Russians?

In Washington (on March 25, 1952) Gen. Alfred Gruenther, chief of staff to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, declared that the Russians are unlikely to strike in Europe now and "never will" if they are convinced of the unity and resolution of the free nations.

This is an important statement.

It also contains, we believe, the key to the international argument over Germany.

For the great and memorable fact inadvertently underlined by Gruenther is that—without any military support from Germany—the United Nations have been able to avert Soviet aggression in Europe.

They have been able to do so by convincing the Russians that any overt military blow, whether aimed at Yugoslavia or any other European nation, would mean World War III.

It seems increasingly clear that the grand design of Soviet policy in Europe is to achieve piecemeal conquests through infiltration, internal upheaval and every other device that can be camouflaged as an action short of war. The Soviet despots know that once the atom bombs start flying nobody can be sure of survival.

All this, we repeat, has been accomplished *before* the creation of any real German military establishment in the West.

Why, then, is Germany being treated as if it were the indispensable partner in the defense of freedom?

Why have Western statesmen been thrown into panic by Russia's new and flagrant appeal to German nationalism?

Why does our only answer seemingly consist of an effort to outbid the Russians in the quest for Germany's capricious affections?

* * *

The truth is that Russia's new move could be seized upon as a great weapon in undermining the Communist drive in Western and Eastern Europe alike. It has already shaken the Communist parties. Its long-range impact can be spectacular if we have the wisdom to grasp the chance.

In a shift of policy as cynical and far-reaching as the Nazi-Soviet pact and the Rapallo agreement of an earlier era, the Russians have officially abandoned their avowed opposition to remilitarization—and renazification—of Germany. The mask is off; the red shirts have embraced the brown.

After a long and frenzied campaign against the allegedly sinister Western program of German rearmament, the Russians have now offered their own deal to the German nationalists. It is the biggest bid so far made in the German auction. It would give a "unified" Germany full right to establish a "defensive" military machine; the word "defensive" is hardly likely to trouble the consciences of the old Wehrmacht warriors. The Russian program would also forgive and forget the crimes of all Nazi generals and politicians except those who are now serving jail sentences.

Thus, less than seven years after the defeat of Nazism, Miss Germany finds herself the most popular girl in town. The Potsdam agreement is dead in both zones: everybody wants to make Germany happy—except millions of human beings throughout the world who dread the spectre of German militarism.

* * *

All the West's wooing, all the concessions and all the handshakes have seemingly done little to alter the spirit of modern Germany.

Last October Chancellor Adenauer admitted that 134 members of his Foreign Ministry were former members of the Nazi Party and that 130 of the officials in the ministry had served in it under the Hitler regime.

He lamely explained that it was impossible to create a government ministry without "drawing on the experience" of former Nazis and he offered the solemn assurance that none of those employed could be described as "dangerous."

Now the Bavarian radio has charged that actually 85 per cent of the leading officials in the Foreign Ministry are ex-Nazi—a higher percentage of Nazi affiliation than existed in Von Ribbentrop's Foreign Office under Adolf Hitler.

U. S. High Commissioner McCloy has warned in increasingly doleful terms of the rise of German neo-Nazism. Kurt Schumacher, Germany's Socialist leader, shouts nationalist slogans as stridently as the fanatics of the right. Surveys of German opinion show dismal recurrences of the disease of anti-Semitism and little sense of national guilt over the mass murders staged by Hitler's mob.

And yet the competition for Germany's love continues. In the replies to the Soviet note the West's major concern continues to be the feelings of German nationalists, those sensitive fellows who will not play with East or

West unless assured once again that they are the master race. The reply reflects the split personality of the UN on this issue; we reject the notion of German "defensive" forces but we reaffirm our recruiting campaign for German soldiers.

* * *

This newspaper does not minimize the Soviet threat to the free world. But the evidence, we repeat, is that the threat in Europe no longer takes the form of sudden blitzkrieg. It is the threat of internal war, backed, sponsored and financed by Moscow, against the free nations —and especially against France and Italy. It is the strategy of division and demoralization. And nothing has divided and demoralized the West—and particularly France—as much as the prospect of a rearmed Germany.

Is there no other answer except to give arms to the Germans now? Must we run the risk that they will ultimately dominate the European army in which we enlist them—or that, alternatively, the arms we place in their hands will one day be used against us in some future German-Russian alliance?

We think there is a better answer.

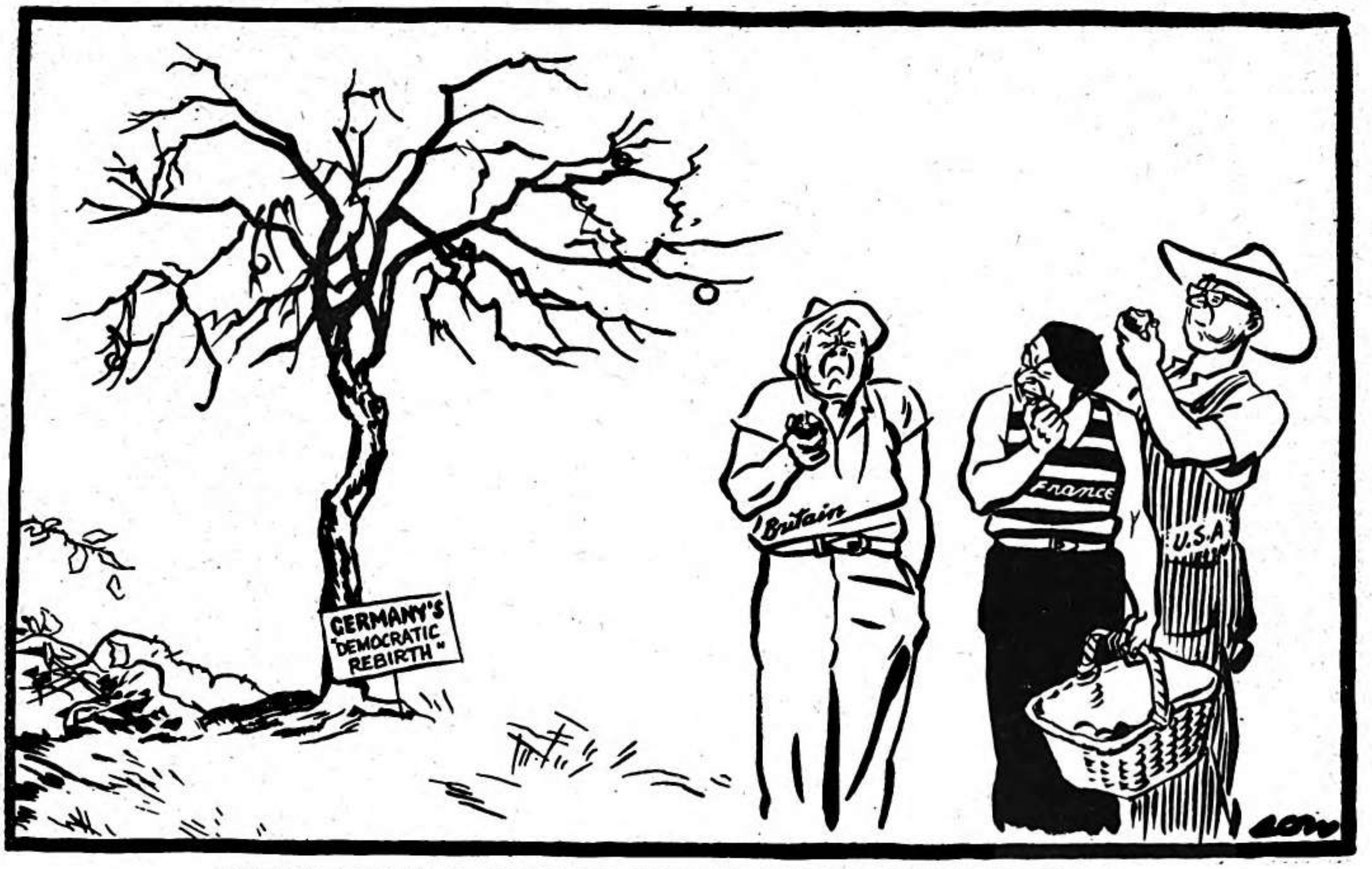
The alternative, we believe, is to propose a unified, demilitarized and denazified Germany, its leadership chosen in free elections and its survival backed by guarantees against aggression from the East. Germans who care about freedom would recognize these as honorable terms. Such a unified, disarmed Germany could not menace the world; in such a climate it is even conceivable that the roots of democracy might finally be planted in German soil. At the same time we would have made it plain to the Russians that any attempted military coup—whether by external aggression or through an internal putsch such as the one that took place in Czechoslovakia—would be regarded as an act of war.

Such a proposal, we believe, would capture world support. Would it offend the German nationalists? That is a calculated risk we can afford to take. It is only when the world ceases to bow the knee to German nationalism that there is any real hope of a better day for Germany and its neighbors.

* * *

It may be said that it is late in the day for a revision in our German policy. But it is never too late to revise a policy that is leading us nowhere.

(An editorial in *The New York Post,* March 26, 1952)



"BITTER FRUIT"—A COMMENT BY LOW ON THE GERMAN PROBLEM

World copyright by the London Daily Herald and David Low

Again "Operation Swindle"

Supposing someone owed you an amount of money but this person averred in all solemnity that while he was most anxious to repay the debt, he could not do so as long as he was obliged to pay to the United States Government his tax arrears. Nevertheless, in order to preserve your friendship in the hope that you would lend him more money in the future, he suggested that you ask the proper United States authorities to cancel the greater portion of his tax liabilities. Let us assume that the government authorities consented to this proposition.

Perhaps we ought to stop right here for we have the feeling that you regard these suppositions as ludicrous and too fantastic to contemplate. We would agree with you that such a situation is highly unlikely to occur, yet—strange as it may seem—it is happening, but the "fixers" are not United States citizens, but Germans, and the amounts involved are not the costs of mink coats or deep freeze units; they run into billions of dollars.

To understand what is currently taking place in connection with this monumental "fix" against the American taxpayers, it would be helpful to retrace the past activities of the "fixers."

The Treaty of Versailles which finalized the hostilities of World War I, made clear provision for the granting of reparations by Germany to the victims of her aggressions. At the London Conference of May, 1921, Germany's reparations obligations were fixed at 132 billion gold marks or approximately 32 billion dollars. Actually when German reparations were cancelled in the summer of 1932, the total amount she had paid, according to the Reparations Commission, was 6 billion dollars, of which $1,200,000,000 represented cash.

In contrast, the cost of the war to the Allies who were invaded by the Germans—and not the other way—amounted to 117 billion dollars, while inter-Allied debts owed to the United States approximated 12 billion dollars. Insofar as Germany's internal indebtedness was concerned, the inflation engineered by unscrupulous politicians and Ruhr industrialists had practically wiped this debt out, as was admitted by Hjalmar Schacht in his book THE END OF REPARATIONS. German propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the resources of the former enemy, and the general economic condition of the country, were not as adversely affected by the war as were the economics of her victors. By 1928, Germany's national income per capita was already greater than that of France. On a per capita basis, the charge for national debts of the major European nations in the West, was as follows: Great Britain, $620; France, $434; Germany, $179 (figures pertaining to the year 1931).

It was the continuously growing strength of the German economy which prompted Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General of Reparation Payments to report on May 21, 1930, that the Germans had the necessary means to meet not only her internal obligations, but also possessed adequate resources for the discharge of her external obligations, including reparation payments.

On the other hand, German propaganda, right after the cessation of hostilities, began to grind out so-called fact sheets which were intended to prove that the German economy was bankrupt and that the financial situation was beyond control. This propaganda served as the groundwork for Germany's subsequent fight to destroy the reparations agreement. In this connection, Lord D'Abernon, the British ambassador to Berlin, after the war, who was noted for his extreme friendliness toward Germany, admitted in his memoirs that *"in the numerous conferences which took place in* 1920, 1921, *and* 1922, *the German negotiators did not give the impression of any exaggerated anxiety to put their own finances in order, nor did they appear to make a serious effort to meet the reparation claims of the Allies as established by the Treaty of Versailles. They left on observers the suspicion that no genuine endeavor would be made by Germany to restore stability to the currency or equilibrium to the budget until the final settlement of the reparation problem had been reached on terms satisfactory to the German financiers."*

And so it came to pass that the Allies, desperately in need of reparations for rehabilitation purposes, submitted to the initial German demands. Under the Dawes Plan, Germany's reparation obligations were considerably reduced, smaller annual payments were stipulated, and it was further decided to assist the Germans in the payment of these reparations by the granting of a loan of 800 million gold marks. This loan was handled by private Allied banks in Europe and in the United States. It should be pointed out that even before the Dawes Plan came into being, the Germans had already succeeded in sabotaging the delivery of Ruhr coal as reparations to her Western neighbors. Moreover, German heavy industry, thanks to the solicitous policies of the Reich Government and the timidity of the Allies, was re-organizing, modernizing and strengthening its grip on the German economy and by the same token, hampering the rehabilitation of the nations she had occupied.

The Dawes Plan had another important implication for it "re-established the confidence of American and British payments in the economic future of Germany and opened the way for the flotation of foreign loans on an extensive scale." (AMERICAN LOANS TO GERMANY. by Robert Kuczynski.)

The manipulators of the German economy during the 1920's, whether it be Hilferding, the Social Democrat, Helfferich, the German Nationalist, Luther, of the German Peoples Party, or Schacht, the so-called Democrat, regarded the Dawes Plan as the opening wedge through which the Germans could turn military defeat into a tremendous victory.

The initial policy of watering down and sabotaging reparations payments. succeeded in creating moods of frustration among the Allies. Because of the urgency of these reparations in terms of rehabilitation, the Western Allies agreed to the Dawes Plan. The loan mentioned above, 50% of which was floated in the United States by American bankers, assumed a special status in relation to reparations. Mr. Parker, the Agent General, stated that the Reparations Commission "created a priority for repayment on this loan over the payments of reparations." He mentioned, however, that this was an exception and "in a class by itself;" that no other loans to Germany would receive this special consideration unless specifically indicated by the Reparations Commission.

The Germans saw in this exception the opportunity to create a clash of interests between the Allied governments and the private commercial investors. They proceeded to advertise for more loans, but in such a way as to deliberately mislead prospective investors to believe that if they too loaned money to the Germans, these loans would also take priority over reparations payments. It appears that the American bankers associated with these subsequent loans did not fuss about the way the Germans advertised them to the public. This prompted Mr. Parker on November 3, 1926, to write to an American bank: *"I am constantly amazed at the recklessness of American bankers in offering to the public the securities of German states on the basis of the purely German view of Article* 248 *of the Treaty of Versailles."*

The Germans, Mr. Parker wrote, were unilaterally interpreting the reparations agreement by attempting to put across the idea that reparations would be subordinate to German payments on private loans. *"It does seem to me difficult,"* Mr. Parker observed, *"to justify the action of the American bankers in offering the securities to the public . . . without giving the slightest hint that the German point of view is not accepted by the Allied governments and that, in fact, the Allied point of view is diametrically opposed."*

Nevertheless, private loans to Germany continued at a tremendous rate, running into billions of dollars. A good portion of these loans helped to build up Germany's war potential. In his latest book book, SEVEN DECISIONS THAT SHAPED HISTORY, Mr. Sumner Welles the American statesman and diplomat, said: *"Over the same French opposition that we see today, Great Britain then not only permitted, but actually connived at German rearmament. We Americans poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Germany in the form of loans. It was these policies which were directly responsible for the Second World War."*

The United States Foreign Economic Administration, in its definitive study of the German economy, after mentioning the fact that in 1926 the Vereinigte Stahlwerke (the German steel trust) received a loan of more than 100 million dollars from American investors, states: *"It is doubtful that the trust could have carried out its program of expansion and modernization without the support of the American investors."*

The Germans accepted these loans for obvious reasons and because they, in the words of the German Chancellor Herr Stresemann, "would give us an army of 300,000 people in America who would make propaganda for Germany because they would be interested in her welfare."

Everything worked out according to plan, for as these loans snowballed, additional pressures were placed on the United States Government to water down still further the reparations payments on the grounds that the Germans did not have enough to pay for reparations and, at the same time, meet the obligations of the newly acquired private loans.

Meanwhile, German heavy industry was growing by leaps and bounds, German trade soared, while at the same time the economies of Germany's Western neighbors faltered. Before long the reparations agreement was derisively termed by the Germans a "political weapon," hampering normal commercial relations between Germany and the outside world. Naturally, these so-called normal commercial relations were to be enhanced by the loans of private foreign investors.

In 1932, reparations were cancelled, but the inter-Allied debt, that is, the debts of our Allies to the United States, were not cancelled. When some of our Allies notified our government that they were not in a position to resume payments (having depended upon German reparations to some extent for such payments), the United States Congress passed the Johnson Act which forbade all future credits to the Allies if war debts had not in the meantime been paid. This was a notable political victory for the Germans because it created bad feelings between the United States and her most reliable friends in Western Europe.

In a report published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, C. R. S. Harris sums up Germany's achievements during this period by disclosing the fact that she had borrowed from abroad three times as much as she paid in reparations. Fifty percent of the private loans and credits came from the United States. The major beneficiaries were the great armament works which provided the sinews of German's great war making power during World War II.

With the advent of Hitler, these private debts were further scaled down by the manipulation of Herr Schacht, and when World War II broke out, interest payment ceased. Thus, Germany evaded her reparations obligations with the help of private investors who believed that their cooperation with Germany would induce her to repay her private debts. But they too were left holding the bag, so to speak.

After World War II, the Allies set up a new program for German reparations. The need for these reparations was great, as Western Europe was in the throes of starvation and economic collapse. France, for example, had suffered greatly under the occupation. According to Foreign Minister Schuman, Germany extracted from France alone during the four years of occupation, a total of 6 billion dollars (U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, September 28, 1951). Nevertheless, the total reparations paid by Germany to date amounts to a pittance. Unquestionably, pressure of special interests who believe that the "sun rises and sets" with the German economy, had much to do with the collapse of reparations. They circulated the old chestnut that Germany was flat on her back and that she could not pay reparations. But none of these propagandists ever mentioned the need to cancel Germany's private debts!

More recently, when talks began with regard to the so-called contractual obligations of Germany, the question of her debts arose. The Germans owed the Allied governments approximately $3,200,000,000 for post-war help. (This is a small sum for Germany to repay inasmuch as the United States alone has poured into Germany, according to the U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 9 billion dollars since V-E Day.) The Germans suggested that they would be willing to meet their pre-war obligations to private investors if the governments of these investors would be obliging enough to scale down the post-war debts which the Germans owed to the people of the United States, Britain and France.

The leader of the German delegation in these negotiations is Mr. Herman Abs. Mr. Abs is a well-known figure in German finance and can be depended upon to uphold German interests come what may. His notoriety as a Hitler supporter and one who participated in the looting of German-occupied Europe, prompted Senator Gillette to write a letter to the State Department last year questioning the reasons for Abs' presence in the United States. Herr Abs played an important role in Germany's conference on the Standstill Agreement concerning the debts which Germany owed after World War I. According to U. S. Government investigators, Abs was sent to London to negotiate with foreign creditors in 1937 and in 1938. Abs argued that the Germans held only 77 million Reich Marks in gold and therefore could not meet the obligations assumed. He admitted to the U. S. investigators that even at that time he doubted the veracity of this figure. And he was right, because it is now known that Germany's actual gold holdings amounted to 500 million Reich Marks in 1937. Abs had done his duty. He had lied on behalf of the Fatherland and the gold which he did not mention was used to prime up the German war machine. The creditors accepted Mr. Abs' word, went back to their respective countries, and shortly thereafter the Germans launched their attack.

It is Mr. Abs who again pleads poverty for the Germans, and like his predecessors, has managed to pit private interests against the national interests of the Allies. He was not unsuccessful for as the NEW YORK TIMES recently noted, the Allies have agreed *"to write off two-thirds of the post-war debt in the hope that this will enable the Bonn Government to pay the even larger debt it inherited from the Reich for pre-war debts."* The TIMES did not go into detail about this pre-war item which was strictly a private affair based on the risks that investors are expected to take. These investments had nothing to do with the general welfare of the people except that millions of dollars of these loans were turned into weapons of war. Consequently, one would expect that these private investors would work out their problems with the German authorities and not at the expense of the National Interest. But as matters stand, we have the incredible spectacle of American negotiators applying the seal of consent of the United States Government to preserve the equity of a private deal consummated between private parties to the detriment of the American people. What this means is that the American taxpayers and Allied taxpayers will not only lose billions that they have lent to the former enemy after World War II, but will also be obliged, in effect, to underwrite the repayment of German loans to private investors.

It may be said that the German economy at present is unable to pay all of its debts, pre-war and post-war. On the basis of our own studies, we are inclined to believe that she can. But even if she is not able to carry out the whole obligation, by what legal or moral right have Allied negotiators consented to scale down the debts owed to the Allied governments, and by that same token, have given advantage and priority to Germany's pre-war debts owed to private persons and institutions? We do not pretend to be legal experts or moralists, but like most Americans, we share the belief that our dealings with Germany should be based on justice and morality and always, in the first place, on behalf of the national interests, which means John Q. Public.

"German political demands have raised more difficulties for the western European defense plans . . .

"These demands should not be a surprise. The United States has been saying that an armed Western Germany is an indispensable ingredient to western Europe's defense. Dr. Adenauer would be a poor guardian of his nation's interests if he did not fully exploit his position, and do it before delivering a German defense contribution rather than afterward when his bargaining power would be diminished.

"Whatever Americans and others may think, the only German criticism of Dr. Adenauer is that his demands are not stiff enough.". . .

(From an editorial in the Wall Street Journal)

. . ."The new Russian line has obviously embarrassed Dr. Adenauer, who was forced to describe it as a 'promising offer.' But the embarrassment of the Communist Party—particularly in France—is no less obvious; overnight they have been forced to give up the root and branch resistance to any form of German army, which was their most popular progaganda line. It must also have come as a grave shock to every Slav Government in Eastern Europe. The Poles, for instance, though they may get a little satisfaction from Stalin's insistence that the Oder-Neisse line shall be the frontier of the new State, will hardly be able to suppress the fear that once again the Russians are contemplating a deal with Germany at their expense."

(The New Statesman and Nation)

"Thomas Dehler, West German Justice Minister, said . . . that it was a 'historic lie' that German industrialists were responsible for World War II. He told a meeting of his right-wing Free Democratic Party that 'Hitler alone' was to blame."

(From an Associated Press dispatch)

"If there is no will to defend freedom in Germany, no body of German troops will constitute trustworthy support in time of crisis. We are trying to buy German cooperation at a steadily rising price. Will they stay bought on any terms?"

(From an editorial in the New York Post)

Germany and European Integration

by
ISIDORE LIPSCHUTZ

As we see it, U. S. policy in Europe is to prevent that continent from being conquered or dominated by any single power or combination of powers. It is a policy which is the inevitable outgrowth of the bitter experiences of our involvement in two world wars. Yet there is a positive side to this policy which is of equal importance. It is to help establish an economic, political and moral climate in Europe that will foster firm friendships between the U. S. and the European countries in all fields of endeavor. In this way we hope to prevent a new outbreak of war in Europe which would involve the U. S. and spread to all corners of the world.

Bearing this in mind, how does Germany fit into this overall concept? We are not speaking of a hypothetical Germany—the kind of Germany many dream of. Rather we are concerned with the real Germany, its past, present and future.

History Is Our Witness

The real Germany of the past had a notorious warlike record. Every major war since 1870 has revolved more or less around the predatory policies pursued by that country. Its militarism, racism and grasping for power and world domination have saturated the pages of history with the blood of millions. This is not to say that there have not been important groups among the German people who have valiantly struggled against these evil forces. Yet history tells us that when these groups had to meet the test of the militarists and imperialists, they collapsed and disintegrated. Indeed, many of them took the line of least resistance by joining the pack of demogogues thirsting for power at the expense of others. Ideological lines were crossed and criss-crossed and finally obliterated. The Right joined the Left and the Left merged with the Right. Promises and treaties were made only to cover up the diabolical schemes for aggression based on the Bismarckian idea that might is right. What we call the double-cross became standing operating procedure in the lexicon of German diplomacy.

The military might of Germany was buttressed by a powerful economic war potential and by the fact that Germany held a unique geographical position in the heart of Europe. These factors were manipulated by German politicians, generals, industrialists and diplomats to further the interests of the Reich. It follows from this that Germany's external relations were not based on any special love for the western way of life as opposed to the despotisms of the east. The guiding star of Germany's foreign relations was the subjugation of her neighbors and eventually the world. This was the real Germany of the past and in that context Nazism was not an aberration but the most modern and logical expression of the German world outlook expressed very neatly by Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1905: *"We are the salt of the earth. . . . God has created us so that we should civilize the world."*

The real Germany of today has its roots in that past, though it appears to us in a new form and under new conditions. Present-day Germany is split down the middle not only geographically but politically and ideologically. Part of it is under the heavy grip of the Soviets, the other part occupied by the Western Allies. On Germany's eastern borders there has arisen the communist colossus of Soviet Russia whose strength and power rises as a dark cloud over all of Europe. On her Western borders Germany is faced by a group of nations impoverished, ruined and on the brink of bankruptcy, primarily due to German invasions and ruthless occupation.

The western part of Germany has made enormous economic progress over the past few years, though she was allegedly on her back in 1945. Indeed, this progress surpasses the economic development of our chief allies in western Europe: France and Great Britain. The Associated Press, reporting from Bonn on January 7, disclosed that Germany would be able to "jump steel production by 30% to 19 or 20 million tons twelve months after the Schuman plan starts. . . ." This enormous steel capacity has enabled Germany to rise to heights surpassing her western neighbors in the production of machine tools and other vital industrial products. Indeed, Germany's industrial production is far outstripping the level of 1936 when the war economy was in full motion.

The eastern part of Germany is also growing in strength industrially and economically. It is in the process of being turned into a new redoubt for communism. While western Germany is still enthralled by the ideas of Haushofer and Hitler, eastern Germany looks to Lenin and Stalin. Yet in both zones the aspirations of the past are the single and most powerful bond of unity, notwithstanding all of the plans of the victors. This is the real Germany of today.

The Paramount Question

Do the interests of the real Germany coincide with our over-all objectives in Europe? It is one of the great tragedies of the present-day that Western statesmen have either ignored this paramount question or have come up with superficial and short-sighted answers. Indeed, one cannot help but feel that some of these policy-makers have deliberately brushed aside this question because they fear to face the facts.

The key to the interests of the real Germany lies in her determination to regain her former glories as an overpowering sovereign and united state. In geographical terms the real Germany aims to recapture the territories east of the Oder-Neisse and the Saar. This is the minimum objective.

In this connection it would be unwise to ignore Germany's wider ambitions. In the past, for example, the Germans have sought to seize Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, parts of Holland and Denmark and regions in Eastern Europe including the Ukraine. Have they now renounced these goals?

In the economic sphere the real Germany aspires to economic hegemony over Western Europe and to become the decisive economic factor in the vast markets of the East, including communist China.

In her external political relations, the real Germany aims to treat all powers alike, east or west, that is by subordinating all such relationships to the supreme interests of Germany everywhere. The realization of this program makes it imperative that the real Germany possesses a first-class military establishment and prepared to strike wherever the situation calls for such action. This program must be woven into the very fabric of German life by the careful inculcation of a world outlook which essentially derives from the militaristic and chauvinistic traditions that made Germany the terror of Europe and the world for over half a century.

Dangerous Illusions

It is believed by some self-styled experts that by the simple method of incorporating part of the real Germany into a wider community of interests, these dangerous aspirations will wither on the vine and that such a community of interests will direct Germany's energies toward peaceful goals. Essentially this is the meaning of integration which is now espoused by leading western statesmen. By integration they hope to join part of the real Germany economically, politically and militarily with the West. This assumes, of course, that while part of the real Germany is enthralled by the Soviets the other part of the real Germany would be content to work as an equal partner with her former western enemies in a constructive role for Europe as a whole. It further assumes that the western part of the real Germany would be wholeheartedly content to follow a common strategy in the military and political spheres and that she would agree to pursue an economic course that would be held accountable at all times and approved of by her western neighbors.

Facts to Consider

In recent times we have read statements by some of our policy makers which amount to nothing less than a plea to the real Germany of the west to accept integration. It may be properly asked why such pleas are necessary if the assumption is that this part of Germany does see eye to eye with the west. We cannot help but conclude that beneath all of the optimism on the efficacy of integrating the real Germany of the West there is uneasiness and a vague feeling that we are playing with fire.

Mr. Benjamin Buttenwieser, who was the former Assistant U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, has very adequately expressed these alternate moods of uneasiness and optimism. In an address before the Chamber of Commerce of New York, Mr. Buttenwieser expressed satisfaction with the general progress made in Germany. "The Germany of today," he said, "which I fervently hope and believe is well on her way to becoming a reformed Germany, is opting to cast her lot with her former enemies, in this new spirit of trying, on the one hand, to expiate and, on the other, to overcome the past and look to the future." But in the same talk Mr. Buttenwieser warned the West Germans that they must resist the "blandishments from the East which seek to lead the Federal Republic away from integration with the West. . . ." We have no way of telling whether Mr. Buttenwieser believes that this attraction can be simply summed up in the word "blandishments." History tells us that it is more than blandishments that must necessarily attract the real Germany of the West to the East. This attraction is based on powerful forces which have determined the course of German history for decades. Present conditions, including the domination of the eastern part of the real Germany by Russia and the enormous strides in Germany's economic power which finds limited markets in the West, are powerful forces which all Germans cannot help but take into account in dealings with their neighbors.

There is a long and intimate history of pro-Soviet relations which either Mr. Buttenwieser ignores or is unaware of. It has been brilliantly revealed by Professor Edward Hallett Carr in his book on German-Soviet relations 1919-1939 (please see extended review of this book on page 35). The "blandishments" to which Mr. Buttenwieser refers are in reality the very factors governing Germany's long-standing relations with the East which during the 1920's created a powerful bond of friendship between Soviet Russia and the German state. This bond of friendship helped to rebuild Germany's power and eventually to challenge the democracies of the West.

Mr. Buttenwieser's trepidations, however, are not only confined to German-Soviet relations. He admits that, while there have been great economic strides in western Germany, many things remained to be done. The tax system is out of date and favors the few. The Civil Service system which survived the Weimar Republic and the Hitler régime is basically intact with all its undemocratic and reactionary features. The educational system is still grounded on archaic principles and does not provide equal opportunity for all German youth. Finally Mr. Buttenwieser notes that the Germans are playing "hard to get" and that the spirit of Hitlerism and racism is rearing its head again and indeed has strong voices within the very cabinet over which Chancellor Adenauer, the "good democrat" presides. In other words, by Mr. Buttenwieser's own admissions, the real Germany of the West has yet to prove its devotion to democracy. Nazism has not died in Western Germany, nor has the predatory power of the Ruhr industrialists. Militarism has reappeared and a plethora of so-called German veteran organizations are raising the black banners of "Deutschland Ueber Alles" again. It is this part of the real Germany which western statesmen hope will cooperate in an integration program with the West.

Yet this policy persists. Those who tried to develop it still further believe that in the long run it would control Germany's dangerous predilections and utilize her potential on behalf of the Western Allies. They say that once this part of the real Germany is integrated with the West, the total power created would serve as an overpowering magnet that would attract the eastern part of Germany. The so-called vacuum in Central Europe would then disappear and Germany working within the western community, would become the great bulwark of freedom.

The Two Germanys

Let us examine for a moment this notion. It wrongly assumes that present relations between East and West Germany are essentially those of separate states, separate cultures, separate and opposing economic interests and a separate historical background. But this is a childish view as any German will admit in private. Essentially the organic unity of the real Germany has never been destroyed. It is functioning in a new form for the moment and under different conditions, but nonetheless functioning—one part facing the East, the other part facing the West and all for the greater glory of the Fourth Reich.

This is what Chancellor Adenauer meant when he said that a united Germany would have to reconsider whatever formal ties were established between Western Germany and Western Europe. The New York Times, on May 14, 1952, reported that this view was reaffirmed by the Germans, who, according to the Times, insisted that *"the freedom of a future Government of a united Germany to negotiate must not be too closely restricted by linking such a Government with the present Treaty System integrating Western Germany in West Europe, as the allies wish to do."* Therefore the scheme of integration would not *ipso facto* bring in to the western camp the eastern part of Germany. More likely to be expected is that the other states of the western community would become satellites of a reunited Germany. Thus, it is inconceivable that Western Germany would accept the scheme of integration unless it provided the opportunity for the total real Germany to emerge as the dominant power on the continent. Moreover, and this is the central point, the real Germany, if it is to emerge, must continue to cultivate both sides and this operates through a split among the victorious allied powers. To be sure, the real Germany in the West will grab all it can while it gives lip service to integration and promises to forego the age-old dreams of power. Consequently it is not surprising that there are politicians in Western Germany who toy with the idea of integration. But how can they justify such integration in the face of the basic aspirations of all Germans? They can only justify their present diplomacy in the West by convincing all Germans that in the long run integration with the West would realize these very aspirations.

What of the Future?

As mentioned above, these aspirations include the return of Germany's Eastern territories and her resurgence as the economic master of Western Europe. It would necessarily include a powerful military force operating on an independent policy toward all nations.

As Mr. James P. Warburg, the noted writer on world affairs, has pointed out: *"The conditions on which Western Germany would be willing to rearm and, if necessary, fight were precisely those conditions which would destroy French, Dutch and Belgian morale."* Applying Mr. Warburg's thesis to integration, we would say the conditions which Western Germany would insist upon as the price for "cooperation" are the very conditions which would destroy the effectiveness of a western community of nations.

There is no doubt that this view is held by many of the leading statesmen of Western Europe and shared by the common people. It is for this reason that the United States has found it so difficult to convince our Western Allies of the correctness of the integration policy, and it goes without saying that we have found it difficult to convince West German politicians who want to make doubly sure that sufficient ground will be left open for maneuvering between the colossus of the East and the Western democracies. Integration as it applies to our Western Allies is feasible, necessary and constructive. It helps to further our overruling objectives in Europe and the reason for this is simply that their interests and the conditions which give rise to these interests coincide with those of the United States.

On the other hand, the interests of the real Germany and the conditions which give rise to them are diametrically opposed to our overall objective in Europe. Therefore, to bind part of the real Germany in a plan of Western European integration would mean that that very concept of European unity would collapse and in its wake would arise a Germany uncontrolled and unpredictable.

In the end the United States would be confronted with the very situation it hopes to avert, namely, a Europe dominated by Germany or subjugated by the combined forces of that country and Russia.

Militarism At Work

by

ERNEST LEISER

Western Allied authorities in Germany are both dismayed and embarrassed at the failure thus far to turn up "good" generals to command the proposed German contingents in Western Europe's defense forces.

Not long ago a senior United States official noted that there were some 3,000 German generals who had been "at liberty" since the Nazi capitulation in 1945, and who were extremely interested in working at their trade once more. "Of course," he noted, "we can certainly find 30 or 40 who are all right politically and who aren't Prussian-type militarists." Today that same official is no longer by any means sure he was right.

The emergence of former professional soldiers on or at the edges of the political scene has been the most spectacular development in German politics during the past two months. Generals and colonels who, during the period when the Allies were "demilitarizing" Germany, remained discreetly in the background are now speaking their pieces again—loudly and in the familiar voices of command.

And what almost all of them have been saying has caused great disquiet even to those American officials who are convinced West Germany must be armed to make viable the common defense of the Western world.

Until recently, for example, Hans Friessner, a former colonel-general who served the Nazi Wehrmacht on the eastern front, was regarded as one of the "good" generals. However, that illusion was rudely shattered when, before a meeting of foreign correspondents in Bonn, Friessner offered the following explanation of Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939:

"The red flood had to be stopped and the German border population protected from the squabbling and the chicanery of the Poles."

To those who remembered that the "red flood" had been "stopped" by a cynical agreement which permitted both the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany to engulf Poland, this twisted justification would alone be enough to sour Western public opinion on Friessner. Yet the former colonel-general (described in a leading West German newspaper, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* as a "man of the highest character") went even further. In no uncertain terms, he denounced Allies' "vile" treatment of the German soldiers and demanded flatly that all war criminals be immediately released.

Allied officials, shocked by this blatant show of unrepentant militarism from one of the most important former German officers—Herr Friessner now heads the League of German Soldiers, a veterans' federation presently shooting for an enrollment of 4,000,000 members—have been taking a closer look at the pronouncements of other leading German professional soldiers. And they haven't liked what they have seen.

A whole battalion of colonels and generals—Bernard Ramcke, Hasso von Manteuffel, the well-known Heinz Guderian, as well as former Admiral Gottfried Hansen, just to name a few of the most prominent—have joined in stating the "conditions" for German rearmament in a way which makes clear the only thing they regret about the Nazi past is that they lost. All have whitewashed war criminals, denounced the "inhuman" treatment of Germany by the Allies and done everything but ask the Allies to apologize for fighting Hitler.

Even an officer to whom the Allies had pointed as a shining example of "democratically minded" former generals—Ludwig Cruewell, next to Rommel the best-known of the German armored force commanders—in speaking to an Afrika Korps rally recently joined in the cry for the liberation of war criminals.

To date there have not been more than a handful of prominent generals who have indicated a spirit of atonement for Germany's military past and a real desire to cooperate in a Western European "defense of equals" in the future. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's military adviser, former General Hans Speidel, is generally considered one of these and "acceptable" to the West. Speidel has, in fact, been representing Germany at the current discussions in Paris on a European Army.

However, some U. S. officials (and a good many French and British) even take a dim view of Speidel. He has kept a circumspect and admirable silence recently, they concede, not joining the general hue and cry of his brother officers. But they recall that before his appointment he wrote, for publication in a leading German magazine, an article describing his contacts with Hitler, portraying the Nazi dictator in a sympathetic light. They recall, too, that his own brother was one of those imprisoned as a war criminal in Landsberg (released this spring, incidentally) and that it is not too difficult therefore to guess his own attitude on war crimes.

All in all, Western political authorities (as distinguished from the military) are anything but happy at the choice of future German commanders they face. They are now not speaking in terms of "good" generals so much as of "less bad" ones.

* * *

Among the 150 former officers of Hitler's Wehrmacht now serving in the Egyptian Army as key advisers are two of the most notorious mass murderers in the Nazi SS.

This information was painstakingly collected from archives in Nuremberg, site of the war crimes trials against top Nazis, by a courageous young German reporter, Michael Mansfeld. His findings have just been published by his newspaper, the *Frankfurter Rundschau,"* one of the biggest in Western Germany.

This is Mansfeld's second similar "scoop." A searching series of articles he wrote earlier on the infiltration of former Nazis back into leading positions in the West German Foreign Office caused sufficient stir to launch a Parliamentary investigation of the ministry's personnel policies. That investigation is still underway.

(Mansfeld's charge, recently renewed by the Bavarian Radio, was that 85 per cent of the staff of the Foreign Office are former Nazis. This is a higher proportion than ever staffed the Wilhelmstrasse under Hitler's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.)

The two SS. men whose posts in the Egyptian forces were revealed by Mansfeld are Adolf Eichmann and Oskar Dirlewanger. Eichmann was an SS. Obergruppenfuehrer, a rank approximating major general, and Dirlewanger was an Obersturmbannfuehrer, or captain.

Mansfeld reports that Eichmann was the commander of the Nazi "extermination squads" and also of Auschwitz, the worst of the concentration camps. The "technical appliances" for execution at that camp had been approved by him, and he "introduced" mobile gas chambers. Early in 1945, Mansfeld writes, Eichmann was heard to say, "If the war is lost, I shall commit suicide—but I'll die laughing, because I have put to death 5,000,000 Jews." Documentary evidence at Nuremberg shows Eichmann deposited the gold from his victims' teeth at the Reichsbank, Mansfeld reports.

Dirlewanger, from Mansfeld's investigation, turns out to be an even more unsavory character—difficult as that may seem. Convicted of molesting minors in the 1930s, he was released from jail in order to be sent to serve with the Nazi Condor Legion in Spain. Thus "rehabilitated," he was placed in charge of a special Wehrmacht unit composed of similarly released convicts during the war. His reputation as a terrorist was so bad that even one of his SS. commanders telephoned Berlin from Poland and demanded Dirlewanger be recalled. According to the report of Konrad Morgen, himself an SS. judge:

"Dirlewanger was a nuisance and a terror to the entire population. He repeatedly pillaged the ghetto in Lublin, extorting ransoms. . . . He had young Jewesses arrested, invited his friends to watch and had the women undressed and whipped. Finally, they received an injection of strychnine and their death struggle was watched."

In 1943, Mansfeld reports, Dirlewanger received the Golden German Cross for "courage and excellent troop leadership."

In concluding his report, Mansfeld editorializes, "Before the Bundestag (the chief house of the West German Parliament) deals with a general amnesty of war criminals, they should seek the extradition of Eichmann and Dirlewanger so that they may face trial by a German court." Such an effort should be made before West Germany names its diplomatic representative to Egypt, too, he adds. This demand is echoed by the editors of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* in a preface to Mansfeld's dispatch.

United States officials, whose task it is to survey the West German press, commented to the writer that, except for the *Frankfurter Rundschau,* the newspapers have paid relatively little attention to the disclosure that some 150 former Wehrmacht officers, many of them of high rank, were serving the Egyptian Army as advisers. However, noted these officials, the press has consistently inveighed against France for its recruitment of German officers and soldiers for service in the French Foreign Legion.

Michael Mansfeld is regarded by United States press analysts of the High Commission as a phenomenon as encouraging as the scandals he turns up are discouraging. Only 28, he was himself an officer in the Wehrmacht and is the holder of a number of decorations for outstanding bravery. These Americans note that it takes an even greater bravery to dig up and report revelations of the kind Mansfeld has done. He is perhaps the most unpopular German newspaperman as far as the Bonn Government is concerned, embarrassed as Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has been by his charges of Nazis in the Foreign Office. He has received a number of threats, some from official sources and some anonymous, since that Foreign Office story broke.

(Courtesy, Overseas News Agency)

. . ."The United States faces large new defense costs—probably several billion dollars—to create German divisions to serve under Gen. Eisenhower.

"Official estimates of the cost of mobilizing, training and equipping 12 German divisions runs as high as $14 billion for the first year. This is the force counted on from West Germany under the European army plan . . .

"Many officials say bluntly that if the United States wants a new German army it must expect to pay most of what it will cost.

"Otherwise, they say, Gen. Eisenhower will have to get along without German soldiers."

(From an Associated Press dispatch)

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

THE PEACE MASK IS OFF

From Russell Hill to the New York Herald Tribune:

"The Soviet Union warned through the mouths of East German Communist leaders that its reply to West German rearmament will be the creation of an East German army.

"Wilhelm Pieck, East German President, said in a speech as he reviewed a May Day parade in Marx-Engels Square in the Soviet sector of Berlin: 'The situation created by the general war agreement (the Communist name for the peace contract under negotiation between West Germany and the Western Allies) and by the imperialist warmongering categorically requires us to organize preparedness and ability to fight for defense of our homeland.'"

WOULD GOEBBELS TALK DIFFERENTLY?

From Larry Rue in the Chicago Daily Tribune:

"The attitude that only the Germans are guilty and the western nations are innocent, which from the beginning has characterized all negotiations between their governments, is among the reasons for German distrust of the West's intentions toward West Germany. However, it is obvious that the occupation nations themselves are guilty of war crimes...

"In Germany today there are hundreds of thousands of young men who still remember when they were sold, or rather lend-leased, into slavery by the American government. This was at a time when General Eisenhower still was supreme commander of the forces in Europe...

"The Nuernberg and other war crimes trials still strike a sour note with Germans."

WE MUST . . . WE WANT . . . .

Colonel-General Hans Friessner, president of the Soldatenbund, speaking at a Press Conference:

"I still believe that the campaign against Poland was necessary because we had to protect German minorities, and there was no peaceful way to do it.

"We must now, once again, awaken the military spirit among former German soldiers...

"We want a German state, including the German territories now separated from the Federal Republic.

"The world has treated the German veterans like dogs. All of those still in prison must be released.

"The men of the Waffen SS proved their worth at the front. They carried out their tasks with idealism, in a spirit of total abnegation; they conducted themselves worthily, and have the right to be honorable members of our association.

"The war criminals were treated unjustly. The Nuremburg Court acted under the influence of hatred..."

OUR NEW ALLIES

From the Washington Post:

"United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy said that Germans can insure their liberty, security and prosperity only by lining up with the West against the threat of Communist aggression.

"McCloy's warning came on the heels of a report that 1000 German war veterans, meeting in a Munich beer cellar, had applauded the statement that Germans consider the Russians 'higher in fighting spirit and courage' than the United States, Britain or France."

HOW THE GERMANS REPORT HISTORY

From the Chicago Daily Tribune:

"Dr. Robert La Follette, senior American cultural affairs official in Germany, said German books tend to give the United States the 'silent treatment' on culture.

"Quoting as examples of 'distortion and misrepresentation,' he said he had read in one German textbook that President Roosevelt launched the second front in Europe because he feared Stalin otherwise would unite with Germany.

"Another distortion in German textbooks, he said, was the suggestion that the United States was the only nation to profit from World War II.

"La Follette said German historians complained American books often failed to recognize that some Germans opposed Hitler...

"Some German historians said they rarely found American books fair and objective in dealings with World War II, tending to put the blame on Germany."

WHO WON THE WAR?

From Dr. Frank Kingdon in the New York Post:

"Seven years after the close of the war Germany and Japan are riding high industrially and invading the markets of the world with cheap goods. Stocks of German companies have jumped in price as much as ten times in the past twelve months.

"England is in the process of adopting a budget which will further cut its standard of living. France is in such bad shape that the franc has sunk in the last few weeks from 350 to the dollar to 480. Italy is struggling with an increasingly insoluble piling up of economic troubles. The U. S. is talking about bolstering Europe's shaky foundations with an appropriation of $7,900,000,000. What our current budget means in terms of our individual lives we all know unmistakably from our income tax payments and the prices we are paying in the grocery stores.

"The winners struggle. The losers go ahead. What is behind it?"

BANKING IN A BIG WAY

From the New York Times:

"A proposal for creation of an Egyptian-German bank has been forwarded to Dr. Albert Buehler, director the Bank Deutscher Laender.

"Dr. Buehler arrived in Cairo in January to study the possibility of developing greater trade and financial relations between Egypt and Germany . . .

"The spokesman said 'the urgent necessity for creation of an Egyptian-German bank has never been felt so much as at this time, when trade between the two countries has developed and promises to develop further . . .

"The current armament programs in America and Western Europe, he added, have made supplies from those countries difficult to obtain.

"However, Egypt 'has found in Germany a source from which equipment and material for Egypt's industrial development can be purchased under favorable conditions regarding price, quality and period of delivery,' he went on."

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SCHACHT'S "POINT FOUR"

From Joseph P. Lash in the New York Post:

"A three-month survey of Indonesia's economy by former Nazi finance minister Dr. Hjalmar Schacht is so full of Nazi over-tones that Indonesian officials are shunning it like a cobra.

"Hired to make technical recommendations on ways to rehabilitate the new republic's economy, Schacht added some comments 'as a German.' . . .

"In his recommendations to the Indonesian government Schacht proposed Nazi labor laws as a model for Indonesian labor legislation.

" 'In order to ensure labor productivity,' he wrote, 'the labor bureaus will have to stress two things: Discipline and authority. Fathers, teachers and priests who do not instill discipline and zeal for work in their children, wards and congregations are worthless.' . . .

" 'You cannot always do that through friendly words,' the former Nazi official observed. 'Punishment is also necessary.'

" 'I urgently recommend,' he concluded, 'the study of the German labor laws of the mid-30s which worked very well in pacification of the class struggle and which stressed the moral value of disciplined work.' . . .

"Another Schacht recommendation borrowed from his experience as a Nazi minister was the forced transfer of populations."

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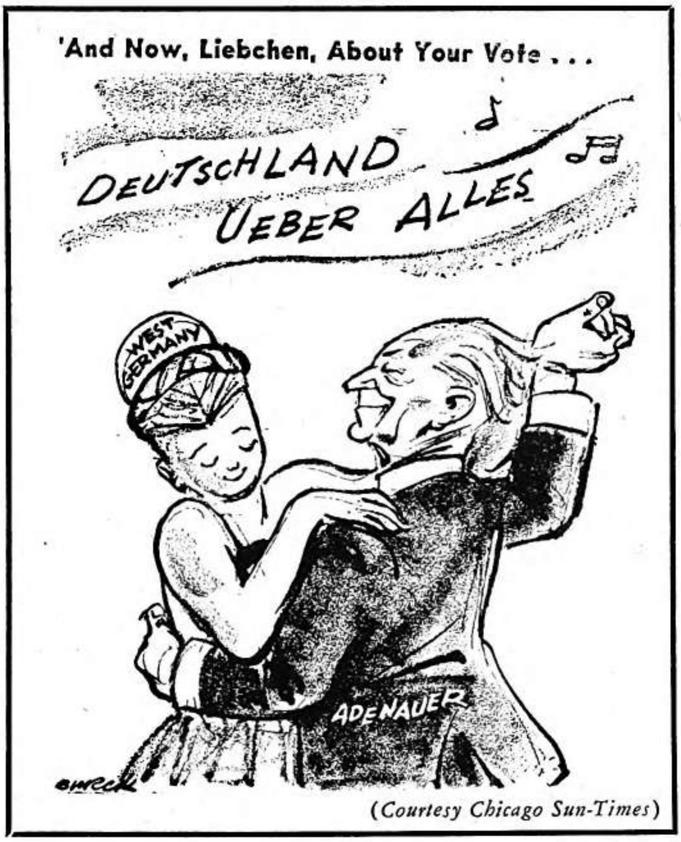
GERMAN-ARAB TIES

From a report by Wilton Wynn in the ONA:

"The quiet resurgence of German influence in the Arab world is providing a new headache for the British in this region . . .

"German military influence ultimately may reach significant proportions. Although Germany is not yet selling munitions to Arab states in big quantities, German military experts are rapidly replacing the British and French in Arab armies . . .

'And Now, Liebchen, About Your Vote . . .



(Courtesy Chicago Sun-Times)

"As antagonism between Arabs and the Anglo-American-French bloc has grown, these countries have welcomed German help in training their armies. An indication of this is seen in Egypt, where more than 400 German military advisers are serving with the Egyptian army. The number of German advisers in Syria's army is growing, and recently jumped from 50 to more than 70 . . .

"Arab states have been clearing the decks for increased trade with the Germans. Lebanon's parliament recently ratified a new trade agreement with the Bonn Government. A German-Egyptian trade agreement came into force last June . . .

"A group of German firms is planning a permanent exhibition of German products in Cairo.

"German technical advice also is being sought after by Arab states. Lebanon has a German firm exploring for oil in the southern Bekaa valley. Several Arab states are bidding for the services of such men as Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the old Nazi financial wizard who recently completed an economic mission to Indonesia . . .

"Germany offers an excellent compromise. Traditionally hostile to Britain, France, and the United States but sporting no dangerous ideology, Western Germany has the resources and technical know-how to become the friend of the Arab's need. And there are enough disinherited militarists and economists in Germany to seize the chance for a new Arab-German rapprochement."

A GENERAL SPEAKS

From the New York Times:

"One-time Brig. Gen. Bernhard Ramcke, Adolf Hitler's best-known paratroop leader, demanded here that the Western Allies make a 'clean sweep' of the past by freeing German war criminals under a general amnesty before there is 'any talk' of a West German contribution.

"West Germans should demand full amnesty for war criminals, including Rudolf Hess, Walther Funk, Albert Speer and other top Nazi officials, who now are 'buried alive' in West Berlin's Spandau Prison, General Ramcke said at a press conference held in the basement of the West-Berlin City Hall...

"General Ramcke was held for five years in connection with war crimes committed in Brest."

THE NEW AXIS

From Henry Wales in the Chicago Daily Tribune:

"Former Nazi diplomats, directed by Hitler's shrewd ambassador to Turkey, Franz von Papen, are forging a Madrid-Cairo axis to destroy the French and British influence in the near east and to make Germany dominant in the Arab world . . .

"'Six hundred officers already hold top ranking position in the Arab armies,' the paper charged.

"The leaders of Nazi diplomacy who escaped the hangman's noose or who have been freed from prison launched their plan two years ago. Their activities embrace the entire Mediterranean basin, centering on Spain, Turkey, and the Arab league states...

"Their aim is to raise up the Moslem nationalists in order to undermine English and French power in the region and to place Germans or German indoctrinated Arabs in key positions."

HITLER'S FRIEND

From the London Chronicle:

A photograph showing Leni Riefenstahl, one-time friend of Hitler, watching the massacre of Jews by German soldiers in the Polish village of Konsky in September 1939, was published this week in the German "Illustrated Weekly," several days after a German court acquitted her of charges of being a Nazi. The photography was taken 12 years ago by a German Army corporal who says that Fraulein Riefenstahl had watched the Germans mow down 30 Jewish men, women and children with machine guns after the victims had spent four hours scratching out graves with their bare hands.

MORE OF THE SAME

From an Associated Press dispatch:

"The release of seventeen German war criminals from Allied prisons was announced today. Included were Kurt Gallenkamp, a former German general once sentenced to be hanged for complicity in the killing of a group of captive British troops, and Helene Kopper and M. Mewes, both concentration camp wardresses."

"WE ARE INNOCENT"

Konrad Adenauer at a recent press conference:

"We Germans are exceptionally deeply interested in the treatment of war criminals, both for psychological reasons and sympathy with those who, though sentenced, have in our opinion not committed any war crimes at all." Dr. Adenauer further stated that with regard to war criminals, Germany had not recognized the judgments on them and need not recognize them. She had not been required to recognize them. The prisoners would come into German custody but he could not at the moment say whether the authority would remain in being until the last war criminal had served the last day of his sentence.

BUSINESS AS USUAL

From the East Zone "German Report."

"The 22 West German businessmen who attended the conference in Moscow were deeply impressed by Soviet offers of a trade exchange with West Germany valued at two thousand million rubles.

"As a direct result of this offer the Foreign Policy Committee of the Bonn Federal Parliament demanded on April 17th that West Germany should be granted freedom of trade with Eastern Europe and Asia, and many West German newspapers representing commercial interests called for a strengthening of trade with the East.

"The 'Industrie Kurier' stated: 'The nations of the Western bloc are now getting a foothold in Eastern markets which both traditionally and geographically are a natural German market.' "

NOT GUILTY

From The Washington Evening Star:

"Dr. Alfred Leu, who helped select victims for euthanasia extermination by the Nazis, was cleared of guilt by a German court some time ago.

"In Hitler's euthanasia program, thousands of sick, crippled and insane persons were killed to eliminate persons 'useless to the state.'

"Dr. Leu admitted he selected 80 insane children from the Sachsenberg asylum for execution. But he said he chose only incurable cases in order to protect others with a chance of recovery."

WHAT WILL THE STATUE OF LIBERTY SAY?

From a J. T. A. news report:

"Dr. Kurt Blome, a Gestapo official who was deputy chief of the Reich Chamber of Medicine, and who was tried at Nuremberg in 1946 for crimes against humanity, has applied for a visa to visit the United States.

"The doctor served Hitler as Deputy Reich Health Leader and was connected with the S.S. group which carried out sterilization of Jews and others, surgical experiments on involuntary victims, and other atrocities. State Department officials here refused to say whether his visa was approved or not."

A "GOOD" GESTAPO MAN

From a Reuters dispatch:

"Constantine Canaris, wartime head of the Nazi Gestapo in Belgium and Northern France, has been released from a twenty-year hard labor prison sentence he received last year ... His term was reduced by a special Belgian law providing for 'good behavior' release."

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DOUBLE BOOKKEEPING

From The Nation:

"Two official decisions handed down recently in Germany have an ominous ring. In one case three Jewish merchants of Polish nationality had been brought before a Berlin city court. The details of the case are of no interest, but the following statement in the sentence is worth recording. 'The three defendants are Jewish merchants of Polish nationality ... One of the aggravating circumstances against the defendants is the fact that they are foreigners. As such they enjoy the hospitality of Berlin and they have badly abused it ... Also to be considered aggravating is the fact that the defendants are Jews.'

"In the second case the widow of Colonel Count Marogna-Redwitz was informed by the Bureau of Finance in Munich that her pension was to be stopped because her husband had been sentenced to death for high treason—the Colonel had been involved in the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Hitler in July, 1944. This is apparently still considered a major crime by German justice in the year 1952."

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ALL IS FORGIVEN

From The Daily Compass:

"Friedrich Christiansen, German war-time commander in Holland, jailed three years ago for deporting the male population of Putten and destroying the village, has been released and has returned to Germany.

"The former Air Force general's sentence still had another nine years to run. Practically all the men deported by Christiansen died before the end of the war."

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A CLUMSY DIPLOMAT

As reported from the Bayrische Rundschau:

"Federal Transport Minister Christoph Seebohm is said to have stated 'that the German boundaries of 1937, being a consequence of the Versailles Treaty, could not be recognized, since the German people had previously refused such recognition. He is also said to have alleged that the Allies had created a 'social atom bomb,' called the Potsdam Agreement, and to have spoken critically about denazification.'

" 'Finally he said he would bow in reverence before any symbol under which Germans lost their lives.' "

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DRIVING TO THE EAST

From an Associated Press dispatch:

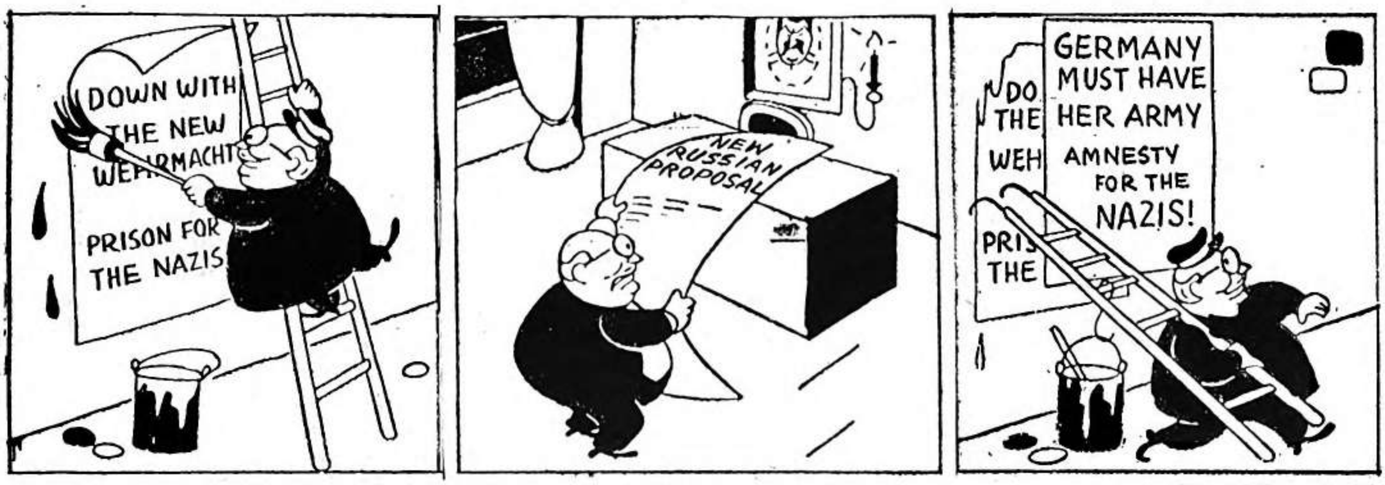
"The West German Bundestag (lower house of Parliament) voted in favor of wiping out Western Allied restrictions trade with the Communist East.

"All parties joined in adopting the Socialist-sponsored resolution.

"The restrictions require special licenses for sale of strategic or essential materials to any nation behind the Iron Curtain.

"German Socialists argued it was senseless to try by such means to prevent a power with Soviet Russia's resources from obtaining vital materials. All the embargo accomplishes, they claimed, was to cripple Western nations—especially Germany—in their efforts to balance their foreign trade."

THE LATEST SWITCH IN THE COMMUNIST PARTYLINE — AS A FRENCH CARTOONIST SEES IT



(*Franc Tireur, Paris*)

HERE WE GO AGAIN

From a Reuters dispatch:

"West German industrialists have set up an 'Office for West-East Trade' to promote commercial relations with Russia, China and other Communist countries. Willi Rehm, official manager, announced that soon a group of German businessmen would go to Peiping to continue talks begun at the Moscow economic conference."

VISITORS OF DISTINCTION

From Milton Friedman in the Nation:

"Dr. Walter P. Schreiber, former commanding officer of the Department of Medical Science of Hitler's Supreme Command, to whom some unflattering references were made at the Nuernberg war-crimes trials, recently arrived to join the faculty of the United States Army Air Force School of Aviation Medicine at Randolph Field, Texas. Dr. Otto Reuleaux and about fifty other Germans were granted visas to attend an international meeting of industrialists held in New York in connection with a convention of the National Association of Manufacturers. Dr. Reuleaux held the Nazi title of Defense Economy Director and is on the original 1945 War Department list of those who participated in and benefited from the Hitler regime. Some of his colleagues who accompanied him to New York were also Nazi Party members and beneficiaries of the regime...

"Although the Displaced Persons Act expired last December 31, the official machinery has been kept functioning to admit 54,774 additional Volksdeutsche from Eastern Europe. Many of these people, according to Rabbi Irving Miller, ex-president of the American Jewish Congress, 'volunteered for service with the execution squads which gassed and otherwise exterminated six million Jews and millions of other faiths.'"

THE LATEST LITERATURE

From Ernest Leiser to the ONA:

"The Western Allies are being accused today, before some eight million readers of West German magazines, of countenancing murder, using third degree tactics, seeking to starve the German populace and a similarly horrendous series of other crimes ranging from the theft of German patents to the fabrication of evidence in order to convict Germans as war criminals.

"These angry charges are being made, and repeated, by most of the West German Republic's leading mass-circulation weekly magazines...

"A number of them are also featuring articles describing in glowingly nostalgic terms personalities and events of the Nazi Reich.

"The German daily press, as a whole, observes fairly high standards of temperance and impartiality; however, almost since their beginning, the weekly illustrated magazines have been malicious and sensational in 'exposing' alleged activities of the Allies here.

"'And now,' according to a senior United States Information official, 'they are going from bad to worse. What they 'report' is shocking enough in itself, consisting as it does of half-truths and outright slanders. But what is even worse is the fact that the magazine editors are obviously convinced that this is what their readers want and what will build up circulation.'

"Here are a few samples:

"DER STERN, with a circulation of 467,850, carries a report of the 'murder' of several German civilians by French and American occupation soldiers in 1945 and describes the attempts by the widow of one of the alleged victims to sue the United States in a High Commission court—without succcess. The magazine moralizes that 'since none of the victims of those turbulent days can be revived, all Germans imprisoned for similar and lesser charges would be also released and forgiven.'...

"REVUE, circulation 439,000, publishes an article on Magda Goebbels, widow of Hitler's Propaganda Minister, which praises the latter's intelligence, efficiency and courage and speaks of his 'tireless' and 'self-sacrificing' efforts for the Nazi cause in the late twenties.

"DER SPIEGEL (circulation 113,000), a news magazine aping the format of TIME and NEWSWEEK, cites the 'harsh' trade restrictions imposed by the Allies on the West German Republic in trading with the Soviet bloc and says that the Germans should seek to sell as much to the East as possible.

"QUICK, a magazine with a circulation of 620,000, continues its serial review of 'German postwar history.' That review has contained such accusations as one that the Allies purposely starved the Germans immediately after the war (this, at a time when the U. S. was shipping 1,200,000 tons of wheat to West Germany annually), that they stole German patents, deliberately tried to eliminate German export possibilities (when the Allies were trying desperately to build those exports up to get the Germans off the back of the American taxpayer) and tried to frame as a black marketeer a German official who protested these Allied 'abuses.'"

> **"By the end of the next year the NATO forces in Western Europe will be strong enough to resist any Russian adventures and, if the Red Army were mad enough to move, those forces—so long as there were no German element in them—could make a fighting withdrawal across the German glacis to prepared positions on the Rhine. But, once German divisions are integrated into the European Army, this defensive strategy is denied us. For the Germans will quite legitimately demand, as the price of their participation, the defense of the Oder line and a counter-attack to the Vistula. Hence the integration of German divisions in a European Army, so far from reducing the commitments of the other Atlantic powers, enormously increases them."**
>
> ***(The New Statesman and Nation)***

Neo-Nazis Plot Nationwide Drive

by

JAMES H. SHELDON

German-American fellow-travellers of Nazidom are out in the open again—for the first time since Pearl Harbor Day.

Five hundred people assembled in New York's Yorkville Casino on May 4th to hear the chairman of a "German-American Friendship Rally" declare that unless the "right people" run it, "a Republic degenerates into a mob-ocracy." By the "right people" he meant, of course, those of German origin.

The speaker was Edward A. Fleckenstein, already notorious as head of the so-called German-American Voters Alliance—an organization which has, to a considerable degree, taken over the leadership of the same element that once constituted the German-American Bund of Hitler's time.

General Eisenhower—the author of the Allied victory in Germany—was castigated by every speaker, until mention of his name drew hisses, boos and cat-calls. "The modern John The Baptist of the Anti-Christ," was one of the more noissome epithets applied to "Ike" by Fleckenstein—and his fellow-orators followed the same line.

When an eleven-piece band played *The Star Spangled Banner* the crowd rose slowly to its feet, but (except for two reporters) no on seemed able to sing. A little later, when *Deutschland Uber Alles* was played, the audience suddenly found its voice, and all stood erect and sang lustily.

Speakers repeatedly stressed the fact that this rally was but the first of a nation-wide series soon to take place. (One has already been held in Chicago.)

Best known man on the program was Dr. Austin J. App (a professor at LaSalle College, Phildaelphia)—who once called for the hanging of General Eisenhower as a war criminal.

The Nuremberg Trials were "a revengeful travesty," said App. "Germany must be united. . . . The homeland must be returned to East Germany, and the Sudetenland too. . . . Tell France she must return the Saar," he continued.

App is the author if a 10-page tract called "Ravishing the Women of Conquered Europe," which argues that "the German armies were the most decent in the war." This leaflet originated the malicious and blood-curdling lie, since popularized in neo-Nazi circles, that Allied soldiers in Stuttgart once "herded German women into the subways and raped 2,000 of them." App contrives to leave the impression that this was done, if not with the approval, at least with the connivance, of American Army officers. At first, a few misguided individuals even took App's charges seriously—until they discovered that *there are no subways in Stuttgart!*

"Anybody not in harmony with our views is not a true American but is a Communist or a half-brother of a Communist . . .of the breed that furnished the atom spies," App told the Yorkville "Friendship Rally." *"Had such meetings as this been more frequent from* 1918 *to* 1939, *we might have had no World War II,"* he added.

Another speaker was Henry C. Furstenwalde, a former employee of the Alien Property Custodian's office. Denouncing the United Nations as a tool of the Allies, he drew laughs by announcing that "The letters UN stand only for Useless Notions."

Rev. Emanuel J. Reichenberger, proudly introduced from the platform as "the father of the expellees," is the 1952 ideological image of Charles Coughlin. A naturalized American citizen, he made two post-war trips to Germany, during which he addressed groups of Sudeten expellees in such violently anti-American language that the State Department had finally to cancel his visa. Perhaps as a result of this, Reichenberger was particularly vituperative in those parts of his speech referring to the "crimes" of the American State Department, which he evidently visualizes as engaged in a constant conspiracy to hand over the Germans to Stalin.

Some of App's pamphlets have been translated into German by Reichenberger, for circulation in West Germany. A Portuguese translation has also been issued, for use amongst the German settlers of Brazil.

Another speaker who dwelt tearfully upon the "light" of the Sudeten expellees—carefully avoiding any mention of the strong pro-Hitler sentiment which had pervaded this group—was Joseph Totzauer—head of an organization called "American Aid for Expellees."

A Menace to Democracy

The audience was obviously much bigger than the leaders of the responsible group—the German-American Voters Alliance—had expected. Most of those who attended seemed to be, from outward appearance, fairly respectable-looking German-Americans. Therein lay the greatest menace posed by the whole affair—for this rally was the first outward sign that the propaganda of the extremist groups might be securing a hold in the minds of the average member of the German-American community, and represented a dangerous consolidation of strength for a group which has hitherto been so openly identified with the legacy of the infamous German-American Bund that up until this time it had not managed to get itself seriously accepted.

News of plans for the meeting "leaked" to the press, with the result that leaders cautioned the speakers to be very careful, and to tone down their remarks. As a result, most of the speakers carefully followed notes, and omitted the more vituperative anti-Semitic material which has often characterized their remarks in "closed meetings."

Among those who attended the rally (held at the Yorkville Casino, with a bar conveniently situated off the assembly hall) were several German sailors, just off their ship, who found difficulty exchanging marks for American beer.

Two speakers referred proudly to a number of recently arrived Sudeten-German expellees who were present as "free guests" at the rally.

Dr. Ludwig Fritsch, generally one of the more violent anti-Semitic agitators, observed the admonition to caution, and devoted his talk (delivered in German) mainly to praising historic figures like Carl Schurz and General Von Steuben. He quoted with approval a United States Senator who is supposed to have advised that *"if the Germans would only stick together as do the Jews and the Poles, you could run this country."*

Fritsch delivered a lengthy eulogy of Fleckenstein and induced the audience to put considerable money into collection boxes which were passed around while he spoke, to aid "the cause."

On an earlier occasion (without the press present) Fritsch once charged that *"The United States has contributed to present world disorder by encouraging Jewish-led Communism . . . and the rise of the colored races led by world Judaism."*

A widely circulated book by Fritsch, entitled *The Crime of Our Age,* may be judged from its chapter headings, two of which are "Roosevelt's Satanism," and "Germany—Protector of Christianity and the White Race."

Unsavory Background

It is worthwhile to note some of the background forces that helped to organize the Yorkville "Friendship Rally."

The impetus behind this movement, in general, may be traced to the German-American Voters Alliance. Handbills were distributed and tickets sold, from the newsstand of Eugene Brand, proprietor of an East 86th Street stationery store which has long been the outlet for anti-Semitic publications like C. Leon DeAryan's *The Broom* and Conde McGinley's *Common Sense.* In earlier days, Brand sold the publications of the German-American Bund, from the same address.

Under the chairmanship of A. O. Tittman, in 1947-49, the Voters Alliance pursued an openly anti-Semitic policy. Tittman once wrote to a prospective member that "within Germany the only hope is for them to start a Sicilian Vesper and bring their tormentors down with them." (The allusion is to the bloody incident in Italian history when the inhabitants of Sicily, by secret agreement, armed themselves with daggers and fell upon the troops of an occupying power, using the ringing of the Vesper Bells as a prearranged signal.)

Fleckenstein, who has chaired the Alliance since 1950, is the youthful heir to a considerable Chicago packing fortune. Under his presidency, the German-American Voters Alliance has been instructed to "wait" with its attack on the Jews, until it succeeds in restoring its following. In December, 1950, Fleckenstein sent a thousand-word telegram to the government of Chancellor Adenauer, via the German Permanent Mission in Washington, urging that the Bonn Government ought *"not to rearm the Reich unless it is granted the right to possess full-fledged armed forces, officered by Germans."*

"I want to warn His Excellency (i.e., Dr. Adenauer) that any agreement which his government enters into with the Truman administration is at its peril. . . . In the White House there reigns a psychopathic antagonism to everything German . . .",the telegram continued. As a condition to dealing with the United States, Fleckenstein urged the Bonn government to demand that America "recognize the validity of the Munich Agreement of October, 1938," and "insist on the immediate restoration to Germany of the merchant ships stolen by the Allies." the wire ended: *"One of the greatest crimes . . . was the unconditional surrender agreement . . . which has given the color of legality to the violence, rape, looting, larceny and murder which all of the Allies have visited on the German people."*

All the speakers at the "Friendship Rally" made it clear that the Yorkville affair was only a "starter," and would be followed up with many other such meetings, as part of a nation-wide plan. Therein lies, we believe, a very real danger for the future security of American ideals.

"If the western Allies become irritated with his (Chancellor Konrad Adenauer) demands and choose to resist or turn him down, then he goes to the German people as the aggrieved German nationalist and again wins applause. Then, having raised the lid ever so slightly on the Pandora's box of German nationalism, Dr. Adenauer can turn to the Allies and ask that they strengthen his hand against extremists. It usually works, and he usually wins all the tricks."

(From an article by Don Cook in The Reporter)

"Recently Gen. Heinz Guderian, creator of the Panzer divisions that inflicted the blitzkrieg on Europe, made the remark that should the coming German army attack Russia to regain the territories lost to Poland the West would have no choice but to follow.

"German nationalism is to be reckoned with, indeed, when ex-Nazi generals openly speak in these terms. The new German nationalism has a familiar and an ugly face."

(From an editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer)

"Stalin might go even further in his desperate bid to keep a flourishing western Germany out of the Atlantic defense community. He might even consent to some sort of revision of the German-Polish border. The Poles are expendable. They occupy what formerly was German territory up to the Oder-Neisse line. It is not too far-fetched to imagine Stalin's throwing a sop to Germany in the form of a revision at the expense of Poland."

(William L. Ryan in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

"GERMANY. I am frankly frightened by the restoration of Germany to independent power as a nation. I do not believe that Adenauer, the Chancellor, speaks for the German people. He is bad enough, but the powers that will take over Germany when it is free to choose its own leaders will make him look in retrospect like a mild liberal. The Germans, under the surface, are as fanatically nationalistic as they have ever been."

(Frank Kingdon in New York Post)

An Official Report on Germany

(Excerpts from a report to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, prepared by a Special Study Mission comprising Congressmen Clement J. Zablocki, A. S. J. Cornahan, Brooks Hays, Edna F. Kelly, Chester E. Merrow, Jacob K. Javits—February, 1952.)

Neo-nazism

It is particularly distressing to Americans to find evidence of the active existence of political groups garbed in the trappings of the Nazis and apparently trying to cash in on the Hitler formula. Such groups oppose "today's phony democracy," defend the convicted Nazi war criminals and former generals, are anti-United States, anti-French, anti-British, and denounce such measures for European cooperation as the Schuman plan and the Council of Europe. They provide a rallying point for leading former Nazis and have strong support from some veterans' and expellees' groups.

Among the American officials of HICOG, the consensus seemed to be that the situation is getting worse not better. The attention of the subcommittee was called to two developments: First, the organization of a good many veterans' groups in West Germany culminating in a brazen call to organize an association of the Waffen SS—Hitler's elite army corps with a ghastly reputation for terrorism in World War II—next spring around Bremen; second, the fact that a large proportion of former Nazi Party members were staffing the new foreign office at Bonn. . . .

According to our observation of industrial management in the steel and coal industries, we found many managers to have been Nazi Party members because they claim they had to join during the Hitler period to continue in their management positions. The trade-union leaders express bitter opposition to this condition and urge that their campaign for codetermination was intended to serve as a check and balance on managements which have Nazi antecedents.

In political terms neo-Nazi activity was found to be strongest in Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, where it was dominated by the SRP under General Remer, and in Bavaria where its leader is August Haussleiter. Generally through the country also there is concern about veterans' organizations, one of the principal leaders of which is General Friessner. . . .

The consensus of opinion is that the neo-Nazi situation is alarming and requires close watching. It could present an imminent danger if American occupation forces are withdrawn. In essence we felt that right now this movement is the focus of the malcontents. This judgment is supported by a recent address of United States High Commissioner McCloy in which he pointed out that a survey of German opinion indicated that only 20 percent of those asked would do their utmost to prevent a party similar to the Nazis from coming into power. Thirty percent of the people said they would not like such a thing to happen but would do nothing to prevent it, while 23 percent said, "I do not care." Only 3 percent said they would do everything possible to support such a new Nazi party. Mr. McCloy regarded as the "real danger"—

"The apathy of millions of men and women in this country, in their failure to recognize that they must act in defense of their own liberties."

At present the German Trade-Union Federation appears to be one of the principal bulwarks against the recurrence of nazism. The sub-committee in its discussions with German trade-union leaders found complete unanimity and the strongest conviction on this issue. . . .

Decartelization and Nationalization

Since the end of the war, the occupying powers have been engaged in a program to dissolve and prevent the recurrence of industrial cartels. The effort has focused primarily on the reorganization of the steel and coal industries of the Ruhr and of the former I. G. Farben chemical concern. Although no official or approximate estimate of the value of the assets of these industries is available, a figure of $3.5 billion is regarded as reasonable. New corporations are being set up in each of these industries which are supposed to be sufficiently numerous and so organized as to make possible effective competition. The assets of the old cartel organizations are being transferred to the new corporations.

The deconcentration and decartelization program we were advised would result in the creation of 20 new coal companies and the reshuffling of stock ownership so that the former owners who held interests both in steel and coal and in many companies (vertical or horizontal trusts) would be confined only to one competitive company respectively; also that the captive coal mines of the steel companies will only account for 18 percent of the coal produced against a previous 50 percent. Among the main problems are the dissolution of the United Steel Works (Thyssen) and disposition of the family holdings of Krupp in both steel and coal.

The subcommittee does not approve of the situation which exists as regards *the Krupp family fortune.* The property of Alfred Krupp was confiiscated by the allied court at Nuremberg but was restored by an act of clemency by High Commissioner McCloy. Mr. McCloy based his action on the fact that confiscation is not in accordance with United States and British law. The decartelization and deconcentration process is intended to make sure that the Krupps will no longer enjoy monopoly of an industry. Their shareholdings are being reshuffled for this purpose, but this process does not wipe out the family fortune. There is every indication that the Krupps will emerge with great wealth, owning shares in a large number of German enterprises, living without work or responsibility. That this should occur while the United States taxpayer is helping to finance German recovery would seem to indicate a defect in our handling of Nazi industrialists.

The problem of choosing management in the new coal and steel companies is of the utmost importance. A certain complacency about accepting managers who remained in management of many of these companies throughout the Hitler period was noted. It appears that managements are appointed by the parties in interest still, with the Combined Steel Group exercising only a veto power. It is charged that the group running steel now, the Steel Trustee Association, had important influences in it of former Nazi figures, such as Heinrich Dinkelbach, and the same was true with the group running coal (DKBL) under Heinrich Kost. . . .

Education

There is still much to be done in making the German educational system more democratic. In general, it has always been a restrictive system which concentrates on the schooling of a highly trained elite. The difficulties are illustrated by the effort to modify and extend the type of secondary education.

Since the first World War German children have had access to free public primary education through the equivalent of the American fourth grade. After that, those who successfully passed a rigid examination and whose parents could afford to pay for their further schooling may enter the "gymnasium," a school which continues somewhat beyond the American high school and prepares its graduates for admission to a university. This group is about 10 percent of the total. The 90 percent who do not go to the gymnasium continue in public schools and ultimately become apprentices or take vocational training but are segregated from the elect, who may ultimately qualify for university training and a profession such as law, medicine, or diplomacy. The "nongymnasium" school system is considered to be inferior to the "gymnasium" in classification. This inferior designation is recognized and accepted by students and teachers.

The United States has tried throughout the occupation to get this system modified so as to give something nearer equality of opportunity in education and to promote democracy by keeping all classes of pupils in contact with each other as much a possible. Some Germans have consistently and vigorously opposed the change, and one major United States official stated that the United States was not now emphasizing the negative features of the "gymnasium." Instead, greater emphasis is placed on the need for positive changes in the educational program for the 90 percent.

Progress has been slow in the field of higher education as indicated by a well-informed American official who said:

"There is no use trying to say that German schools and universities are great progressive institutions. We have tried hard with these institutions but it is a hard, hard pull to make any progress. They have a long way to go. Scientifically they are far behind us. I studied in German universities 20 years ago. Today anyone, unless he wanted to learn a foreign language, would be silly to come over here for research reasons. They are far behind us. . . ."

Democracy in Germany

In the light of the situation which has been summarized above and in view of additional factors which will be enumerated, the subcommittee cannot escape the conclusion that the people of West Germany are not yet qualified to graduate from the course in democracy which has been offered to them during the occupation. It is the considered judgment of responsible United States officials, based on public-opinion polls and other sources of information, that too many of the German people believe today that nazism contained more that was good than was bad. Public-opinion polls indicate that a majority of the German people, youth as well as older groups, desire and feel no responsibility for government.

An indication of the difficulties to be surmounted in the establishment of democracy in Germany is a statement made to the subcommittee by a leading official of the SPD (Socialist) Party and of the opposition to the Adenaur government. When asked whether his party would accept a decision of the majority of the West German Parliament to contribute to European defense along the lines being discussed in the current negotiations for the European army (he did not oppose cooperation in European defense in principle, however), he said that it would not accept such a verdict since the present Government does not represent a majority of the people.

Further evidence of the state of democracy in Germany is the attitude toward freedom of enterprise. There is little popular interest in or support for the effort to break up and prevent cartels. It is particularly significant that it has been impossible for the United States to develop appreciable sentiment in favor of permitting anyone who wants to start a new business to do so. Traditionally, since the guilds of the Middle Ages, Germany has always required a new firm to be licensed after the need for its services and its qualifications for doing business have ben passed on by an organization of people already in the trade. This undoubtedly has discouraged competition and economic progress. During the occupation the United States would not permit such restrictions, but it appears to be generally believed by Americans as well as Germans that as soon as authority on this matter is returned to the German Government there will be a return to the old licensing system with the support of the majority of the people.

The enumeration of these evidences that the Federal Republic of Germany cannot be regarded as having fully qualified as a democratic nation does not mean that the subcommittee regards the efforts of the Allies to bring democracy to the Germans as a failure. Undoubtedly, much has been done and some seeds have taken root, but much more remains to be done. . . .

. . ."A rearmed West Germany will become the dominant power on the Continent. Its aim will be unification and the regaining of its lost provinces. It will pursue this aim by any and all means. It may drag the Western alliance into a war with Russia; or it may sell out to Russia, provided that Russia will sell out the Poles. The ultimate consequence of London and Lisbon is either a third world war or a Europe dominated by a renewed German-Russian alliance."

(James P. Warburg in a letter to the New York Times)

The Saar

by

DR. ALBERT SIMARD

Many of our representatives in France admit that the French people are alarmed over our policies toward Germany. They have endeavored, however, to assure the French that, while it is necessary to rehabilitate Germany's power in the "interests of Western European Defenses," Germany would never receive special advantages nor would she be permitted to dominate the Western Coalition. In this connection, our officials have repeatedly stressed the decisive role of France in the strengthening of the political, economic, and military position of Western Europe. Yet, in the last analysis, our French Allies will not, and rightly so, judge us by what we say but by what we do.

The Saar problem is a case in point. The Saar Valley is important to the French for political, economic, moral and strategic reasons. The strategic importance of the Saar was described by the Washington Evening Star on January 17th, 1950. "The Saar played a key role in building up Hitler's military power and the people of France thus have a natural desire to guard against a repetition of the same thing . . ." The size of the Saar Basin is by no means indicative of its economic importance. Although it is a comparatively small territory (a 30 x 16 mile spot on the map, squeezed between France and Germany) beneath its picturesque hills there lies a reserve of 9 billion tons of high-grade coal. Moreover, the Saar possesses a first class steel industry. Thus, for the French, the economic resources of the Saar, are vital. This can be seen from the fact that with the Saar's resources, France, under the Schuman plan will possess 34 per cent of the industrial strength of the economic community as against 35 per cent for Germany.

The *Manchester Guardian* of April 10th, 1952, points out that "if the Saar were re-attached to Germany, the Federal Republic would have 42 per cent of the community's coal and steel; France would have 27 per cent."

Yet, even today, the Germans are forging ahead of the French, despite the fact that the Saar is attached economically to France. *Business Week*, of January 19, 1952, reported that "German steel production (for the year 1951) was about 13.4 million metric tons—more than that of France and the French controlled Saar combined."

The moral and psychological principles, which also helped to shape the French attitude toward the Saar are also worthy of consideration. No country in Western Europe suffered as much as France under the heel of the Germans in World War I and World War II (more than two million died at the hands of the Germans). Germany despoiled France and ruined her industries. In spite of these losses, the French people have always been in the forefront of democracy's struggles against German totalitarianism. Their claims against the Germans, therefore, are literally written in blood, sweat and tears.

The United States and Great Britain fully comprehended the French position on the Saar at the close of World War II. In a Press Conference, held on May 16, 1947, Foreign Minister Bidault, speaking about the Moscow Conference on Germany, declared: "I want to begin by stating that no one opposed the incorporation of the Saar into the French economy. . . . The situation is the following: Great Britain and the United States have agreed that the Saar should be integrated into French economy and separated from the political organization of Germany. . . . I do not need to emphasize that this question is very close to the heart of the French Government."

Foreign Minister Bidault's statement had been confirmed in previous years by leading American and British officials. On June 4, 1946, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ernest Bevin, said that His Majesty's Government favored the transfer of the Saar to the French. Several days later (July 11, 1946), Mr. Bevin repeated that the British Government was ready to support the French with regard to the Saar. On April 10, 1947, Mr. Bevin once again reaffirmed this position at the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow. A month later, the British Foreign Secretary told the House of Commons that the British Government always supported the French claim to the Saar based on the frontiers esablished under the Versailles treaty.

The United States had also taken a similar stand to that of Great Britain. On February 17, 1946, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, speaking at Stuttgart, Germany, declared: "The United States does not feel they can deny to France, which has been invaded three times by Germany in 70 years, its claim to the Saar territory, whose economy has long been linked with France. Of course, after the Saar territory is integrated with France, she should readjust her reparation claims against Germany." France complied with the condition set down by Mr. Byrnes on February 28, 1948. At that time, the British, United States and French Governments agreed that Saar coal should be removed from the coal pool established in the Ruhr; that France would reduce her share of reparations proportionate to the value of the Saar economy, and that the trade between the Saar and Western Germany should be treated as Foreign trade.

Secretary of State, George Marshall, reaffirmed the position taken by his predecessor James F. Byrnes. In November, 1947, in London, General Marshall asserted, "the United States supports the claim of France to the economic integration of the Saar."

The views of Secretary Byrnes and Marshall were supported by Secretary of State Dean Acheson. The *New York Times* of January 19, 1950, reported, "Secretary of State Dean Acheson placed the United States today squarely behind the French demand for the separation of the Saar from Germany and its economic integration with France." Mr. Acheson, according to the *Times*, stated that this position had the approval of President Truman. One week later, the *New York Times* reported from Paris that Secretary Acheson's views were officially made known to the French Foreign Office. A United States Embassy spokesman, the *Times* reported, "emphasized that Mr. Acheson's assurances did not give France a blank check, but were complete so far as the principles of detachment of the Saar from Germany, economic integration with France and a certain amount of autonomy were concerned."

From the foregoing it is clear that England and the United States had given explicit support to the French position on the Saar. It was only natural, therefore, that the French should take the necessary steps to effectuate this policy, which had the approval of the major Western Powers. As a matter of fact, from November 1947 onward, France had taken measures which served to establish a new relationship between the Saar and France, economically and politically. On March 3, 1950, a series of agreements were concluded between the French and Saar Governments that were to consolidate previous arrangements. These agreements included:

1. A general convention regarding diplomatic, legal and administrative relations between the Saar Government and France.
2. A convention dealing with the detailed application of economic union between the two countries.
3. A convention on the status of the Saar coal mines, whereby the Saar Government recognized the right of the French to work the mines for 50 years.
4. A railway agreement.
5. An establishment treaty defining the rights of nationals of either territory in the territory of the other.

This agreement received the blessings of the United States and Great Britain. It did not prejudice the ultimate working out of a peace treaty for Germany. The *New York Times*, of January 10, 1950, pointed out that "while receiving this United States and British agreement to the settlement she proposed for the Saar, France abandoned her previous policy of insisting upon the detachment of the Ruhr and Rhineland from Germany."

When the French Saar agreement was made public, Chancellor Adenauer asserted that it shook his faith in the West. He accused the French of not seeking security and charged that they were "hungry for gold." He denied the right of the French to lease the Saar coal mines, declaring that they were the property of the old Reich. Needless to say, Adenauer's blast was the signal for an all-out campaign of vilification on the part of the German politicians and press. They raised the old Hitlerian slogans and sought in every way to insult the French people. Nevertheless, their noisy antics did not make an impression, thanks to the solidarity of the French, British and Americans. Though the Bonn politicians were rebuffed, they did not give up the fight, but planned for a new assault against the French at an appropriate time. The opportunity came when the Allies, endeavoring to bring Germany into the Atlantic defenses, granted new concessions to the Germans, but as usual, these concessions merely whet the appetite of the Germans and the Saar issue was raised again.

Although the French had misgivings on entering into negotiations with Germany on the Saar, they consented to do so, in the interests of Western solidarity. The chronology and details relating to these negotiations are important because they expose the insincerity of the Germans again.

On March 20, 1952, it was announced from Paris, that France, West Germany and the Saar Government intended to take up their dispute in direct negotiations. In these talks it was agreed that "the French and West German Governments would try to reach at once, in direct negotiations, a definitive solution for the future status of the Saar." Johannes Hoffmann, the Prime Minister of the Saar Government agreed to take part in these talks. Furthermore, the *New York Times* reported that Dr. Adenauer, in the interest of reaching an agreement, would no longer raise "the protest that he made . . . against the Saar Government, being allowed to sign international accords," and that he would no longer press his charge that the Saar Government had been violating political liberties. In other words, Dr. Adenauer assured the French that he would no longer fight against the French-Saar Agreement of 1950. The *Times* report disclosed that Chancellor Adenauer and Foreign Minister Schuman agreed to form an electoral commission consisting of France, West Germany and the Saar, to investigate conditions for a free election in the Saar for the autumn of 1952. Chancellor Adenauer's Secretary of State, Professor Hallstein, stressed the fact that the Saar parliament would have a voice in the final decision.

This agreement received the immediate support of U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy, but the very next day, there was a political explosion in the Bonn Parliament. The accord was attacked as "prejudicial" to Germany. The *New York Times'* correspondent reported that this attack came because the ministers in Paris had agreed that the Saar "would ultimately exist under sponsorship of the Council of Europe as a 'European State,' politically independent. . . ." This view of the agreement was shared by the *Times'* political analyst, Anne O'Hare McCormick. Writing in the *Times* of March 22, 1952, Miss McCormick noted that, "by the terms of the agreement, the French maintain their economic position in the Saar, the Germans obtain assurance that the question need not be left open until the peace treaty is signed, and the Saarlanders are promised a voice in the settlement." Moreover, she pointed out that "in the back of the minds of the leaders of the Council of Europe there has been a hope that the Saar would become the nucleus of a European federation, perhaps the seat of the high authority of the new international pool of coal and iron." This is how the Allies understood the agreement.

Dr. Adenauer facing a hostile Parliament denied that he agreed to the "Europeanization" of the Saar under the auspices of the Council of Europe. (*New York Times*, March 23, 1952.) The *New York Times* correspondent, who reported Dr. Adenauer's denial, observed that it was "a direct contradiction of the interpretation of the agreement . . . as it was outlined last night and today by high Allied and German sources." As a matter of fact, the *Times* correspondent reported that an official of the German Federal Press Office "was puzzled by the statement authorized by Dr. Adenauer." Nevertheless, Dr. Adenauer continued to deny that he agreed to the Europeanization of the Saar, although, as reported by the New York Times of March 24, Allied sources had stated that Adenauer "agreed that the Saar should be Europeanized," and "agreed that the present French-Saar economic ties that give France approximate parity in steel production with Germany should be continued." In turn, the French would consent to elections in the Autumn of 1952, after investigation by an electoral commission. These are the facts, as reported by the authoritative *New York*

Times. They show that Adenauer had made definite commitments, but when he faced the jingo politicians at Bonn he joined them in denouncing France and the agreement.

On April 23, 1952, the Bonn Parliament, with the approval of Adenauer, denounced the agreement categorically. Adenauer blasted the French and his attack paved the way for the resolution of the Bonn Parliament in which all previous agreements between the French and the Saar Governments were declared illegal and that the Saar belonged to the German "lock, stock and barrel." Adenauer warned that if the Germans were not given full satisfaction the problem would "disturb if not prevent entirely European integration."

It is not surprising to those who know the Germans that they should repudiate this accord. They have done so in the past and they will undoubtedly continue to back-track on future commitments. Yet, an editorial in the *New York Times* stated on April 25, 1952, that "Paris must accept the larger share of the responsibility for the immediate situation." The *Times* declared that the French, as well as the Germans had taken an uncompromising position. This view was echoed by Miss McCormick who accused the French of "hedging on the informal agreement made with Chancellor Adenauer for elections in the Saar." Apparently Miss McCormick forgot what she had said in her column a month before.

The fact of the matter is, of course, that the French have compromised on the Saar question. For example, France gave up her proposal to permanently detach the Ruhr and Rhineland from Germany. Moreover, she consented to drastically reduce reparations due from Germany in return for the support she received from the United States and Great Britain to integrate the Saar economically with France. Therefore, to accuse the French of being uncompromising, in effect amounts to the charge that France's Western Allies are reneging on the policies which they had originally supported.

This brings us to a fundamental issue which must be answered if we are to prevent Germany from dominating Western Europe. If it is our avowed policy to strengthen France ecomonically and militarily how can the United States do anything but give full support to the French on the Saar? There are so-called experts who have been moaning over what they call "the decadence and weakness" of France but try to weaken France by reversing our policy on the the Saar. On the contrary, by foresaking France on this crucial issue we will have in effect provided Germany with the necessary leverage to dominate the West. That is why our position, as regards the Saar, is a crucial test as to our true intentions. We may give lip service to the principle that Germany must not dominate Western Europe, but if we, in one way or another, enable Germany to seize the Saar again then we shall have paved the way toward that disaster.

One should not be deluded by the belief that the Saar would satiate the German appetite. A member of Dr. Adenauer's cabinet, Jacob Kaiser, told a recent political gathering *"no real Europe can be formed until the German bloc is re-constituted. I remind you that this bloc includes, in addition to Germany, Austria, part of Switzerland, Saar, of course, and Alsace-Lorraine. When I think of the Strasbourg Cathedral, my heart hurts."*

Surely the American people cannot share the longings of this gentleman, and if we do not stand firm today on the Saar, then we shall be opening once more the flood gates to German expansionism whose limits know no bounds.

. . ."Perhaps more important and more dangerous is the troublesome Saar dispute between France and Germany. The claims and counterclaims over the coal-rich area, which can tip the economic balance of power between France and Germany either way, are hot political issues in Paris and Bonn. The Bundestag, in particular, is committed to the principle that the Saar question must be settled to Germany's satisfaction before it can join the proposed six-nation European army."

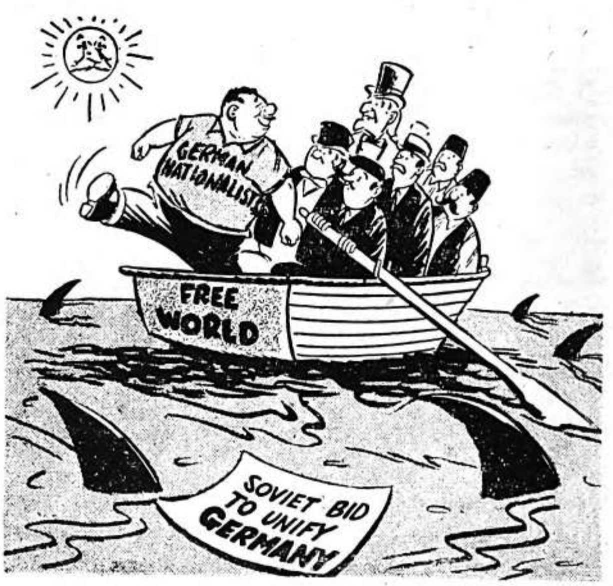
(Ned Russell in the New York Herald Tribune)

"Europe is surprised, the French especially are surprised, and a little shaken, that the Bonn Parliament ratified the Schuman plan . . .

"If the decision were based on economic grounds alone there would never have been a chance for the Schuman plan. Some observers . . . predict that in three years the Germans, with their bigger stake, their productive energy and their drive for world markets, will be in position to control the pool. This thought may have won votes for the Schuman plan. No doubt it is in the back of the minds of these Ruhr industrialists who favor the project."

(Anne O'Hare McCormick, New York Times)

"SUCH A BEAUTIFUL DAY—THINK I'LL WALK"



(*Cartoon by Fischetti, Courtesy N. E. A. Service*)

JO DAVIDSON
(1883-1952)

It is with profound regret that we report the passing away of Jo Davidson, the noted sculptor. Mr. Davidson was one of the world's outstanding artists.

In summarizing his life's work, the *New York Times* noted that "probably no other American has ever made portrait busts of so many famous men of his time as Mr. Davidson." Mr. Davidson, however, was not only a brilliant artist, but a courageous fighter for human rights. He was profoundly sensitive to the sufferings of all peoples under the heel of oppression and this, too, is reflected in his works, including his famous memorial figure dedicated to the Czechoslovak village Lidice which had been wiped out under Hitler's vengeful wrath. He participated in the making of the model for the monument dedicated to the victims of the Warsaw ghetto massacres.

The quality of Mr. Davidson's works were always influenced by his humanistic instincts and that is why they will endure. Mr. Davidson's early life was burdened by financial difficulties, but his determination and talents overcame these obstacles. Having achieved success through the hard way, the imprint of struggle was reflected in many of his productions. Mr. Davidson abhorred obscurantism and bigotry with all the fiber in his being.

We, in the Society, were always proud of the fact that he was one of us, serving as a member of the Advisory Council. The Society has lost a true friend and a staunch fighter for peace and justice, the United States has lost a great and inspiring humanitarian, and the world has lost one of its noblest artists.

"Harassed by thunder on the right as well as on the left, Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida is doggedly facing mounting difficulties in the Diet and on the industrial front as Japan prepares proudly to unfurl the Rising Sun of national independence after six and a half years of defeat and occupation . . .

"The significant common factor in these attacks on Mr. Yoshida's Liberal Government is that, while they emanate from opposed political elements, they derive their strength and popular appeal from the resurgent 'Japan-for-the-Japanese' sentiments now widespread among the people . . .

"In the atmosphere of crisis we have yielded time and again to German nationalism. All our submission has not even produced a dependable military army.

"The Germans have steadily raised the price of co-operation; each time they hear that they are free Europe's indispensable men, their price rises higher. Decent democratic voices are lost amid the noise. As long as Germany's leaders are convinced that nationalist bluster pays off, they will be unresponsive to any democratic idealism and scornful of true European federation."

(From an editorial in the New York Post)

. . ."The approaching political and economic independence of Western Germany will undoubtedly serve to restore the cartel trend in that country. Our experience with the decartelization policy of the occupying powers has clearly demonstrated that there has been no radical change in the German attitude towards cartels."

Louis Domeratzky in the "Freedom and Union."

"SELF-SNARED. One place where present policy is almost sure to leave us in the position of the wrestler who threw himself and ended with his own toe in his mouth is Germany . . .

"Within a month our headlines will proclaim that Chancellor Adenauer of Western Germany has signed two treaties with us: One restoring German sovereignty and ending the right of the Allied governments to a voice in German internal affairs; the other guaranteeing that Allied troops may stay on German soil and that Germany will contribute men and munitions to a European army. This will be hailed as a triumph.

"There are two clouds that blot out any such bright interpretation. First, Adenauer does not speak for the people he professes to rule. Second, these people will vote before the end of 1953, and, unless all signs fail, will throw Adenauer out and put into office leaders opposed to this commitment of 'half-Germany to a half-partnership with the West.' "

Frank Kingdon in the New York Post.

Recommended Reading:

German-Soviet Relations

(Between the Two Wars, 1919-1939)

by

EDWARD HALLETT CARR

In the article "Germany and European Integration," on page 17, where the problem of German integration into Western Europe is analysed, we mentioned the fact that Allied policy-makers are deeply disturbed over the possibility of a Russo-German tie-up which could deal a fatal blow to the integration project. It does not require psychoanalysis to understand why such fears exist among western statesmen. They stem from the history of external relations of the real Germany which, like an iceberg, is two-thirds submerged. Beneath the surface lies the seemingly indestructible nature of Russo-German relations since the days of Bismarck and more specifically after World War I culminating in the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. It is primarily this part of the real Germany which haunts statesmen of the West.

Yet the character of these relations is not an unknown quantity. This is demonstrated in a brilliant study recently made by Professor Edward Hallett Carr, former Woodrow Wilson Professor at the University of Wales. Professor Carr is a careful scholar and respected historian. His recent work "German-Soviet Relations between the Two World Wars, 1919-1939," is a cogent example of his scholarship and his objective treatment of this crucial subject. One cannot help but conclude that Professor Carr, through his analysis of German-Soviet relations has succeeded in illuminating a decisive factor which always determined Germany's relations with the West. Professor Carr's work is based on authentic sources and is well documented. It penetrates the inner depths of Germany's dealings with the Soviet regime since 1917. We use the word "dealings" advisedly because Germany's basic relations with the Soviets were not guided by considerations of short-term expediency; rather, as Professor Carr notes, they were rooted in the whole past of the real Germany since the days of Frederick the Great of Prussia.

What are the fundamental conditions which explain this relationship? In the first place, there is the geographical factor, namely: that Germany has always been Russia's most powerful neighbor and vice versa. Economically, German industry in the modern era has always regarded the vast expanses of the Russian hinterland and Russian man-power as natural adjuncts to the development of German power and influence throughout the Eurasian land mass. Finally, the political and military interests of Russia and Germany, although not always identical, have over long periods of time run parallel with each other, crystallizing in alliances aimed at protecting and extending their mutual interests. Consequently, even when the Bolshevik revolution broke out in 1917, we find that Germans of all political persuasions were most interested in this history making event. Professor Carr quotes a contemporary British report in Berlin in the summer of 1919 which sums up the feelings of many Germans:

> "All classes in Germany are looking toward Russia for one reason or another. The extremists of the Left look upon her as the realization of their own political ideals; the pan-Germans look upon her as providing the only possible outlet for surplus population and compensation for the loss of colonies. Officers think that she may provide employment, which is no longer possible in their own country. Industrialists think that she will provide employment for capital and ultimately be the means of paying off the war indemnity. The realization of these ideas, however, lies in the far future, and, for the present, communication is much too difficult to make any practical steps possible."

This does not infer that all Germans were supporters of the Bolshevik régime, but it did mean that important German elements, be they military, political or economic, were interested in cultivating a powerful bond of friendship with Russia despite ideological differences.

Militaristic Concepts

As early as 1919, one of the leaders of the German High Command, General von der Goltz, declared that, while he was ready to overthrow the Communist régime in Russia, nevertheless Germany's "whole policy stands and falls by the Russian-German bridge." Prof. Carr quotes one of von der Goltz' subordinates of accusing the British of trying to "steal from Germany the opportunity of having before long a great and powerful ally—Russia."

Gen. von der Goltz was not alone in his view on the importance of maintaining and strengthening Russo-German relations. Indeed, it was shared by some of the key members of the German General Staff, including Gen. Hans von Seeckt, who played a leading role in the rebuilding of the German Wehrmacht.

Regardless of the ideological struggles between the German Right and the Russian Left after 1917, the belief in the necessity for developing friendship between Russia and Germany had a great bearing on subsequent actions by both States.

It is true that the German military hated the Bolsheviks and desired their overthrow, just as it is valid that the Bolsheviks were working for a Communist revolution within Germany but, when both sides failed to achieve these objectives, they did not tarry very long in adopting realistic policies toward each other. Indeed, General von Reibnitz, a former associate of Gen. von Ludendorff, known for his rabidly anti-Communist views, began to propound the thesis that the Germans should ally themselves with revolutionary Russia.

Karl Radek, then a leading theoretician of the Russian Communist Party, speaking in rather contemptuous terms, described von Reibnitz as "the first representative of the species known as 'national Bolsheviks' with whom I had to deal." This is not to say, as Prof. Carr points out, that Germany's orientation was completely turned toward the East. There were many powerful groups, including the Social Democrats, who were most anxious to cultivate friendship with the Western Allies. "It was a topsy-turvy world," Prof. Carr observes, "in which the German Right toyed with Bolshevism and world revolution, and German Social Democrats looked for salvation to American capitalism." In this statement Prof. Carr neatly describes the real Germany which has always managed to divide its labors in cultivating friendship both East and West so as to extract a maximum advantage from both.

Western Blindness

Many Western statesmen refused to believe that the German Right would think of flirting and working with the Russian revolutionaries but, as Prof. Carr proves, the Western camp persistently over-estimated the importance of ideological differences in trying to appraise the character and significance of Russo-German relations. On the surface there was much friction between the Soviets and the Germans in the early 1920's, yet neither State went overboard, for both sides knew that each had more to gain from each other through peaceful relations than through opposing policies.

Prof. Carr quotes Lenin on this subject:

> ". . . When the Russian armies were approaching Warsaw, all Germany was in a ferment. Alliance with Russia for a country which is strangled, which has the possibility to set in motion gigantic productive forces—all this helped to create political confusion in Germany; the German black hundreds were marching in sympathy with the Russian Bolsheviks and the Spartakists. . . .
>
> "Our foreign policy, so long as we are alone and the capitalist world is strong . . . consists in our being obliged to utilize disagreements. . . ."

Lenin's realism was well appreciated by the Germans as later events bore out. Thus, by the middle 1920's the realization by the Bolsheviks that they could not communize Germany, and by the Germans that they could not overthrow the Bolshevik régime, prepared the groundwork for a new relationship which decisively influenced Germany's conduct in the West up to the advent of Adolf Hitler. The German Government and Soviet Russia began negotiations not only to settle their differences but, more important, to combine their mutual interests. These negotiations were of a many-sided character. They not only involved the development of Germany's military potential on Russian soil in violation of the Versailles Treaty, but they also provided for close economic cooperation.

As early as the winter of 1921-22, economic negotiations were proceeding between German industrialists and Soviet authorities for the development of trade and the granting of concessions. One result was the establishment of German-Soviet mixed companies for transport, air-traffic and trade in scrap metal. This was only the beginning and to the industrialists of the Ruhr these negotiations had great promise for the future.

The Ruhr magnates, while pretending to see eye to eye with the West, were leaving no stone unturned to establish this stranglehold over the markets in Russia to the exclusion of the Allied Powers. The immediate results of these policies became evident in the trade statistics. Germany's share of Soviet imports rose from 25% in 1921 to 32.7% in 1922. On the other hand, Great Britain's share of the Soviet market was reduced to 18.8%. In this connection, Prof. Carr states: "throughout the 1920's it was Russian orders that helped to keep German heavy industry alive."

The German Government was actively engaged in furthering these economic and military negotiations and helped to subsidize Ruhr industrialists, who were doing business with the Russians. These military and economic deals were the precursor to the Treaty of Rapallo in April 1922. The West was shocked when the Treaty was signed and made public. Western diplomats could not conceive of a responsible German Government willing to extend the hand of friendship to the Soviets. But the Germans realized full well the value of Rapallo, and so did the Russians. Though the Russians regarded the Treaty as the means whereby Germany could serve as a "counterweight" to the Western Allies, the Germans were now in the position to

> "maneuvre freely between east and west, playing off the two rivals against one another, disclaiming any firm or irrevocable commitment to either, extorting concessions from the one by threatening to fall into the arms

of the other, and always keeping its own choice open. This was the policy which was to serve Germany in good stead for the next seven years."

Prof. Carr is careful to note that this is only part of the story. Bearing in mind that the Germans were economically impoverished immediately after the end of the war, it was anticipated that they would seek economic assistance from the West. Thus, the armament-maker Krupp managed to have one of his henchmen appointed Ambassador to Washington in 1921 and soon thereafter American loans poured into Germany by the hundreds of millions. The German appeal for economic assistance created illusions among Western statesmen. They believed that through these loans they could influence Germany's relations with the East. They forgot, as Prof. Carr observes, that:

> "German dependence on the West did not, however, preclude dependence on the East. German industry, and particularly heavy industry, which was its core and centre, found its natural and only available outlet in the East—the more so since its subsidiary oversea markets had been captured by the Allies. Nor was the other major force in the formulation of German policy, the German army, prepared for any permanent arrangement which made Germany turn her back on the East to become a junior partner in a western alliance. The army had suffered defeat at the hands of the West, and its honor required that that defeat should be avenged. On this point all thought alike."

The Legend of Stresemann

It remained for Gustaf Stresemann, Germany's politician par excellence of the 1920's, to devise the ways and means whereby Germany could carry water on both shoulders. Prof. Carr's characterization of Stresemann is well worth quoting, at least in part:

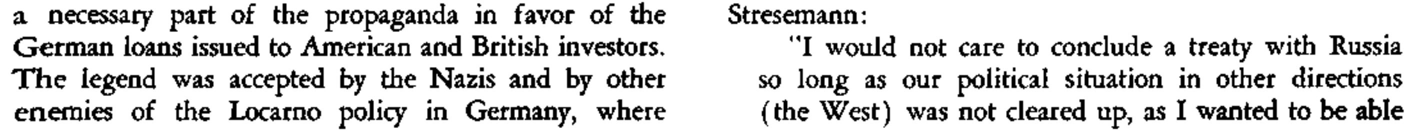
> "The legend of Stresemann as the man of Locarno, the man who set German policy on the path of fulfillment of the Versailles treaty and of a western orientation, was originally built up in the West, and was a necessary part of the propaganda in favor of the German loans issued to American and British investors. The legend was accepted by the Nazis and by other enemies of the Locarno policy in Germany, where Stresemann's memory was subjected after 1933 to every kind of vituperation and contempt. During the second world war the wheel turned, and Stresemann was bitterly assailed both from the Soviet and from the western side by writers who depicted him as a monster of duplicity, an extreme German nationalist and a precursor of the Nazis themselves. Both pictures are wide of the mark. Stresemann was a German patriot who valued the western connexion, the League of Nations and Locarno not for any sentimental or ideological reason, but for the advantages which they brought to his country; for the same reason he valued the eastern connexion, however little he, in common with most German industrialists, appreciated the theory or practice of the Bolsheviks. He exercised a great economy of truth when he repeatedly assured the Allies that Germany was loyally carrying out her obligations under the disarmament clauses of the Versailles treaty. But it is customary for foreign ministers to deny all knowledge of the secret operations of other departments—or even of their own; and it would be unfair to attribute these official deceptions to any personal idiosyncracy in Stresemann's character. Few statesmen fail in an emergency to recognize a duty to lie for their country."

The Eternal East-West Game

Stresemann's policy, therefore, was one which was designed to extract concessions from the East and the West, without upsetting Germany's friendly relations in both camps. Stresemann's tactics are described by Prof. Carr in connection with Germany's negotiations with the Western Allies (the Treaty of Locarno). Through the Treaty, Germany received the opportunity to regain her former dominating position in the West and pave the way for an outpouring of allied loans to build up and modernize German heavy industry. When the Russians learned of the intention of the Germans to make this Treaty, they accused the German Government of bad faith. Many leading German diplomats were disturbed over the dangers to Russo-German relations. The Russians insisted on new negotiations to strengthen the Treaty of Rapallo. This, they declared, would assure them that the Germans would not double-cross their eastern partners at Locarno. Herr Stresemann did not object to new Russian-German negotiations but pleaded for a postponement until he could effectively deal with the West. Prof. Carr quotes Stresemann:

> "I would not care to conclude a treaty with Russia so long as our political situation in other directions (the West) was not cleared up, as I wanted to be able to answer the question whether we had a treaty with Russia in the negative."

In other words, Herr Stresemann was admitting that his real aim was to deceive the West. Thus the Treaty of Locarno was consummated but, in accordance with Stresemann's strategy, a new Russo-German treaty was signed



A WEST GERMAN VIEW OF THE SOVIET UNIFICATION PLAN *(Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt)* on April 4, 1926, which further strengthened the Treaty of Rapallo. Prof. Carr sums up the Stresemann policy as follows:

> "The reality behind Locarno was Germany's financial dependence on the West, and especially on the United States; the reality behind the Berlin treaty was Germany's military dependence on Soviet Russia, expressed in the secret agreements for the manufacture of munitions for Germany, and the training of German officers in prohibited weapons, on Russian soil."

Prof. Carr notes that the Stresemann policy persisted after his death and indeed many important groups during the early days of the Nazi dictatorship were unsympathetic with Hitler's anti-Bolshevik crusade. Against this background the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 was not the result of some psychological twist in the mind of Hitler; it was a reflection of a fundamental element in Germany's external relations for decades.

Certain events which have taken place recently give added weight to Prof. Carr's analysis. Recently Pastor Niemoller, an ardent German nationalist, visited Moscow on a mission designed to strengthen relations between the Soviets and the Germans. Mr. R. H. Crossman, British M. P., recently told the House of Commons that "there is no doubt about it that there is a great knowledge of what is going on in both parts of Germany owing to the fact that the German generals on both sides exchange information." Earlier than these reports is one by Walter Lippmann in his column of March 15, 1949, in which he reported that secret Russo-German talks were taking place. Some of the Germans he mentioned are well-known Rightists. It is these current signs which give meaning to Prof. Carr's careful study of Russo-German relations prior to World War II.

(*German-Soviet Relations, by Edward Hallett Carr The Johns Hopkins Press,* 1951)

"And in West Germany even the American High Commissioner John J. McCloy says that most of the democratic parties and even some Cabinet Ministers have been promoting nationalism. Since the neo-Nazis are effectively trying to 'discredit and destroy Parliamentary democracy,' the prospect is not pretty. Surely America has not been working for the last three or four years to let the good Europeans hear the jackboots of the old German militarism crunch into the old bloody muck the hope for 'a new era of life in the West.' "

(Percy Winner in The New Republic)

..."It is not surprising that American policy ... is often based on a misjudgment of German sentiments, and later turns out to be rickety and in constant danger of collapse. The policy is too often shaped by the dreams and hopes of the Allies alone."

(Edwin Hartrich in the Wall Street Journal)

JUST THE BEGINNING

..."The Moscow economic conference which ended April 12, is just the beginning. Observers who tended to pooh-pooh the conference as just another passing propaganda fair are now revising their estimates ...

"The possibilities for political mischief in West Germany are even greater. The Moscow offers to German businessmen and the Soviet maneuvers on German unification are supposed to supplement each other.

"The 2 or so West Germans who attended the Moscow parley weren't leading industrialists. But that doesn't change the fact that no country in the world longs more for Eastern trade than the Bonn republic. And precisely because West Germany's recovery has been so rapid, fear that an international trade slump might reverse the trend causes German businessmen to tremble in their boots."

(Business Week Magazine)

Resurgam

"Let France be warned—her fate has been decided,
Bound to the Germans, alike in peace and war—
French opposition is dangerously misguided
German revival the world shall not ignore . . ."
We have heard that before.

"Bonn will endure no checks or prohibitions,
Bonn has a price for seeing Europe through,
Bonn has no more territorial ambitions
After uniting the Fatherland anew . . ."
That sounds familiar too.

"France must erase all propagandist slanders.
Were Germans Nazis?—
The Reich has changed since then!
Germans will sit with Europe's high commanders,
Bonn's Wehrmacht Generals are
honourable men . . ."
Must we hear that again?

"Bonn's inequality will not be tolerated;
France unsupported will never save her skin.
German pretensions are not to be debated,
Germany's patience will soon
be wearing thin . . ."
This is where we came in.

"Let France beware—the victor must surrender—
Bonn holds the whip-hand,
plays the master-stroke.
Germany arises, Democracy's defender!
Germany is marching! One Fatherland!
One Folk! . . ."
So Hitler Spoke!

SAGITTARIUS

(*Reprinted from "The New Statesman and Nation," by kind permission of the Editor and of the Author.*)

The Schuman Plan In Perspective

Speaking recently to the Anglo-American Press Club, M. Grandval, the French Ambassador to the Saar . . . sugested that if the Saar became "economically bound to Germany" France might not be able to stay in the European Coal and Steel Community. M. Schuman expressed substantially the same thought, it appears, to the Foreign Affairs Commission of the French National Assembly last January. Why this ominous confession? Because the French calculate that with the Saar's coalmines and steel foundries leased to France for fifty years (as now) the French possess 34 per cent of the industrial strength of the Community to Germany's 35 per cent. If the Saar were reattached to Germany, the Federal Republic would have 42 per cent of the Community's coal and steel; France would have 27 per cent. That, the French claim, would be a *"dangerous unbalance"* of power. . . .

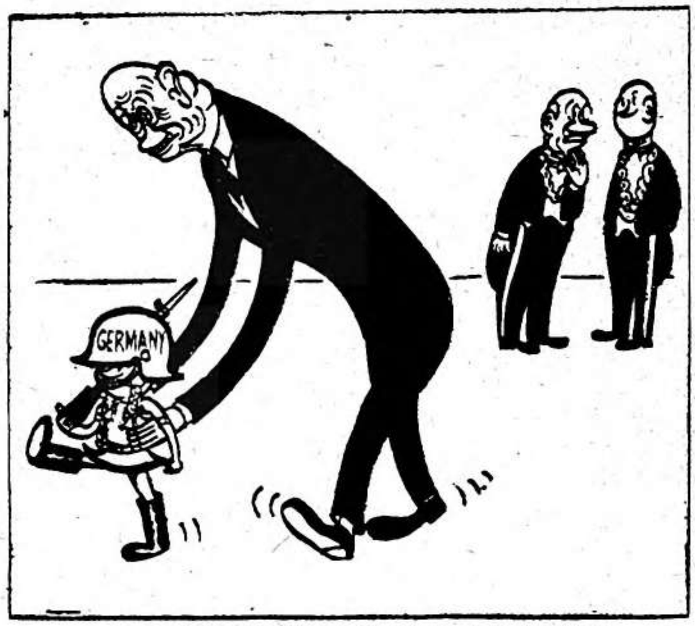
When the French Assembly ratified the Schuman Treaty it specifically "recommended" that the Government should look to maintaining its heavy investment programmes in coal and steel. Armed with their fiat the industrialists and planners were talking lately of a capacity of seventeen to eighteen million tons of steel by 1958. (Excluding the Saar. In 1951 French capacity was about 11.5 million tons; production, hampered by coke and scrap shortages, amounted to 9.8 million tons.) This is obviously a huge increase and the target is probably somewhat optimistic. The cuts in investment credits that are bound to come with rearmament this year and next do not make it look any closer. But if the French are determined to carry it out they could manage it. They have drawn up the necessary parallel plans for expanding the production of coal and coke, especially in Lorraine, where both coal and iron ore are plentiful and easy to mine.

* * *

In that spirit the most important target, that for the produciton of coke (which is essential for making steel but in short supply), has been raised from three million tons by 1958 to seven million tons by the same year. That again is a large extension of range. Yet the most significant fact is that at the higher rate of steel output the French would need just as much coke from the Ruhr as they now need when producing their ten million odd tons (of steel). For the foreseeable future, then, the French depend on the Ruhr for the coke that will permit their foundries to compete with those of the Ruhr. The Ruhr's need of "minette" ore from Lorraine which, it is sometimes implied, would balance the account is nothing like so imperative. The clash of interests needs no elaborating. It is the same which has made the International Ruhr Authority which fixes Germany's coal exports under the Occupation regime so unpopular. The difference is that under the Schuman Plan Germany's neighbours will no longer be able to impose their will.

The problem would be partly solved if the Ruhr were to produce much more coal and with it, coke. The Federal Government's negotiators during the Paris talks on the plan did suggest that the Ruhr could produce fifty million tons more coal in 1954 than it did in 1951 (about 116 million tons). But the coal industrialists consider this a "fantasy." Some of their contempt can be discounted. They have various interests of their own for not wishing to see production rise fast. Yet it seems to be true that the coke which Germany's neighbours want would be hard to obtain without heavy capital expenditure. Now in a period of rearmament the outlets for steel may be ample, but the capital to help expansion and satisfy it over an extended period is not. Accordingly some Germans argue already that it would be more economical to invest most of the money directly in German steel. The French and Belgians could hardly agree; their interest is to see more coal and coke coming out of Germany. . . .

What influence will "the Ruhr," as such, have in the Coal and Steel Community? So far the Federal German Government has not paid too much attention to the Ruhr industrialists. The Allies have been busy "deconcentrat-



FRENCH: "WHO'S LEADING WHOM?"

(Courtesy of La Rassemblement, Paris, Gaullist)

ing" and "decartelising" the coal and steel and chemical combines. Nevertheless when the political considerations that ruled when the plan was being worked out give way to the more mercenary, daily activity of the community it is hard to think their strength will not grow.

* * *

Unfortunately, the centralized organization of the Ruhr will probably not be truly broken by the Allied reshaping now in progress. . . .

More generally, it now seems probable that the real ownership of assets in the Ruhr combines is a mystery that no mere ally will ever quite uncover. It is, an expert has suggested, a job that would need "ten years," with all the tangle to be unravelled of holding companies and sleeping partners who may, or may not, but probably do, represent the old barons of the Ruhr. The Allies will probably only have till the end of the year in which to complete a hasty simulacrum of redistributing these assets. So the new "deconcentrated" steel and coal units may very well go back, in some cases at least, to the very gentlemen who were, through the reorganization, to be deprived of their former power.

The Ruhr's political strength should not be exaggerated. When the Allies leave, it will certainly be much less centralized than it used to be. The steel companies, for instance, will own only 17 per cent of the coalmines in the Ruhr whereas they used to own 60 per cent. But the Ruhr will, it seems, remain enough of a unit still to be able to organize as a major pressure group both within Germany, of course, and in the Coal and Steel Community.

Will the High Authority be able to pursue, or permit a sane investment policy without being continually hampered by political chicanery? That is probably the heart of the matter for the Coal and Steel Community.

Not all Ruhr industrialists and officials are as naïve as the bureaucrat of the Steel Trustee Association in Essen who cursed the day when that "very adequate instrument" the prewar cartel was sacrificed to the whims of trust-busters and European planners. But few of them like the Schuman Plan. Last year their review, "Bulwark," carried on a campaign to prove that it was the natural successor of the Occupation Statute, both having one aim: to keep down German production.

Thus the Principal of the Institute for World Economics of Kiel University, Dr. Fritz Baade, in June, 1951, explained that the Schuman Plan was a single market only in "a purely political usage of the term. This political market is to be unified and rendered uniform in such a way that we should for ever be compelled to deliver coal to France at the same prices as those" demanded of German consumers. This would lead to "a never-ending spiral of rising costs, prices, and wages." (How, Dr. Baade did not explain.)

Dr. Baade complained, above all, of the effect on investments. For five years Germany's neighbours had been investing while Germany, the best natural market for capital, could not.

> *"If the European steel industry is to recover from these five wasted years, German industry must be afforded priority for five years to come."*

Germany should by "right" produce 60 per cent of Europe's coal and 55 per cent of her steel (against 48 and 35 per cent to-day). But in the High Authority of the Schuman Plan

> *"Germany will have only two of the nine votes. I cannot see how these two representatives will find themselves in a position to combat all the aims at supremacy concealed behind nicely worded clauses."*

Even Dr. Baade's colleagues hardly fear French "aims at supremacy." In fact, though they do not advertise it, they are justifiably confident of their power in the new alliance. No wonder. Though German steel production is still limited by the Allies, it is now running at a rate of 15 million tons a year, well above the combined total of France and the Saar. As soon as the contractual agreement is signed the Germans calculate they could, with relatively light investments, restore old capacity to the tune of two million tons. Another, equal, amount could be added by heavier investments in two of the biggest former plants—here again relatively cheaply. Germany's steel capacity would then stand at over 19 million tons, not far short of what Hitler's Reich was producing in 1938.

* * *

So much the less, one might think, for the French. French tactics, particularly in the Saar, argue some anxiety on the point. But it seems doubtful that much French investment will actually be prevented. For one thing, there are considerable opportunities for expansion in Lorraine, the heart of the steel industry. If the coking programme develops (much depends on that) it will be the only steel region in the world which gets both its main raw materials, iron ore and coke, from its own soil. That is a tremendous advantage. All the more so since the Lorraine coalmines are far easier to work than those of the Ruhr.

The second reason is, however, the most important—and it seems to answer both the German and the French complaints. The High Authority will, in fact, have very limited powers to restrict investment; its resources, largely based on its revenues from a levy of 1 per cent on coal and steel, will be mainly devoted to encouraging capital expenditure by guaranteeing loans.

This, at least, is the French interpretation. Though Article 4 of the Schuman treaty states that "subsidies or State assistance" are "incompatible" with the Community, "public financing" will not apparently be prevented unless the terms of the loans raised "are different from the conditions normally imposed in similar circumstances for similar industries." As the expert who propounded this view pointed to loans to the nationalised railways as comparable loans the argument seems to lend itself to elastic interpretations. But as all parties depend largely on public financing none is likely to object. Since, too, the High Authority can only object to investment on the grounds of the "discriminatory" financing involved it hardly seems that German plans, or most of them, could be restrained. On the contrary. There seems to be reason to expect something like an investments race in the early stages of the Schuman Plan inspired by national fears of being left behind. The end of double-pricing, affecting, in particular, German coal exported abroad, and the ample market afforded by rearmament should accentuate the expansionary tendency.

Europe needs to increase her industrial power. In theory, then, the growth of steel and coal production is proper. The danger is that it is likely to be hypertrophied in relation to the activity of the rest of Western Europe's economy with the usual bad effects that uncertain demand and threats of recession produce. Already in 1950 the Economic Commission for Europe was reporting that there might be a slump in steel, a menace averted by a larger one, the Korean war. Even to-day the French are noting a hardening of the export market for their steel. Without "single markets" among the consumers of steel in Western Europe the producers of steel must move warily. And those "single markets" are remote.

A second danger, at least from the French point of view, is that Germany is better equipped for an investments race than France. In a slump too the Germans would probably try, and with their generally lower costs be able, to sell more than the "depression quota" fixed by the High Authority. By flouting it they could further depress their French rivals. It would be a simple repetition of their tactics during the thirties in the pre-war cartel.

* * *

Since the Germans are likely in the long run to have the better of the game it is, in fact, the ebb and flow of German ambition and of French fear that is the basic weakness of the Schuman Plan. . . .

(Courtesy, *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*)

GERMAN GRATITUDE

"A series of articles in one of the most widely circulated weekly picture magazines here contains charges that the Western Allies purposely starved the Germans immediately after the war, that they stole their patents, refused to permit them export possibilities and, after dismissing a German official who complained, tried to frame him as a black marketeer.

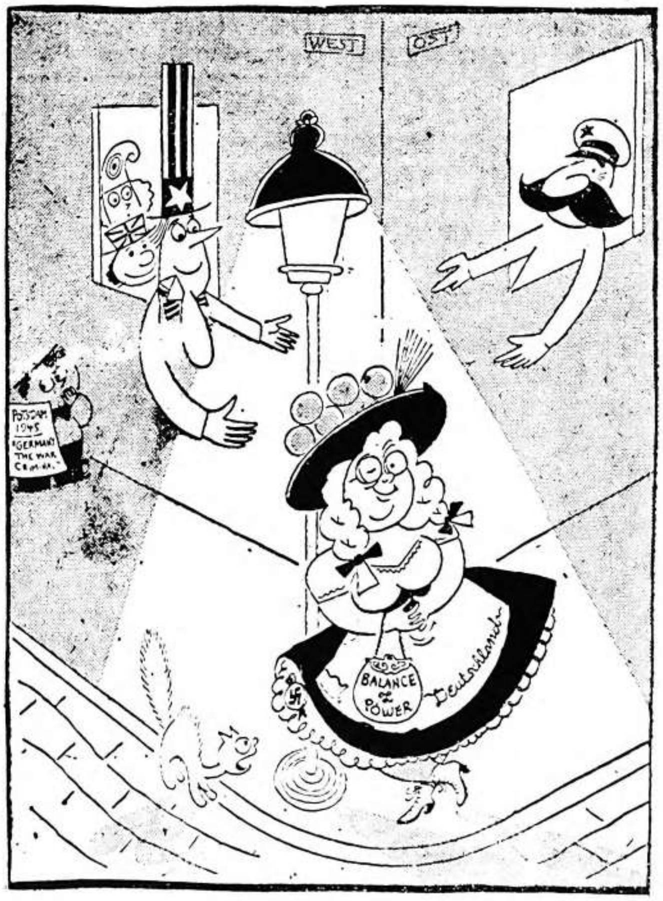
"The articles, in Quick, which has no connection with the American magazine of the same name, revolve around the dismissal, in January, 1948, of Dr. Johannes Semler from his post as economics director in the bizonal Economics Administration, which was the German administrative agency in the United States and British zones.

"Dr. Semler is now a prominent member of the Bundestag, representing Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democrats. The articles praise Dr. Semler as a man who courageously stood up to the Allied officials . . .

"The writer of the article quotes Dr. Semler as saying, at a time when the United States was pouring millions of dollars worth of food into Germany, that 'this catastrophe is simply the natural consequence of the unbelievably frivolous decisions of Yalta and Teheran, to rob the Germans of their granaries in the East and drive twelve million mouths to feed into the West! A consequence of senseless dismantling, the robbery of our patents, the prohibition of our export trade.'. . .

"In the speech at Erlangen that later caused his dismissal, Dr. Semler was quoted as having declared that it was the Allies' intention to starve the Germans and that they refused to permit the Germans to obtain food on their own."

From the New York Times.



LILY MARLENE . . . 1952

(*Cartoon by Yardley, Courtesy The Baltimore Sun*)

The Mystery of the London Debt Conference

by
"ECONOMIST"

What is the mystery behind the London Debt Conference? Are American holders of German bonds getting ready to be burned again? These are fair questions to ask in the light of the statement made by J. G. Rogers, President of the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council (F. B. P. C.) on April 21, 1952, in his report dealing with the progress in the International Debt Conference in London. Mr. Rogers is apparently in a position to give hope to the holders of foreign bonds that the day is approaching when the German securities will again be traded and serviced. Mr. Rogers intimates that this happy event will take place shortly.

This is welcome news indeed for the long-suffering American holders of German bonds. But somehow we cannot help wondering whether these glad tidings are what they portend to be. Having studied the long and sordid history of the treatment meted out to American investors by the Germans; having seen the shabby record of some American bankers in the flotation of foreign bonds; and having studied the dubious role played by the American protectors of the bondholders, we cannot resist the temptation to take a good look at the record. Since Mr. Rogers is acting again as "spokesman" for the bondholders, the question is: whom is he protecting, the bondholders or the issuing houses? And who is going to pay the bill?

The Lending Spree

The story goes back 20 years, and 20 years is a long time for the American investors to recall. In 1932, Senator Hiram Johnson shocked the nation with his exposure of the business ethics of some American bankers. When the United States Senate Committee on Finance surveyed the famous prosperity of the 20's, it discovered that during the third decade of the century American institutions, trusts, estates and individuals purchased approximately 10½ billion dollars worth of foreign bonds. In those days, Germany was the favored recipient of the American bounty. German states, cities, industries participated heavily in this spree and their signatures were welcomed by the American investment fraternity. What is more, when the Germans themselves were not too eager to borrow money—that happened too, mirabile dictu—they were quickly brought to reason. American representatives were hired by the investment houses at handsome salaries to go to Germany to show the recalcitrant Germans that it was in their interest to borrow money. The loans were quickly absorbed in the American market. Nobody can tell what the total amount thus borrowed was, but it is known that during the Coolidge regime some five hundred million dollars was loaned to Germany in various short term credits. Over a billion and a half was loaned on long-term bonds. In those days, the American investor was told that Germany was an excellent risk. Then too, he was told that Germany was trustworthy since she was paying reparations for damages inflicted upon the victims of World War I.

They forgot to tell him that Germany was paying reparations at the rate of 1 dollar to every 1.84 borrowed from American and other countries.

In 1933, when Senator Johnson was through with the investigation of that spree, he was angry, to say the least, and his opinion of the perpetrators of this prodigality was expressed in the following words: *"The record of the activities of investment bankers in the flotation of foreign securities is one of the most scandalous chapters in American banking. The sale of these foreign security issues was characterized by practices and abuses which were violative of the most elementary principals of business ethics."*

When this postmortem was made, the American investors learned that 131 foreign bond issues were in default. The American bondholders were looking for help and protection in their efforts to recover their losses. The investment fraternity was ready—sorry, to be sure, for their past mistakes—but ready, nevertheless, to be of help. Numerous bondholders' protective committees sprang up and as soon as new defaults were announced, the bankers who had sold the defaulted bond issues to the public rushed in and captured the position of agent for the very people who so gullibly bought the bonds in the first place. The Banking Fraternity was only too glad, it seemed, to protect the interests of the innocent public. Little, however, did the holders realize that the bankers were out to make other profits out of them—by refunding the old loans. In any case, the activities on behalf of the bondholders put the investment bankers in a position to conceal their own responsibility.

The Bondholders' Protectors

The German short term loans are a typical case in point. During the depression, Germany defaulted the interests on her short-term loans. The Chase National Bank, one of the institutions heavily involved in floating these loans, felt it was its duty to fight for the interests of both the bondholders and bankers. It delegated Al Wiggin to go to Germany. Since the law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell had done most of the legal work in connection with the floating of these loans and knew all there was to be known about Germany, Wiggin took with him a representative of Sullivan & Cromwell. They arranged a Standstill Agreement under which Germany promised to make a small payment on the short-term credits. In this bargain, the Germans succeeded in cutting the interest rates. Soon after the Nazis came to power, they defaulted on the Standstill Agreement. Sullivan & Cromwell was ready to help for a fee. Again the firm sent a representative to Germany to bargain with the Nazis. The net result was that the interest payment on the German bonds was suspended and the bondholders got nothing.

This is one example of how the bankers and the house of Sullivan & Cromwell protected the interests of the bondholders. On the other hand, the bondholders were led to believe that their protectors did the best they could. But the bondholders were too busy worrying about the losses to realize what their protectors were doing. However, one bondholder found out:

In 1933, a certain Katherine Perry sued the North German Lloyd Company of New York to compel it to pay her the interest due on a one thousand dollar bond. The German shipping line resisted the claim vigorously on the ground that it was a German corporation subject only to German laws; that Germany had declared a moratorium on her debts, and that Germany was doing nothing more than our own Government was doing for the protection of debtors. These arguments came out of the fertile brains of Sullivan & Cromwell, as the attorneys for the German company. Thus, at the very same time that Sullivan & Cromwell took on the heavy burden of protecting the American bondholders against Germany, they turned around and protected the German debtor against the American investor! In other words, Mrs. Perry, an American holder of German bonds, did not know that the American bondholders hired a lawyer who was also paid by the opposing side.

These events are recalled here—not for the vicarious pleasure one derives from rattling skeletons in the neighbors' closets. Nor is it easy to bring in the name of such an illustrious house as Sullivan & Cromwell without trepidation. Was it not Mr. Dulles, the senior partner of Sullivan & Cromwell who stated in April 1952: *"In human affairs the non-material or spiritual element is more important than the material. . . . There is a moral or natural law not made by men which determines right or wrong, and conformity with this law in the long run is indispensable to human welfare."*

Precisely. These are lofty principles, indeed, and we gladly subscribe to them.

The firm of Sullivan & Cromwell is brought in here because it has been prominently connected with FBPC and with German loans. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that it knows a thing or two about the mysteries surrounding the current London Debt Conference.

A Series of Mysteries

Mystery No. 1: The German Government has officially acknowledged the priority of its debts contracted in recent years for the purpose of rebuilding the German economy over the pre-war private debts. Prior to the opening of the London Conference, February 28, 1952, the United States Government announced that it was willing to forego this priority "to the extent necessary to insure the fair and methodical settlement of pre-war claims." Who was responsible for this decision? The State Department or the FBPC?

Mystery No. 2: On December 11, 1952, the U. S. Government announced that it was prepared to scale down its claim on the Federal Government for post-war assistance by 63 per cent, or a reduction of the debt from 3.2 million to 1.2 million. Did the State Department have the authority to do so under executive agreement?

Mystery No. 3: Since the effect of the proposed scaling down of the German public debt will be to enable some private creditors to benefit at the expense, not of the German Government, but of the American people, how much will Mr. Rogers' organization benefit from the deal?

Mystery No. 4: Is Mr. Rogers' really the spokesman for the American bondholders? Who elected him and when? Which bondholders does he represent?

Mystery No. 5: What is the connection between FBPC and the firm of Sullivan & Cromwell?

Mystery No. 6: Is the proposed settlement intended to create an atmosphere favorable to the flotation of new German bonds in this country? How much will the American investors have to lose again?

Mystery No. 7: How did the Government organization, which was supposed to be created under the Securities Act of 1933 (Title II) for the purpose of protecting, preserving and advancing the interests of the holders of foreign securities in default, become the FBPC, a private organization and a creature of Sullivan & Cromwell?

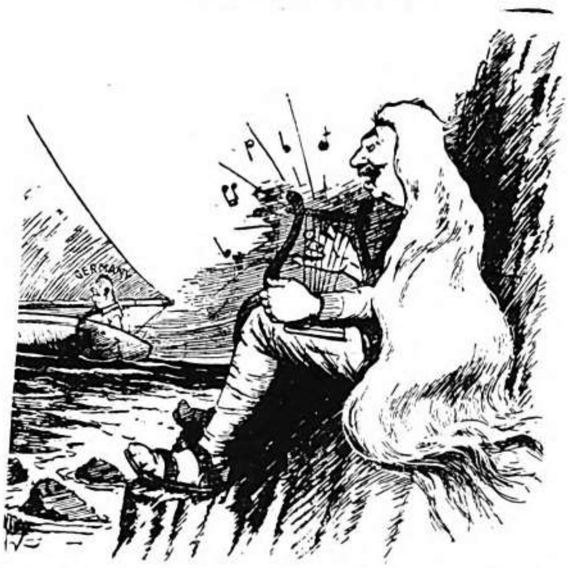
We shall attempt to solve Mystery No. 7 which, we believe, will go a long way towards understanding the mysteries surrounding the London Debt Conference. a public proclamation.

A New Government Agency

Senator Johnson's exposure of the unsavory practices of the investment fraternity shocked the people profoundly in 1933. To prevent further abuse, many bondholders demanded that the Government do away with the nefarious practices of the issuing houses. They clearly expressed their wishes not to be protected by the investment houses and told it to Congress in no uncertain terms.

Congress was shocked, too, and appropriate legislation was passed to create a Government agency to defend the interests of the people. This law goes under the name of "Securities Act of 1933, as amended—Title II, Corporation of For-

ANOTHER LORELEI?



(*Cartoon by Marcus, Courtesy N. Y. Times*) eign Bondholders." It was passed on May 8, 1933.

Under this Act, the control and management of the corporation was vested in a board of six directors to be appointed by the Federal Trade Commission. This agency was empowered to act on behalf of the bondholders, to make available all pertinent data to them in respect to all foreign securities, and to negotiate and carry out all the necessary claims for the resumption of payments on the securities in default. In return, the Bondholders were to deposit their securities with the agency.

As the new agency needed funds for its operations, the Act authorized it to borrow 75 thousand dollars from the RFC.

The framers of the law made it clear that the Act was intended for the protection, preservation and advancement of the holders of foreign securities only and that the new Agency was to have no connection with the houses of issue. The Act expressly stipulated that no banking house identified with the origination of a foreign issue was to have any direct or indirect connection with the organization created under government supervision.

Who Killed the Agency?

On the other hand, the houses of issue made no bones about their dislike for the new agency, said so and acted accordingly. Hardly was the ink of the Act dry, when the bondholders discovered that the banks had succeeded in inserting a most vicious joker into the Act. This was Section 211 which said that the Act shall not take effect until the President says that its taking effect is in the public interest and then he must do so by issuing

The investment houses had good friends in Congress, and the job proved quite easy. The first step was to insert the joker calling for a presidential proclamation. This they succeeded in easily. The next step was to convince the Executive Department that Title II was not necessary. Since the law placed the new agency under the FTC, the banking fraternity began looking for friends there. One of the commissioners of the FTC was Mr. Raymond Stevens who had been a former Congressman. (There was a strong possibility that Mr. Stevens used his influence with his friends in Congress to insert the joker mentioned above.) After the law was passed, Mr. Stevens was asked by a group who represented the investment houses known as the "Secret Six" "to study" the law. Mr. Stevens obliged, made a thorough study of it, consulted with various people in proper places, and duly arrived at the conclusion that it would be inadvisable to set up a Government organization to protect the bondholders. Instead, he thought a private organization could do a much better job.

Revealing Testimony

In plain English, Mr. Stevens, a public servant, paid by the people to carry out the people's laws, undertook at the taxpayers' expense to kill the law in order to benefit the issuing houses that did the people so much harm. During the hearings held by the S.E.C. November 16, 1935 (page 1210) Mr. Rublee testified to the following: "Early in August 1933, Mr. Stevens informed me that if an adequate private corporation could be set up, the President would not have to put into effect Title 11."

The following testimony is also revealing (page 1217) Q. Was Mr. Stevens the main spring of the group? A. (By Mr. Rublee) "He was the only one. We were just helping him."

Who is Mr. Rublee? Mr. Rublee is a member of the prominent law firm of Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson, Shorb, Washington, D. C. Mr. Acheson is now Secretary of State. From Mr. Rublee's testimony it appears that he was a member of an Organizing Committee in Wall Street set up by the Investment Houses in New York to thwart the implementation of Title 11. This organizing Committee was referred to as the "secret six." This committee was looking for prominent people who would appear very respectable and could prove to the White House that Title 11 was not necessary. The organizing Committee was also anxious to work closely with the State Department.

Mr. Rublee was very diligent in his effort. For in a letter addressed, in May 1933, to Mr. Cordell Hull by his economic advisor Herbert Feis, we read the following: "Mr. Rublee, who was one of the Committee and Mr. Dulles who was assisting the Committee reported to me yesterday that they could see the end of the road."

The SEC hearings, unfortunately, did not reveal all the underhanded activities of the organizing Committee that finally lead to the demise of Title 11. It is apparent, however, that Allen Dulles did more than merely give assistance to the "Secret Six," since it was his job to provide the legal and political arguments to prove that Title II was not necessary and that the bondholders could best be protected by a private organization sponsored by the issuing houses.

Lest there be any doubt about the character of the new organization which was planned to supercede Title 11, and which was viewed with favor by the State Department, page 1192 of the SEC hearings should dispel any doubt: "The men selected should have the confidence of the Houses of Issue and this should be ascertained before their appointment." (From a memo written by the Organizing Committee.)

By October 20, 1933, Messrs. Stevens, Rublee and Dulles effectively saw the "end of the road." On that date the White House issued a statement which read in part as follows: "The President, today, conferred with a group of business persons invited to Washington to discuss the creation of an organization for the protection of American holders of foreign securities. . . .

"This task is primarily for private initiative and interests . . . To be handled by the parties directly concerned . . .

"It was decided, therefore, to call together a small group to take upon themselves the patriotic duty of bringing into existence an adequate, effective, and disinterested organization to carry on the work."

To make their patriotic duty easier and beynod question, the White House statement added: "The Organization, when it comes into existence, is to be independent of any special interests; *it is to have no connection of any kind with the Investment Banking Houses which originally issued the loans.*" (Italics supplied.)

Strange "Doings"

A few months later, on December 18, 1933, the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council was incorporated under the laws of Maryland as a non-profit Corporation, and Title 11 remained an unproclaimed law. The hearings of the SEC did not show how Senator Johnson took it nor what his reactions were.

Things began to happen soon after and everybody was happy—everybody that is, but the American bondholders. Although to the best of our knowledge, Mr. Stevens was not a bondholder, his financial situa-

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tion improved immediately after the establishment of the F.B.P.C. He resigned from his job as Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission, and became the first head of the new Organization at a yearly salary of $20,000, with a contract for three years regardless of how long he remained with the Organization. For reasons unknown to us, he resigned after six months and rejoined the F.T.C. His successor became J. Reuben Clark, former Ambassador to Mexico.

By a strange coincidence, the heads of the FBPC were former assistant Secretaries of State. For instance, J. R. Clark and Francis White, were both former Assistant Secretaries of State. The present head, James Grafton Rogers, who joined the Council in 1935 was also an Assistant Secretary of State. Does the presence of so many Assistant Secretaries of State indicate that the Council can speak for the State Department and yet claim it is independent and strictly a private corporation? Were these men selected because they were "patriotic and disinterested" in order to represent unofficially the views of the State Department? Were they intended to be used as a scape-goat by the State Department in case their ideas proved unpopular? Or were they selected because they could make "suggestions" such as the latest suggestion made by the State Department, prior to the London Conference, to reduce the German post-war debt by two billion dollars? We do not know the answer, but certainly there is room for speculation.

Apropriate and Disinterested Representatives?

On the very day the State of Maryland granted the charter of incorporation, December 18, 1933, the organizing committee of the FBPC issued a call for $100.00 for operating expenses to be *collected from banks, bankers, and Houses of Issue,* because, as the letter put it, "these parties will benefit most from its work." Ninety thousand dollars were thus collected the first year. Among these "disinterested" contributors were Dillon, Read, Kuhn Loeb, Chase National Bank, J. P. Morgan, National City Bank, each contributing $5,000. An additional $18,600 was contributed by the following: Bankers Trust Company, Halsey Stuart, Lee Higginson, J. W. Seligman, etc. (Be it recalled that the White House Statement said the Council will have nothing to do with the Houses of Issue.)

During the SEC investigation, Mr. Traphagen, a representative of a house of issue, and a prominent official of the Council, was asked the following question: "Do you think the Council or a body such as this can receive financial support and still be entirely independent?" Mr. Traphagen replied: "I am sure of it." In those days, lie detectors were unknown, so we cannot tell whether Mr. Traphagen blushed when he made the reply or not.

Germany a Disinterested and Patriotic Contributor?

Where did the FBPC get the rest of the money to carry on its work and to protect the American bondholders? Believe it or not, it got it from other "patriotic and disinterested" friends—the defaulting Governments, such as Germany, Brazil, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic. As the Dominican Republic put it: "it was glad to contribute a flat sum to cover expenses for the work of the Council." Thus, Germany, the country that treated the American bondholders so shabbily was only too glad to hire the collectors who tried to make her honor her obligations.

According to the evidence presented to the SEC, the FBPC received the following foreign contributions by December 11, 1936:

FROM:	Germany	$30,209
	Brazil	16,130
	Dominican Republic	$20,000
	Costa Rica	8,166
	Argentina	20,000

On the other hand, the FBPC annual

"A rearmed Germany, intriguing with East and West, playing for power and revenge, will become a new danger point in the international scene. A rearmed Germany, far from increasing the security and stability of the West, will become a new source of insecurity.

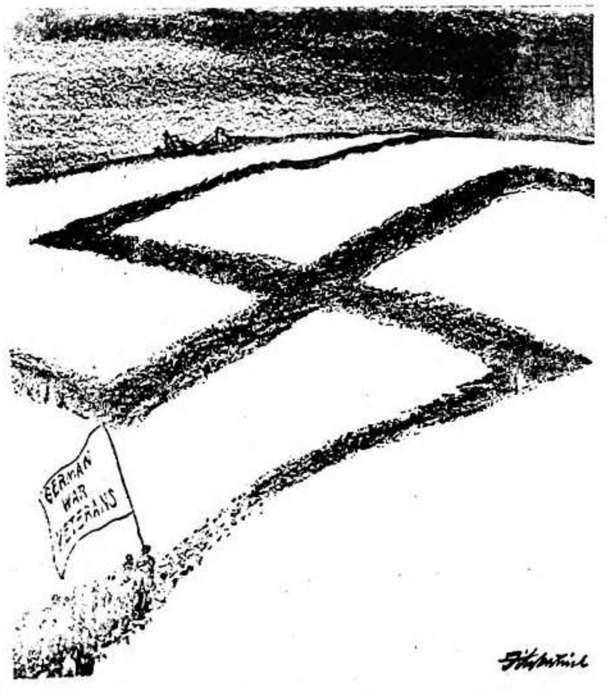
"This stupid plan has still to be endorsed by the Governments of the West. There is still time for public opinion to call a halt."

(The Reynolds News)

"The European Army Plan which the U. S. is now strongly pushing has split wide open every one of the five main countries concerned. Three of these governments—the French (chief sponsor of this 'Pleven Plan'), the West German, and the Italian—now feebly favor it, but face powerful domestic opposition. The Dutch and Belgian governments are at heart opposed. Nothing divides opinion more in these five countries than the feature which forms the major U. S. motive in backing the European army plan—the rearming of the Germans."

(Clarence K. Streit in "Freedom and Union")

SAME OLD TRAIL?



(Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

report for 1937 lists the following contributions received from Germany as: "a direct outlay for negotiation expenses":

1934	1935	1936
$23,695.29	$223.24	$1.75

Were these German contributions in addition to those mentioned by the SEC?

In any case, it is obvious that Germany was the largest financial contributor to the FBPC. Logically, therefore, this German contribution would classify Dr. Schacht as one of those "patriotic and disinterested" parties referred to in the SEC hearings. At least this would make Schacht a friend of the American bondholders. Be it as it may, we are still searching for an answer to explain the Hitler Government's contribution to the FBPC. Knowing Hitler's generosity, we are inclined to believe that he must have had a good reason for doing it. Whatever the reason, the Nazi financial contribution to the Council was so resented that the FBPC was most severely criticized in many quarters. The general criticism was that the Council cannot possibly defend the bondholders visa-vis the foreign governments and take payment from these governments at the same time.

Other criticisms levelled against the Council were that:

1. It has usurped the functions of a legitimate Government Agency as contemplated under Title 11 of the Securities Act of 1933.
2. It has violated its own pledges not to have anything to do with the Houses of Issue that did the American bondholders so much harm.

The Dubious Role of the FBPC

Since the American holders of the German bonds are vitally concerned in the outcome of the London meeting and since the FBPC is again protecting their interests, we must now take up the record of these German loans. Shortly after its founding, the FBPC entered into negotiations with the German Government to resume the servicing of $640,000,000 floated in the United States in the '20's. The interests on these loans were in default. The negotiations lasted a considerable time, but proved fruitless. In 1935, the German Government made an offer to pay the arrears at the rate of 40 cents on the dollar. Common sense would have dictated that the FBPC accept the offer. It did not do so. Shortly thereafter the Hitler Government withdrew the offer and, instead, offered a refunding of the debt by issuing 65 million dollars in bonds in lieu of the past interest on the $640,000,000 in securities held by bondholders.

At the same time, an identical offer was made by the German Government to the Swedish, British, and Swiss holders, with one significant difference: Whereas the non-American holders were given a four per cent interest, the American holders had to accept three per cent. The FBPC cogitated for quite a while and finally urged the bondholders to accept the German terms. True, the Council did pay its respect to virtue by telling the public that it did not like the deal, but urged acceptance nevertheless.

When the terms of the new refunding issues were made public in March, 1937, the press condemned the Council for its activities and accused it of siding with the Germans against the interests of the American bondholders. The question asked was this: Did German financial support of the Council have anything to do with the Council's approval of the raw deal?

According to its own laws, the 65 million dollars refunding issue had to be approved by the SEC. Before obtaining the SEC permission to float the new issue, the Germans had to make a registration application giving all pertinent data regarding Germany's indebtedness. The total indebtedness declared on the registration application by Dr. Schacht was $11,620,000,000 M. Actually Germany's indebtedness at that time was between twenty to twenty-five billion M. This was common knowledge in both Germany and the United States. The German Government, therefore, deliberately lied in its registration application. The American investment fraternity knew that the registration application was fraudulent, but did not care, since the new refunding issue of 1937 netted the issuing houses a profit of $1,031,250. The standard fee for floating such an issue at that time was $650,000. Since the investment fraternity made a handsome profit and since it was interested in enhancing Germany's credit in the United States, it was naturally in favor of the deal. The SEC was fully cognizant of this fraud perpetrated upon the American public, but accepted the German false statement and approved the deal.

American Investors Taken for a Ride

What the American press thought of this deal can best be summarized by quoting from an article of the *New York Post* on March 9, 1937. The article was entitled: "American Investor taken for a Ride." The opening paragraph read: "Would you care to have a lawyer who was paid by the other side? Must the interests of American investors in German bonds be left in the hands of a group who receives pay and monetary favors from the German government?" The article concluded by asking for a congressional investigation of both the SEC and the FBPC.

The law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell was in favor of approving the deal. The question arises: Did the fact that Sullivan and Cromwell received $30,000 from the German government in compensation for its labor to make the 1937 refunding issue a success have something to do with the SEC approval of a fraudulent registration? At any rate, the Washington Merry-Go-Round reported, February 17, 1937, that Sullivan and Cromwell were waging an undercover battle with the SEC to force the latter to approve the refunding issue of 1937.

The *New York Post* of March 9, 1937, asked this question: "Was pressure brought to bear on SEC by Sullivan and Cromwell to permit the registration of the Issue?" Many questions propounded by the *New York Post* have never received an answer. Inquiries made in Wall Street, however, elicited a curt reply: the FBPC is a creature of the House of Sullivan and Cromwell; and since the latter's name occurred frequently during the hearing held by the SEC in the thirties, the role that this law firm played in the Chilean loan may provide an answer as to what the American bondholders could expect from both Sullivan & Cromwell and the FBPC.

Ethics Are Elastic

During the lending spree in the 20's, Chile floated in the United States loans amounting to $262,163,000. The attorneys who did the legal work for the Issuing Houses and who put in all the protective clauses in the loan contracts were Sullivan and Cromwell. These loans, too, were in default. At the end of 1934, Chile passed unilateral legislation-decree law 5580—and drastically revised the terms of the loan contract. When the decree was made public, the American bondholders discovered that Chile offered to pay 13 per cent of the original value of the loan. The lawyers who acted for the Chilean Government were again Sullivan and Cromwell.

As regards the dual role played by Sullivan and Cromwell, the criticism voiced by the SEC read: "The inequitable character of the plan did not deter Sullivan and Cromwell from accepting the employment of the Chilean Government in connection with matters arising under law 5580. The firm had acted as counsel to Houses of Issue of the underwriting of the bonds effected by the law. The firm had allowed its name to appear on many of the circulars offering the bonds for sale; and it is reasonable to suppose that its name carried weight with many prospective investors. Nevertheless, it sold its services as Counsel for the Chilean Government in connection with its unilateral plan."

Did Mr. Dulles challenge this scathing indictment of the SEC? No, he stoutly defended his firm's activities while admitting "that it would be improper for a law firm that had drafted a loan contract to represent the Government in repudiating or attacking the validity of a provision in that agreement or in arguing an interpretation of that agreement that would narrow the rights of the bondholders beyond those intended to be granted." (P. 478 SEC report, 1937).

A Pertinent Question

We come now to the final query: Who is responsible for the decision made prior to the London meeting to reduce the German post-war debts by two billion dollars, the effect of which will be to favor the private bondholders i.e. the FBPC. In the course of the SEC investigation, the FBPC was frequently referred to as a quasi-governmental agency, semi-official agency, etc. The best description of the character of the FBPC, however, was given by the late J. Reuben Clark, its former head, who described the activities of his organization in the following words: "The FBPC could relieve the Department of State of burdens and responsibilities, which often-times come at inconvenient periods when the national interests prevent the exercise of a legitimate interest and influence in behalf of such bondholders."

Elsewhere in his testimony, Mr. Clark was asked a question regarding his negotiations of the Brazilian loan. The question was: "Mr. Clark, did the Department of State request the Council to negotiate with Brazil with regard to the dollar bonds under the Niemeyer plan?" Mr. Clark: "I think I might answer the question 'yes.'" From this the inference is clear that the relations between the FBPC and the State Department are extremely close.

FBPC fees for negotiating a loan is $1.25 per thousand dollar bond. The total amount of private debts involved at the London Conference is over $1,500,000-000. Should a settlement be arrived at, the FBPC stands to realize over a million in fees. The American taxpayers will lose two billion dollars. Did the FBPC have anything to do with the State Department's suggestion to scale down two billion dollars and to relinquish the priority of the German post-war debts in favor of the pre-war private debts?

"The personal attitudes of leading Americans over here, from General Eisenhower through Ambassadors Draper, Murphy and Dunn to much smaller fry, suggest to the Europeans that, quite apart from present military exigencies, the Americans tend to be pro-German. Even those European professionals of power politics and history, who can understand the Machiavellianism of Talleyrand and Metternich, are rather alarmed by American affection for Bismarck, coupled with a professedly moralistic interpretation of history."

(Percy Winner in The New Republic)

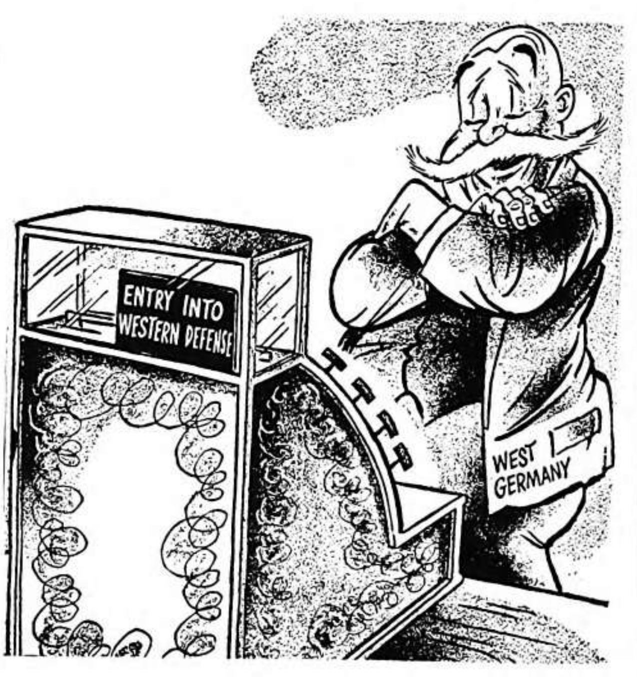
"After having asked the Germans to form a defense of Western Europe, the next and logical step will be to ask them to produce the sinews of war. The Ruhr, the greatest and most highly organized industrial complexus of Europe, is ideally fitted for this task. But will the Germans co-operate?"

(Edwin Hartrich in the New York Herald Tribune)

"'We are less concerned about the German will to fight than about the danger that they will run away with the show,' said a top U. S. official in Germany. 'Our problem will be to hold them back, to prevent them from jumping the gun and dragging us all into war.'"

From the U. S. News and World Report.

"FOR A PRICE, OF COURSE"



(*Cartoon by Pletcher, Courtesy The Sioux City Journay*)

Inside Germany

BEGINNING TO ROLL

"German autos roll into foreign countries in greater quantities.

"Germany's fast-rising steel output helped the country's car makers turn out 372,080 vehicles last year, 22% more than in 1950. Exports rose still more steeply —a sharp 50% over the 83,000 of 1950. Best customers were Sweden and Belgium. They took almost a third of the 120,000 cars exported last year."

(From a report in the Wall Street Journal)

★

GERMAN COOPERATION

"Authoritative sources reported today that four West German industrialists were arrested near Essen last Sunday and accused of betraying to Russia secret information on Western arms production in the Ruhr...

"All were described as 'leading officials of West German industrial enterprises.'"

(From a report in the Washington Post)

★

THE DIPLOMATIC TOUCH

"All German diplomats abroad were informed of Hitler's plans for the mass extermination of European Jews before they were carried out, it was revealed here by Dr. Paul Schmidt, former press chief of the Nazi Foreign Ministry.

"Testifying as a defense witness for Franz Rademacher, former Foreign Ministry counsellor charged with complicity in the mass deportation of Jews and in the annihilation of 1,500 Jews in Belgrade, Dr. Schmidt said that the infamous Wannsee Protocol of January, 1942, to 'achieve a final solution of the Jewish question' by forced labor and 'special treatment' was circulated through the Foreign Office to all German diplomats."

(From a report in the Jewish Mail)

★

WHAT'S AHEAD?

"... developments at home and abroad make West German businessmen wonder what's ahead. All over the country they talk wistfully of their lost markets in the East...

"West German businessmen generally have little confidence that they can find adequate outlets in the Western world...

"Even if the dollar balance is righted, West Germans still have the problem of finding a total market big enough to keep industry busy. The structure of the German economy is right back to the pre-war pattern —the same concentration of metalworking industries, the same low wages, the same lack of mass consumption at home. That means the pressure to export will soon be as strong as pre-war, perhaps stronger..."

(From a report in the Business Week)

A NEW WORKSHOP

"East Germany is fast becoming the chief workshop of the Russian satellites in East Europe.

"Speeches by Walter Ulbricht, economic czar of East Germany, and his chief lieutenant, Heinrich Rau, have indicated that by the end of the present five year plan in 1955 East Germany's productivity, doubled and in some cases trebled, will feed heavy industrial and machine goods into the economies of Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and China."

(As reported in the Chicago Sunday Tribune)

★

BUILDING UP

"Lloyds Shipping Register today said German merchant marine tonnage more than doubled last year. The publication said Germany had 460,000 gross tons in 1950 and added 571,000 in 1951."

(From a report in the Washington Post)

★

THE "INTERNATIONAL"

"... the Freikorps Deutschland which advocates abolition of parliamentary system and democracy and stands for the Fuehrer principles is all the more active under Hermann Lampe, former SS leader in the Totenkopf division. In the background are Frauenfeld, Austria's former Gauleiter, Capt. Stennes and Beck-Broichsitter, former major of the division 'Greater Germany' and chairman of the 'Brotherhood Germany.' Patron is the air ace Hans Ulrich Rudel, former Colonel of the Air Force who will become 'Fuehrer' after his final return from Argentina. During his visit in 1951 Rudel had expressed his sympathies for the Freikorps and for the SRP, and he had a conference with Count Westarp, member of the SRP executive.

"Experts say that the Freikorps is part of the 'Fascist International.' Its political predictions are enlightening. It says that at the elections in 1953 the Social Democrats will be triumphing. But they would be worn out not later than 1955. Then there would be political tension which might prepare their path, and by 1957 they would be able to conquer power..."

(From the Bulletin on German Questions, London)

★

THEY LOVE US?

"Already faint murmurs of anti-Americanism are beginning to be heard in Germany outside the Socialist and nationalist parties.

"Conscription for a German contribution to the European defense force when it comes will provide another incitement to anti-Americanism, for it will be unpopular. And there is always the complaint of some German industrialists and merchants that United States policy, which to them is the Adenauer policy, is cutting them off from easy profits in the East."

(From Drew Middleton in the New York Times)

TAXPAYERS' PARADISE

"Western Germany's Federal and State Governments, which expect a total of 30,000,000,000 Deutsche marks (about $7,000,000,000) in tax collections for 1952, could do a great deal better through improved tax legislation . . .

"The problem is of interest to Allied and German economists because of the emphasis often placed on Germany's financial obligations, including debts of the past as well as future obligations in the European Defense Community.

"In the course of reorganizing the big steel and coal enterprises of the Ruhr industrial area, through the Allied decartelization and de-concentration program, the new enterprises have been permitted by the Federal Government to revalue their assets.

"In most instances the revaluation has been upward, far upward, to permit claims of high rates of depreciation. This results in high tax exemptions with corollary losses to the Federal treasury.

"Another treasury loss results from the allowable practice of writing up huge expenses for repairs and maintenance, according to Allied sources who have studied the tax situation."

(As reported in the New York Times)

TOP SECRET

"West German Federal police have arrested five Germans suspected of selling German industrial secrets and patents to 'two Western powers.'

"No hint was dropped as to what 'Western powers' were involved. It was emphasized that no Russian or other Communist states or groups were involved.

"It was the second series of arrests in forty-eight hours growing out of charges that individuals were selling this country's industrial secrets to foreigners."

(From a report in the N. Y. Herald Tribune)

STEEL

"West German steel makers announced that they hoped to increase output to 16,500,000 tons a year next year—one million tons more than Britain.

"Bruno Fugmann, chairman of the West German Iron and Steel Association, told a meeting in Duesseldorf that about 2,500,000,000 Deutsche marks ($595,000,000) would be needed in the next three years . . .

"This would make Germany Europe's biggest steel producer, preceded in the world only by the United States and Russia."

(From an A. P. dispatch)

OIL . . .

"West German technical colleges are looking forward to a record spring enrollment of young Iranians intent on scientific training to run their country's nationalized oil industry.

"Six hundred Iranian students came there last fall to study technical courses. That is double the prewar average. The Iranian government has refused to send the students to Britain for their courses because of the bitter oil dispute."

(As reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer)

LEST WE FORGET

"The tortures suffered by Roumanian Jews done to death in 'phantom trains' during the war were described by a witness at the trial of Franz Rademacher, former official of the Nazi Foreign Office, who is on trial on charges of responsibility in the deportation and death of thousands of Jews in Central Europe.

"The witness related how thousands of Roumanian Jews were stripped of all clothes and herded into long freight trains, regardless of age or sex. The unheated trains were shunted up and down the length of the Roumanian rail system until all the imprisoned Jews died of starvation or exposure."

(As reported by the J. T. A. News)

DRANG NACH OSTEN

"Communist China is today operating a secret network of 'purchasing agencies' in Western Germany, buying tens of millions of dollars worth of strategic industrial goods from the Germans and other West European nations for the Chinese war machine.

"Chief among the products the Peking representatives are buying, according to United States agents working on the problem, are specialized kinds of optical equipment and electronic equipment."

(Ernest Leiser to ONA)

FLYING HIGH

"West Germany has drawn up plans for a new Luftwaffe of 1,500 planes, manned by World War II airmen, to operate with the proposed six-nation European army.

"Informants said the plans prepared by former members of the late Reichsmarshal Herman Goering's staff called for the United States to supply the planes. The German force would be under the command of the European army's air staff."

(From a report in the New York Times)

DANCE OF BILLIONS

"Money problems are equally difficult. Equipment for an infantry division costs 200 million dollars; for an armored division, half a billion dollars. Counting pay, food, barracks construction and the like, it is estimated that the new German ground army will cost over 5 billion dollars for the first two years.

"Added to this are Air Force costs of 2.5 billion dollars, including the cost of planes and construction of 25 airfields at 7 million dollars each.

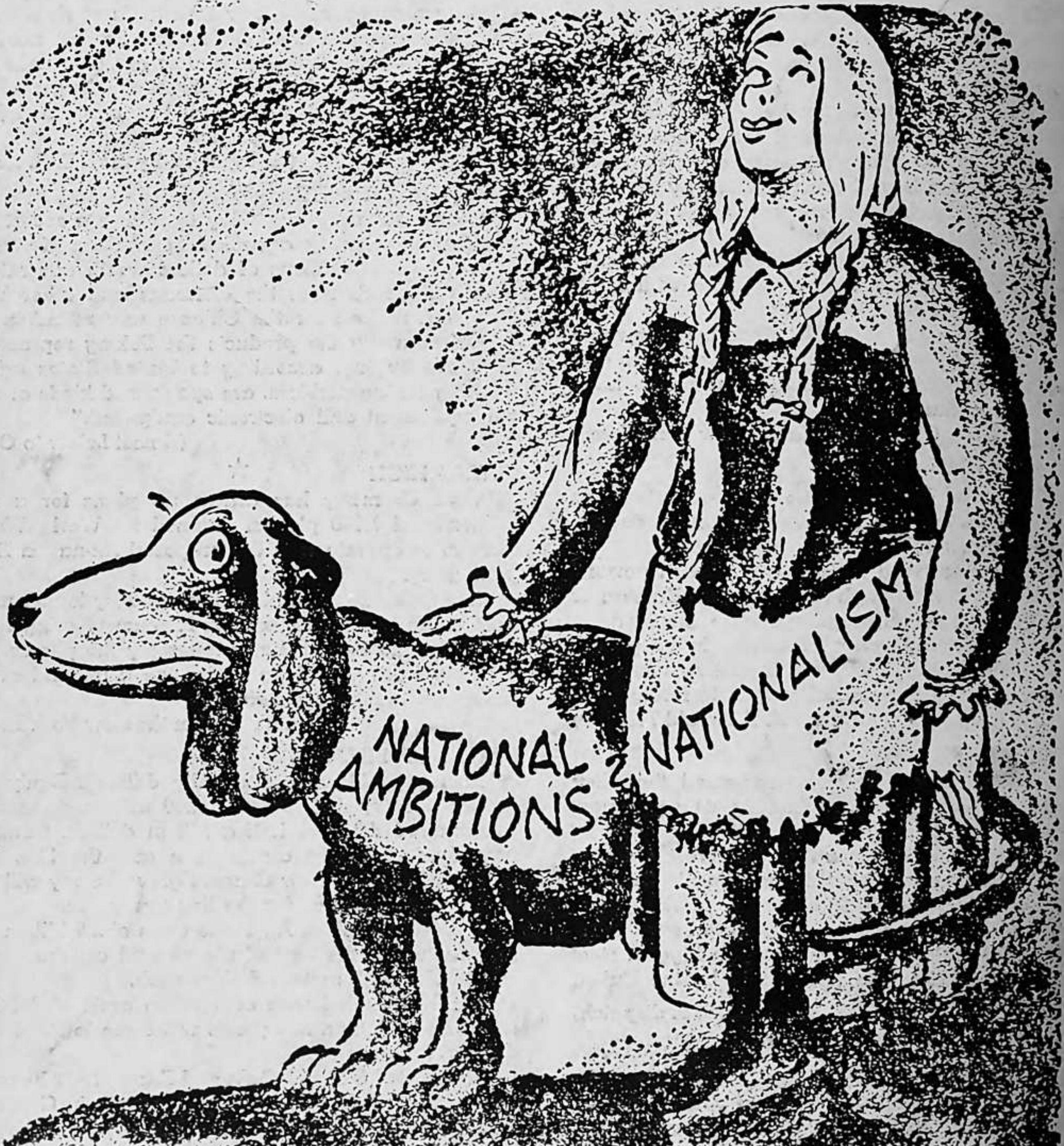
"All this, pooled with occupation costs of 3 billion dollars for the next two years, will come to 10.5 billion dollars . . .

"The United States, Britain and France may be asked to pay the bill for their occupation costs in Germany. This burden, if shifted, would fall mainly on the United States . . .

"Germans themselves are out to get what they can from the Western need for their help in the defense of Europe. They want more U. S. aid, more independence. They want, by one means or another, to unite East and West Germany."

(As reported in the U. S. News and World Report)

LOVE ME, LOVE MY DOG


NATIONAL AMBITIONS
NATIONALISM
Grover Page

(*Cartoon by Page, Courtesy The Louisville Courier-Journal*)

No. 41
ANUARY-FEBRUARY
1953

2-33

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by

ociety for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.
Tel.: PLaza 3-4985

No. 41
January — February, 1953

What We Expect From The New President

General Eisenhower assumes the Presidency of the United States in a period of great danger and of unlimited opportunity for the free world. In his efforts to achieve peace he will have the united support of all Americans regardless of political affiliation.

For seven years now, the democracies of Western Europe have been confronted with the growing challenge of Soviet Russia. To meet this threat, the United States has endeavored to build up their moral, political, economic and military strength. Have we been successful? Marshall Plan aid and NATO were steps in the right direction, yet in the last analysis, these programs only touched the periphery of the problems which we have to face.

It is generally agreed that Germany is a focal point of tension between the East and West. Only through a realistic solution of the German problem can the peace and integrity of Western Europe be secured. Over the past few years the United States has pursued a policy based on the assumption that a strong and powerful Germany is the key to West Europe's defense against the expansionist aims of Russia. Consequently, virtually every safeguard against reviving the German powerhouse has been scrapped. The results:

"West Germany is now the strongest industrial power of continental Europe." (Business Week, Jan. 22, 1952.)

"Over all, West Germany is rapidly regaining its prewar niche as one of the world's greatest trading nations." (Business Week, March 29, 1952.)

"West Germany has a larger civilian industrial plant now than it had before the war." (U. S. News and World Report, Feb. 29, 1952.)

From the point of view of those who have been responsible for these huge gains within several years, our German policy has been an overwhelming success. But does this mean that we have solved the German problem in the sense that new strength has been added to Western Europe's struggle to preserve its freedom? Has resurgent Germany helped to increase the unity of Western Europe and does it serve as democracy's bulwark against Communism?

The resurgence of a powerful Germany has strained relations between the United States and her most reliable friends on the Continent. Communist propaganda has lost no time in exploiting this development to the fullest. It is also logical to expect that a resurgent Germany would help to consolidate Russia's grip on the satellite nations and creates favorable conditions for an eventual tie-up between a strong and dominant Germany and the vast Eurasian territories controlled by the Kremlin. Nor can we overlook the rapid rise of neo-Nazi movements which feed on this policy and create alarm among the nations victimized by Nazi aggression. "The time is past when either Germans or Americans can say complacently that in view of the last 30 years it is surprising that there are so few Nazis. Recent events show they are not so few after all." (Drew Middleton, New York Times, Nov. 16, 1952.)

A huge military establishment in Europe built on such foundations is not only insecure, but potentially dangerous.

Three years ago, PREVENT WORLD WAR III (March-April 1950 issue) discussed some of the implications of the policy to revitalize Germany's power. At that time it was predicted that the consequences flowing from this policy were bound to clash with our objective to contain the Communist menace. "The building up of such a Germany in the face of contracting world markets and increasing competition among the nations of the world is virtually an act of setting the fuse to a powder keg. Containing Communism while we revitalize Germany's economic power is like trying to build a house during an earthquake. The Germans, given an excess of economic power and capacity, will eventually open the way for new Communist expansion throughout the world. In this connection it is well worth recalling that the rebuilding of German industry after World War I with the

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help of American dollars not only gave Hitler the basis for an army, but after his defeat, opened new fields for Communist expansion. This is how Germany's heavy industries and its rulers have served the cause of democracy."

These observations can no longer be considered as hypothetical. Today the horizons are darkened by the menacing cloud of a possible Russo-German tie-up. General Eisenhower showed his awareness of this danger when he addressed the New York Herald Tribune Forum in October 1952. To frustrate the hopes and plans of the Kremlin that a strong Germany would break away from the West and make common cause with the Soviets, General Eisenhower declared that the problem of reestablishing the economy of West Germany "must be recognized as a problem of the entire free world." Yet Germany has already been reestablished as a leading economic power, and to further develop Germany's might, would only strengthen those factors which would enable her to dominate the West and make a deal with Moscow.

A strong Germany is not necessarily democracy's bulwark against Communism. A strong Germany could also become Russia's long-range trump card against the West. How does this jibe with German thinking on this crucial subject? A front-page editorial in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (March 15, 1952) which is the mouthpiece of the Bonn Foreign Office and also represents the thinking of leading industrial circles, wrote:

> *"What can Russia win if she plays her trump card? . . . In order to jump out from her present isolation she can, exactly as the Rapallo Treaty did 30 years ago, place Germany as a protecting buffer between East and West. From the politico-economic point of view, she could repeat the old game for world power position by concluding long-term agreements with German industry and by reviving her trade with Germany. Thus, Russia might reopen the door to the world market."*

There are some who will take these warnings lightly, but Walter Lippmann also warned his readers that if we do not take Stalin's policy "seriously, if we dismiss it as mere deception, we shall merely be deceiving ourselves." (New York Herald Tribune, Oct. 7, 1952.)

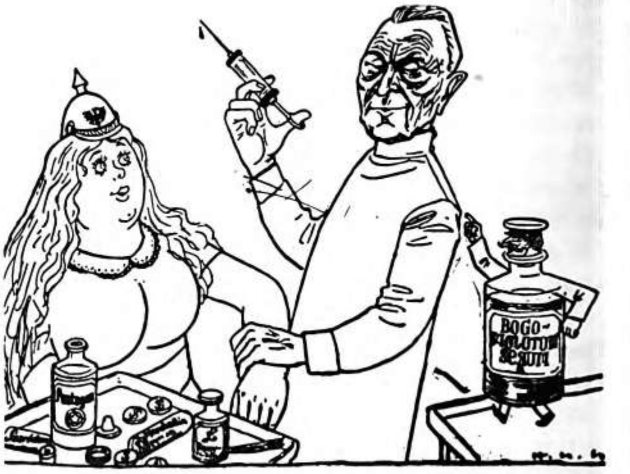
At the end of World War II, the United States had attained unsurpassed power and influence throughout the world. Yet by 1949 our historic victories in Asia were turned into devastating defeat. Must we face a similar disaster in Europe? Our present German policy, though shrouded with optimism in certain quarters, is facing a crisis. Yet it is not too late to avert the crisis. But this will depend in a large measure on our success in comprehending the portentous signs in Europe. Above all, this requires a complete re-examination of the basic assumptions on which our German policy rests.

When in 1950, Senators and Congressmen demanded an investigation of our occupation policies in Germany, John J. McCloy, then U. S. High Commissioner, hurried to Washington in order to prevent such Congressional inquiry. When we decided to investigate our policies in Asia, it turned out to be too late because the horse was already out of the stable. This need not happen in the case of Germany. We still have a chance to study the road on which we are travelling and where it winds up.

PREVENT WORLD WAR III has not hesitated to voice its disagreements with some of the fundamental premises which have been shaping our German policy. Measures have also been suggested which we believe would minimize risks we are assuming. While we do not claim a monopoly as to what is the realistic solution of the German problem, we believe that our present program is loaded with dangers and is morally wrong.

During the campaign some people feared the election of a military man to the Presidency of the United States on the alleged grounds that his viewpoint would be narrow and inflexible. As far as President-elect Eisenhower is concerned, his vast experience in world affairs and his proven qualities of leadership would indicate that he should not be placed in this category. In the context of our times, his leadership as a great general can be turned into a valuable asset in the quest for peace by not indulging in the luxury of wishful thinking which could ultimately mean disaster. It would be a good omen for all if the new President will apply this approach in the process of developing a foreign policy that will take us on the path which will lead our people and our friends to security and freedom.

Dr. Adenauer: "No, my darling Gretchen—first this treatment must be finished, before we try something else!"



(Weltwoche, Zürich)

The Results of "Rehabilitation"

GERMANS ARE RELUCTANT TO SIGN UP WITH WEST

(N. Y. Times—11-23-52)

•

ADENAUER BACKS USE OF NAZI DIPLOMATS

(N. Y. Times—10-23-52)

•

BONN AIDE WANTS PRUSSIA RESTORED
(Justice Minister Also Asserts Restoration of 'Das Reich' Is Free Democrats' Aim)

(N. Y. Times—11-22-52)

•

SAXONY VOTES 800 EX-NAZIS TO HOLD OFFICES

(N. Y. Post—12-3-52)

•

FREEING OF NAZIS PUSHED
"NATIONALIST FUSES SPUTTER IN JAPAN AND GERMANY"

(N. Y. Times—11-29-52)

•

NAZI SPECTRE STIRS IN GERMAN VOTING

(Christian Science Monitor—11-24-52)

•

WEST GERMAN FASCISTS SCORE SHARP GAINS IN LOCAL ELECTIONS
NAZI VOTE: A DANGER SIGN

(N. Y. Times—11-9-52)

•

BONN REGIME PARTY ACCUSED OF NAZISM
(Free Democrats Charge Fellow Members of the Coalition Employ Hitlerite Tactics)

(St. Louis Post Dispatch—11-10-52)

•

HITLER'S SS HOLDS REUNION AND A FORMER GERMAN PARATROOP GENERAL DENOUNCES THE ALLIES

(N. Y. Herald Tribune—11-16-52)

•

OLD GERMAN NAZIS JOIN NEW PARTIES

(N. Y. Times—9-23-52)

•

NAZI GAINS IN GERMANY LAID TO APPEASEMENT

(W. T. & Sun—11-13-52)

What do these headlines mean? Do they reveal any startling information concerning German behaviorism which has been conditioned by goose-stepping ideologies for a century?

No. It is not the behavior of the Germans which is unmasked by these headlines, but the policy pursued by our German "experts."

From Forrestal to Clay, from Draper to McCloy, "rehabilitation" has been the touchstone of that policy:

The "rehabilitation" of German war criminals, including the chief industrial and financial looters of Nazi occupied Europe.

The "rehabilitation" of ultra-nationalistic politicians pining for the glories of the Greater Reich.

The "rehabilitation" of the Ribbentrop diplomats weaving their new conspiracies.

The "rehabilitation" of the German cartel octopus and the predatory banking monopolies.

The "rehabilitation" of Germany's war potential which levelled Western Europe twice within a generation, resulting in a growth of the Communist danger.

Behind the smokescreen of "rehabilitation" connoting humanitarian principles, the most diabolical forces of humanity have emerged again. The victory of World War II provided the Allies with the historic opportunity and responsibility of destroying a breeding ground of aggression and lust for power, but the job was entrusted to people who saw no crime and heard no evil. Sentimental and financial ties also played their part and these men looked the other way. Thus, the roots of these crimes remained firmly imbedded in German soil and the conspirators were set on the loose again.

These experts were not too concerned with the plight of our Western Allies, overrun and despoiled by the Nazis. They were not too concerned over the fact that we had originally pledged priority aid to our Allies. Germany came first in their calculations.

Dazzled by the mirage of a crusading Germany in the service of democracy, these experts threw overboard the principle that the Germans must first prove their trustworthiness. Instead of granting adequate reparations to the victims of German aggression, our experts launched their program of "rehabilitation." In effect, this was a blank check guaranteeing German recovery without obliging the Germans to restore a substantial part of the loot seized from their victims.

German propagandists the world over, declare that only Germany is capable of defending Europe. Sympathizing U. S. travellers return from Europe stating that Germany has recovered more rapidly and thoroughly than France and other countries. Thus they conclude that Germany's capacity and energy have proven to be far superior than those of other countries. Superficially, this appears to be a valid conclusion. However, it is commonly forgotten that while Western European countries were occupied and bled white by a ruthless aggressor for nearly five years, West Germany was not drained of its resources by the occupation of an enemy or by hostile armies. Unlike the nations occupied by the Nazis, the factories of West Germany, machine tools and other vital industrial and technical equipment were not systematically looted and/or destroyed. Indeed, right after Germany's surrender, the good-hearted Americans and Britishers began preparing plans for the rehabilitation of Germany and the reconstruction of her powerful industrial Empire. That is why Germany seems to work harder and more efficiently than her victims who have been prevented from recovering as fast as the aggressor due, to a large extent, to U. S. policy.

And now that the German powerhouse re-emerges, stagnation and fear are setting in among the democracies of Western Europe.

Where is that idyllic picture of a strong and unified Europe developing out of a resurgent Germany, to resist the Communist challenge? The anti-Americanism sweeping Europe today, as admitted by every competent observer, is but the reflex of our pro-German bias which contaminates and vitiates all of our worthwhile policies in Europe. It has deepened the distrust of our most reliable friends abroad and has been artfully exploited by Communist propaganda. It has spread to persons in all classes who shrink at the idea of joining hands with their former torturers. How can a mighty army of democracy grow out of these conditions?

As for the peoples of Eastern Europe, viewing the specter of a Europe dominated by the very same people who exterminated millions of their kinsmen, will this infuse them with the spirit to resist their Communist oppressors?

Yes, Germany has been "rehabilitated" and with it all of the evil forces dedicated to the domination—not unification of Europe.

This is what the Germans have been planning all along. Now they whisper that a special alliance between the U. S. A. and Germany will safeguard our own security and welfare. According to German plans, this is the decisive step toward our ultimate isolation from our present allies.

We have been told that there are German leaders who strive to work sincerely with the West. However, when you get down to specifics, practically all of them with one voice declare "the Allies were wrong in bombing Germany's war-potential industries"—"the Allies were wrong in punishing and prosecuting the "so-called" war criminals—"; etc., etc. In short, "the Allies were wrong" in opposing German aggressions.

In moments when public opinion has been aroused by developments in Germany, our experts rush to exhibit Chancellor Adenauer as a shining example of a good democrat and trustworthy partner. However, when S.S. Gen. Ramcke declared the Western Allies to be war criminals amid shouts of "pig dog Eisenhower," Herr Adenauer told the British High Commissioner that Ramcke's remarks were "irresponsible" and that the speaker lacked "capacity of judgment." Not a word, categorically condemning the *substance* of Ramcke's vilifications—only the slippery alibi that he spoke out of turn. This is how a good German democrat "defends" democratic principles and justice.

Our experts have been boasting that Western Germany is coming more and more into the democratic fold. Yet, as the Germans approach the point of ratification of the Contractual Agreements, they attach new conditions and reservations which would further undermine whatever plausible objectives are contained therein. One of these conditions, as proposed by Chancellor Adenauer's government, would make these treaties "provisional and in force only until Germany had been reunited." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 5, 1952) In this way, the Germans hope to make use of their "rehabilitated" power as they see fit.

It cannot be said that there was no alternative than to pursue the same discredited policies tried after World War I and ending in bankruptcy and disaster with the rise of Hitlerism. It cannot be said that Americans could not be found who had a fundamental knowledge of German history and psychology and who would have been able to apply realistically their knowledge on behalf of our national interests. The policy was there and the people were available but instead we reached for those with special axes to grind. These men acted as though their own special interests were identical with the national interests of our country. The results of their labors are now apparent for all to see and ponder.

In this connection, one U. S. official in Bonn states "our vaccination of Democracy in Germany hasn't taken." (Business Week, Dec. 6, 1952) Judging from the poisons which have spread through the German body politic, one would be inclined to believe that the so-called vaccine was a venom administered by quacks.

Let there be no illusion as to what the headlines say. Like the fever chart of a sick man, they warn of crisis ahead. We shall have only ourselves to blame if we choose to ignore these ominous signs.

On Moral Principles:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE HON. JOHN FOSTER DULLES

(Original sent to Mr. Dulles on November 18, 1952)

In addressing the Missouri Bar Association some time ago, you declared that U. S. Foreign Policy must be guided by high moral principle if it is to be effective in the long run. "Today," you noted, "the U. S. has an inescapable responsibility for leadership. . . . The only tie which dependably unites free peoples is awareness of common dedication to moral principles."

Unquestionably, the leaders of our great political parties would subscribe to your view. Yet, public profession on behalf of virtuous principles become mere platitudes unless they are concretely applied. A glaring case of contrast between principles and practice is the recent decision of the occupation authorities in Germany to return a substantial portion of the Krupp properties to Alfred Krupp and to compensate him with tens of millions of dollars for such other properties which are supposed to be reorganized under the Allied decartelization laws.

From the very beginning of the occupation in Germany, the American people were told that U. S. foreign policy was dedicated toward upholding international moral principles and justice in a country whose leaders had besmirched those elementary norms of decency which are the very fabric of our civilization. This pledge to root out the evil forces of Nazi totalitarianism had gained for our country at the end of the war a prestige among the peoples of the world which one can say without exaggeration was our greatest asset.

However, when it came to the practical implementation of these principles, we began to falter and now we have reached the point, in the Krupp case where we have sacrificed moral principles for dubious political expediency.

Even a casual perusal of the European press as a reflector of public opinion on the Continent gives a clear indication that our moral prestige has been severely shaken by the Krupp decision. Commenting on this matter, the Financial Times of London said:

"Public expectation has, however, been baffled again. The property is to be restored, subject to futile and inadequate safeguards.

"By its apologists this policy is said to be expedient. This justification is as cynical as it is untrue. There is nothing expedient in outraging public opinion, even though it has been outraged successfully before."

In the eyes of many peoples abroad, our policy toward Krupp was a crucial test case of our intentions to uphold the principles so eloquently advocated by you. Nor can it be said that the American people are happy over this turn of events. As Congressman Jacob Javits recently stated:

"It has been a shock to the sensibilities of many Americans in whose minds recent history is still fresh, that the Krupp family, which was directly tied into so much of Hitler's capability for almost destroying Europe and the world, should be restored to a fortune which an Associated Press Dispatch estimates at between 90 and 100 million dollars."

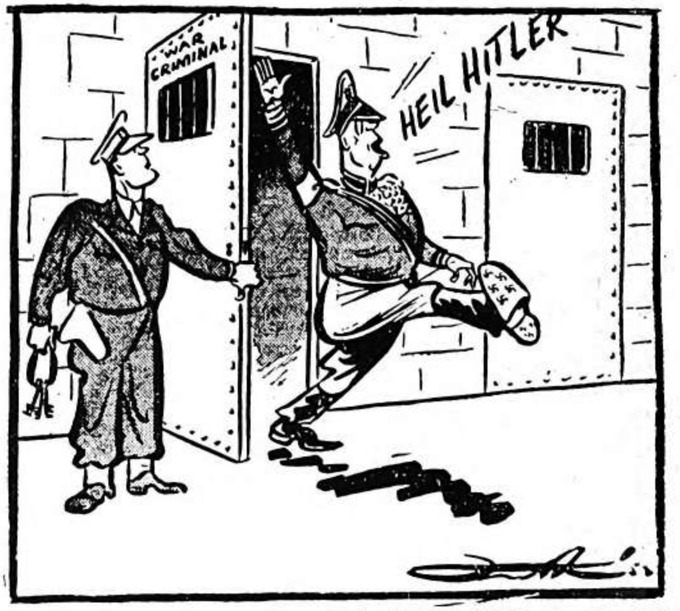
A GI veteran of World War II receives approximately $43 per week from the Government if he is 100% disabled. On the other hand, the notorious war criminal Alfred Krupp receives tens of millions of dollars as compensation. According to the Reuters News Agency, the Allied "rehabilitation" plan for Krupp will "reinstate him as one of the world's richest men."

There is no logic nor is there a shred of morality in this painful contrast. Krupp's wealth has not only been restored, but the plan which made this possible was worked out "in detail by Herr Krupp, his aides and Allied officials" as reported by the New York Times, August 18th, 1952.

Where in Anglo-Saxon law, which was invoked by the former U. S. High Commissioner McCloy to justify his magnanimous treatment of Krupp, can one find provision for seeking the advice of a notorious criminal on how to dispose of his loot? If this procedure had been followed in the case of an ordinary criminal, the justified wrath of public opinion would be accepted as a matter of course, but in the case of Alfred Krupp, public opinion is expected to tolerate this scandal as though it was a matter of high diplomatic strategy.

The Krupp interests were largely instrumental in creating the war machines that Germany employed to crush the independence and dignity of other nations. The name Krupp was synonymous with war. The Krupps were among the main beneficiaries of Hitler's armament program. Thus by 1939, the Krupps were doing a gross business of $300,000,000 in the manufacture of guns and other weapons that were designed to help level the towns of Western Europe. The Krupps did not stay at home when the Germans invaded the West. Like vultures they followed Hitler's armies, ready to sink their claws into the prostrated prey.

Alfred Krupp personally signed the resolution to establish a branch factory at the Concentration Camp of Auschwitz where the most "economical" use could be made of labor power. At Essen, Krupp personally supervised the employment of slave labor in his plants. Thousands of these slave laborers died under horrible conditions of exploitation.



(John Frith in "Melbourne Herald")

There was not enough whitewash in Germany to cover up his crimes and he was sentenced at Nuremburg to 12 years in jail plus the confiscation of his properties. In view of the crimes he committed, this was by no means drastic punishment. Even so, Herr Krupp received the utmost consideration from those who were supposed to represent the conscience of an outraged humanity.

According to the Reuters News Correspondent (Ian Fraser, August 27, 1952), "Krupp never has taken his finger from the industrial pulse even while he was serving his 12 year sentence, (later reduced to 2½ years) for exploiting slave labor, looting plants in occupied countries and illegal spoliation.

"He and 6 of his directors—who were right with him in Landesburg's Allied military prison—held Board Meetings regularly, complete with big cigars and expensive fruits."

Yet even this "punishment" appeared too severe. Thus when it came to confiscating his properties, as dictated by an American Military Court, the U. S. Military Governor for Germany, Gen. Clay, modified the order so that it was no longer mandatory.

His successor, U. S. High Commissioner McCloy, went further. Under McCloy's direction, Krupp was not only freed prematurely, but the confiscation decree was rescinded in toto. Mr. McCloy then assured the public that though the confiscation provision had been eliminated "it did not, however, restore any interest in any property which the defendant or the Krupp family may have lost by the operations of the occupation law or of German law. Nor did it purport to pass on whether the defendant or the Krupp family had any current interest in such property."

Mr. McCloy, however, did not tell the public that even while Krupp was imprisoned, he was allowed to continue functioning as a trustee of the Krupp properties. Moreover, Mr. McCloy concealed the fact that Krupp had actively participated in the reorganization plan. That Krupp was consulted with regard to the disposition of these properties in spite of the fact that his right to them was undecided is a species of legal logic which has yet to be explained. Apparently, those who are responsible for this situation were not at all troubled by what they gave the public to understand as the facts. According to the Manchester Guardian, September 18th, 1952, Mr. McCloy took this action "without—as far as can be ascertained—consulting or notifying the British and French High Commissioners."

The present plan to reorganize the Krupp properties ignores the overwhelming evidence attesting to the criminal character of Alfred Krupp and his activities. Officially, part of Krupp's properties will be reorganized under the Allied decartelization and deconcentration law. Herr Krupp will receive millions of dollars consisting of non-voting bonds of the same value as the shares in the new companies which will be created from the original properties. However, these bonds can be sold for cash by Krupp and become fully honored voting shares. All Herr Krupp has to do in order to regain control of these properties, is to sell the bonds to some stooges who will do his bidding while he keeps his hands clean. Another aspect to be considered is the fact that the sale of these reorganized properties under the present circumstances, will be most difficult. The Wall Street Journal (September 25, 1952) noted *"Though Krupp's three-man board of trustees is now 'legal owner' of the coal and steel properties, Alfred Krupp is still the 'beneficial owner," according to an American decartelization expert. 'In other words,' he adds, 'Krupp gets the profits from the properties and the money from the sales of any of these firms when they're sold, but he can't run them.' "*

"If a buyer or buyers cannot be found who will offer a 'fair and reasonable price,' the five-year disposal limit for these Krupp holdings can be extended by a mixed Allied-German commission. No limit is set on the number of one-year extensions that can be granted. Thus there is the possibility that Alfred Krupp might hold on to his steel and coal properties despite the best-laid plans of Allied decartelizers."

"The present Krupp trustees were chosen from a list of nominees offered by Herr Krupp and approved by the Allies. Therefore, nobody expects the interests of the House of Krupp to be unduly jeopardized during the sale efforts." In other words, in spite of the fanfare attached to the reorganization plan, the chances are that Krupp will be able to have his cake and eat it too.

If the Allies had been sincerely determined to smash the power of Krupp, the difficulties would not have been insurmountable. In the first place, Krupp holds the properties by virtue of a special Nazi law, Lex Krupp. The Allies could have voided the legality of this law but this was not done. In addition, the Allies could have applied the "Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism" which is accepted by the German government as valid and still in force. The law expressly provides for the confiscation of properties belonging to Nazi war criminals. Indeed many persons who committed lesser crimes than those perpetrated by Krupp had their properties confiscated under this law. However, in the case of Krupp this law has been completely ignored.

Krupp could have been prevented from regaining these properties if the Allies had applied the letter of the Allied decartelization law No. 27 which prohibits "the return to the possession of ownership and control to those persons who had been found or may have been found to have favored the aggressive designs of the National Socialist Party." If there is any single person in Germany who falls within this provision, it is Krupp.

To our most reliable friends in Europe, this act of solicitude for the war criminal Krupp stands in sharp contrast to our professions of morality in the conduct of our foreign relations. They have looked to us for guidance in the tense struggle against Soviet Communism. Can it be expected that their own determination to resist the onslaughts of cynical undemocratic ideologies will be strengthened by a policy which goes out of its way to help resuscitate those forces which have been a plague on the social well-being of our Allies for generations? With the exception of a few courageous voices, our leaders regardless of party affiliation, have been silent on the Krupp issue. This is not only disappointing but dangerous. Do our leaders believe that our national security and prestige will be strengthened by this silence?

It would be a great help to the cause of justice if the principles of morality so clearly enunciated by you would be applied in this case. The least that should be done is to actively support Congressman Javits' proposal:

"That a fine should be levied on the Krupp family of practically the whole fortune of between 90 and 100 million dollars involved, for the misdeeds against humanity for which they stand convicted in aiding Hitler and the Nazis."

Admittedly, this punishment would not bring back to life the thousands of persons victimized by the slave-labor policies of the Krupps. On the other hand, support of this proposal would help preserve our moral leadership and strengthen the forces of international law and justice against those who are prone to resort to criminal policies in international relations.

Editorials

GERMAN WAR CRIMES — "AN ALLIED INVENTION"

It is indeed unfortunate that the average American does not have the opportunity to study at first hand the mood of the Germans as reflected in their press and by the speeches of their leaders. In this connection, the New York Journal American of Oct. 7, 1952 carried an eye opening report from Bonn, Germany under the title "Germans Winking At War Criminals." Actually, it is not merely a flirtation but rather a concerted and vociferous campaign to uphold these criminals as representing the honor of the German people. This is made clear in the first sentence of the above-mentioned news despatch—"many Germans still pay high tribute to the men the Western Allies convicted of war crimes."

Citing one example, the despatch referred to the case of one *William Kappe* who had escaped from a British prison in Germany where he was serving a life sentence for war crimes. When Kappe returned to his home town, Aurich near the North Sea, he was recognized by Wilhelm Heidepeter, a city official in the town and was turned over to the police. For this act of good citizenship, Heidepeter was denounced as a traitor by the mayor of Aurich, a member of Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party, and he was finally forced to flee. While Herr Heidepeter was ostracized, the policemen who arrested the war criminal Kappe faced criminal charges. The other members of the German police force having witnessed the fate of their colleagues, fixed up a situation which enabled Kappe to slip out of Aurich and regain his freedom. The despatch concludes with this understatement: "the post-war concept of 'good citizenship' is undergoing a drastic overhauling in Germany these days."

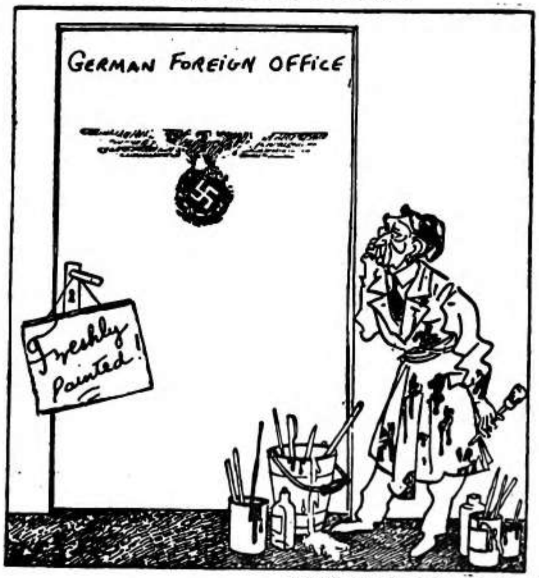
In Germany today, variations of the Kappe story are occurring more frequently. It is a definite trend, symptomatic of the failure of our democratization program. Time and again the American people have been told that so long as men like Konrad Adenauer are at the helm of the German government, anti-democratic and anti-allied movements symbolized by the effort to glorify Germany's war criminals will never get out of hand. There is an element of truth in this statement, namely that the Allies can rest assured that this insidious and scandalous movement will never get out of hand because it is carefully controlled and directed by the top brass in the German government today. As early as Feb. 19, 1952, Chancellor Adenauer told a press conference *"we Germans are exceptionally deeply interested in the treatment of war criminals, both for psychological reasons and sympathy with those who though sentenced, have in our opinion not committed any crimes at all."* He added that the Germans did not recognize the judgments handed down in the war crime cases and need not recognize them.

Blackmail as Usual

The New York Times of July 25, 1952 reported that in the opinion of chief military advisers to the German federal governemnt, Lieut. General Wolf Von Heusinger and Lieut. General Hans Speidel, it would be "impossible to recruit desirable officers for the West German military contingents unless a substantial number of war criminals are released from Allied jails." Dr. Erich Mende, an influential German politician in Adenauer's coalition government warned the Allies that *"unless the war criminals are released, the Bonn peace contract with the western Allies and the European Defense Committee Treaty would not be ratified."* Among the war criminals for whom Dr. Mende demanded immediate release were Field Marshal Von Mannstein, found guilty of inhuman treatment of prisoners of war and the use of slave labor, and Marshal Kesselring, who was responsible for the massacre of hundreds of civilians. As far as Dr. Mende was concerned, the German war criminals had been convicted for acts that *"were no different from those committed by the United Nations troops in Korea."* Parenthetically, it should be noted that Marshal Kesselring was recently given his freedom as an act of clemency by the British.

Fritz Schaefer, vice president of the Bonn Parliament, echoed Dr. Mende's view: "It is one of the greatest psychological obstacles," Herr Schaefer noted, "for the German European defense contribution, as long as the Western Allies remain firm on their one sided sentence

Painter Adenauer: "I can't help it—the old paint always comes through."



(Ostdeutsche Stimme, Hamburg)

against the war criminals." It is obvious that the sentiments expressed by the above-mentioned individuals are shared by a substantial portion of the present leadership in Germany today.

The attacks against the Allied war crimes trials and the whole concept of punishing those who violated the elementary norms of human behavior and decency goes on with unabated fury. If the leaders who have been so highly praised by the Allies as great Democrats, refuse to break with the criminal record of the Hitler regime, one can hardly expect the German people as a whole to act otherwise. It is no exaggeration to state that the campaign for the freedom of the war criminals is one of the most dominating factors in German politics today.

The press from right to left is generally unanimous in defending these war criminals and in demanding an immediate rectification of the alleged injustices done to them. The Allied effort to appease the Germans on the war criminal question has its own logic.

Tragic Reminder

In this connection, it should be noted that one of the earliest examples of submitting to German pressure involved the case of the German war criminals who were charged with having massacred in cold blood American GI's taken prisoners during the Battle of the Bulge (the Malmedy Massacre). Hundreds of American boys and Belgian civilians were slain without mercy, and in direct violation of the laws of war. These war criminals were given their day in court and they confessed to their guilt. Out of the 73 criminals who were originally convicted, 43 were given the death penalty by an American Military Tribunal. However, Gen. Clay, in spite of the fact that he had branded these criminals as "cold blooded killers," commuted many of these death sentences.

After additional delays, the number of Malmedy war criminals who were supposed to face the death penalty was reduced to six. In January 1951, Gen. Thomas Handy decided to spare the remaining six criminals as a gesture of goodwill toward the Germans. The precedent established in the Malmedy case is now bearing bitter fruit, as recent developments clearly indicate.

"The Churchill of the war years spoke with the voice of wisdom. The Churchill of today speaks dangerous nonsense.

"Germany has waged five wars of aggression since 1864—against Denmark, Austria and France and twice against the Anglo-American-French group.

"If European civilization is to survive, a peaceful and trustworthy Germany must some day play a full part in the European family.

"But the day is not yet. There are too many Germans like the one-time General Ramcke, whose only regret is that Hitler was not more successful, and whose secret resolve is that they will do better next time.

"The West German army which America and Britain are trying to create would not strengthen the common defenses of the West against Russia. It would weaken them, because every Continental nation that has known the German jackboot would be more concerned to guard itself against another 'Der Tag' than to cooperate in common defense.

"The recruitment of a West German Army would be more likely to provoke the Russians into striking quickly than to make them more reasonable in international relations.

"There is still time to stop this dangerous plan. Already, French opinion is in revolt. Before it is too late, the British Government could reconsider the plan, and seek other means of safeguarding the West."

(The Reynolds News)

One of the last official acts of former U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy was the granting of clemency to two notorious German war criminals, including Gen. Reinhardt, sentenced to 15 years in prison for war crimes against humanity. This piece-meal approach to the freeing of German war criminals which has been practiced by Mr. McCloy ever since he took office has had an unusual effect on the German mind. For example, the newspaper organ of the German militarists, the Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung, Aug. 28, 1952 remarked *"if the official Allied authorities during the last few years have been constantly freeing prisoners or reducing the sentences against former German soldiers, it is but their clear admission that they regard the former sentences as untenable."* In other words, after having successfully pressed the Allies to grant "one-at-a-time clemency" to the war criminals, the Germans now turn around and declare that the willingness of the Allies to accommodate them in this demand proves that the war crimes trials and the sentences related thereto were inadmissible in the first place.

Germany's Moral Right

Indeed, the Germans have gone further. They not only demand the freedom of the war criminals but insist that no power except the German people have the right to pass judgment on them. This is clearly expressed in the Soldaten Zeitung, Aug. 14, 1952, *"only we Germans possess the highest moral right to argue these matters*

"Marshal Kesselring made a speech in which he declared that 'if things had been left to the soldiers, we would have had a United Europe a long time ago.' In saying this, the Marshal simply confirmed what was known for a long time—namely, that the Bonn Government needed specialists in order to carry out the integration of Europe up to the Ural mountains. This is exactly what Hitler had in mind and tried once."

(Stimme des Friedens, Dusseldorf)

without contradiction from any side. . . ." Thus, whereas in the spring of 1952 the German were howling for clemency acts on behalf of the war criminals, by the summer the Germans were insisting that they were the only ones who had the right to judge these criminals.

In a sense, the Allies adjusted their policy to meet this new demand when they consented to permit the Germans to share in the review of the sentences of some 600 criminals still imprisoned. But this concession merely served as a spring-board for a new German propaganda barrage. No longer are the Germans inhibited by world public opinion or Allied surveillance. They are beginning to throw caution to the wind and have gone from the offense to the attack.

This was made clear in one of Germany's leading newspapers, the Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung. On Aug. 16 this newspaper which speaks for the heavy industries of the Ruhr ran an editorial in which reference was made to an article written in the Japanese press by the former Japanese deputy foreign minister Ohashi. Ohashi, according to this editorial, branded Roosevelt "the true war criminal." In connection with Ohashi's attack against the late President, the editorial concludes *"this shows, in line with recent reported British differences of opinion on the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes trials, that the discussion about the war criminals gains more and more momentum."*

Americans, the Real "Criminals"

The subtle innuendos of the Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung were discarded at a recent meeting of the cutthroats who belonged to Hitler's Waffen SS. One of the leading speakers at this confab was Gen. Ramcke who had been released from prison by the French where he had served a jail sentence for war crimes. To the repeated shouts from the crowd of "pig-dog Eisenhower" Ramcke stated, *"Who are the war criminals? They are those who made the Versailles Treaty. They are those who destroy German towns. . . ."*

He further declared that there were no more war criminals in Germany than in Allied countries and added that he was proud to have been on the "blacklist" of the Allies. He predicted that "one day the blacklist will become the lists of honor." The New York Times reported that the speech was received by *"clamorous applause by the assembled veterans. . . ."* Ramcke has found his echo in the United States in the person of a leading pro-German spokesman, A. J. App, who has earned a notorious reputation as an apologist for Nazi atrocities.

In a pamphlet entitled, *Action on War Crimes*, Mr. App accuses Pres. Truman of having committed war crimes at Potsdam. He further wrote, *"May God grant that the American people will thus belatedly but grandly rise to their duty! If we will not hang our war criminals, let us at least undo as much of the frightful consequences of their crimes as possible."*

This is the ultimate meaning of the German campaign to free war criminals. It is not merely a campaign to absolve Germany's war guilt. On the contrary, it not only denies Germany's war guilt but emphatically accuses the Allies of having committed the worst crimes in history.

Thus we have the spectacle of prominent leaders and newspapers, in a country which received billions of dollars for rehabilitation, brazenly and publicly asserting that the Allies are the real war criminals and must ultimately stand before the bar of judgment. Shall the western democracies remain silent in the face of these ominous signs? Will democracy be served by granting clemency to those whose lives have been devoted to its destruction? Is this the price that we must pay to obtain Germany's "cooperation"?

J. J. McCloy's Optimism

The campaign to glorify the German war criminals and to smear the Allied cause, demolishes the rosy picture painted by former U. S. High Commissioner McCloy who assured the Congress that the *"people of Western Germany have shown their maturity and earned their right to the freedom which the new agreements provide."*

Mr. McCloy made this statement to the Congress in defending the contractual agreement with Germany. The agreement covers every conceivable aspect of American-German relations. However, Mr. McCloy who played a leading role in the preparation of this document, did not bother to see to it that the agreement would contain guarantees that the German government would officially recognize the verdict and justice of the Nuremburg trials and that it would take positive measures to prevent the development of an anti-Allied campaign to free the war criminals.

The American people and their allies cannot depend on platitudes to safeguard their security. If the German government desires to prove in concrete terms that it adheres to the morality of the free nations, then it must recognize the verdicts and the justice of the Nuremburg trials and cease to encourage overtly or covertly the present scurrilous campaign on behalf of these convicted enemies of humanity.

"In trying to organize a German army, the Western powers are embarking upon a road marked with many danger signs. This army must be imbued with a fighting spirit but free from nationalistic sentiments; it must be a powerful war machine but not powerful enough to become a threat to the other members of NATO; it must be patriotic but willing to accept the limited sovereignty of a still occupied and divided Germany; peace-loving but not pacifist. To reconcile all these contradictions, the new German army would have to be something very, very special."

(From United Nations World)

CENTURY-OLD TRADITIONS

During the New Year Season the mail is always heavy with advertisements and announcements of one sort or another. This year is no exception and we must confess that it is difficult to pay careful attention to all of the materials received. However, one elaborately decorated folder, in particular, struck our eyes. Upon opening it, we read the following:

Dear Sir:

We have pleasure in informing you, that today the General Meeting of the shareholders of the Deutsche Bank has decided upon the reunion of its branches in Southern Germany known since 1947 as

Bayerische Creditbank
Hessische Bank
Oberrheinische Bank
Rheinische Kreditbank
Sudwestbank
Wurttembergische Vereinsbank

into a new banking institution under the name of
SUDDEUTSCHE BANK Aktiengesellschaft

The foremost aim of the new institution will be to continue the century-old banking tradition of the DEUTSCHE BANK and by personal advice and individual attention to all orders received to maintain and strengthen good relations with its clients.

MUNCHEN/FRANKFURT (Main),
September 25, 1952

Very truly yours,
SUDDEUTSCHE BANK Aktiengesellschaft

Of course this was no ordinary announcement so far as we were concerned, especially since attached to it were the names of some individuals who brought back unpleasant memories to us. Apparently they are no longer recalled by those in high places who were supposed to carry out a program that would bring democracy into German life and eliminate the German banking monopolies which did so much harm to the world.

The leading officials of the so-called Süddeutsche Bank are *Dr. Otto Seeling, Dr. Robert Frowein* and the ubiquitous *Herman J. Abs.* This triumvirate is highly respected in Germany although all three were characterized by the U. S. War Department in March 1945 as "individuals who, in an outstanding way, thrived under National Socialism, who welcomed it in the beginning, aided the Nazis to obtain power, supported them in office, shared the spoils of expropriation and conquest, or otherwise markedly benefited in their careers or fortunes under the Nazis."

According to the War Department, Herr Seeling served in an important governmental capacity to further the Nazi war effort. Frowein was a director of the Deutsche Bank during the Nazi period and is related to *Abraham Frowein* who actively cooperated with the Nazis and profited from the expropriation of non-Aryan business enterprises.

Our readers of course, should be familiar with Herr Abs, who as the leading figure in the Deutsche Bank was one of Hitler's chief paymasters. Abs, like many of his fellow vultures, grew fat on the loot which he gathered up as the Nazi armies swept through Europe. Several years ago, Herr Abs came quietly to the United States to renew old acquaintances but had to return home in a hurry when his criminal record was publicly exposed by Senator Gillette.

As one can see from the announcement reprinted above, and the re-emergence of the key figures of the "deconcentrated" Deutsche Bank, essentially very little has changed since the days when the German banking monopoly lorded over Europe under the protective wing of the German Wehrmacht. This, despite the promises and pledges made by Allied officials that never again, would the German banking octopus be permitted to function.

We can assure our readers that the resources of the Deutsche Bank in its new guise are pretty much intact. Unlike the average German, the enormous resources of the Deutsche Bank were not drastically affected by the currency reform. Moreover, the London Economist (November 15, 1952) points out that the greater part of the resources of the German banks "have been derived from profits made since then (the currency reform) as well as from the bringing in of hidden reserves. The banks were legally permitted to make use of such reserves and their employments were encouraged by the granting of tax-reliefs." Therefore, the Economist observes "the liquidity of the new banks is high" and there is "greater flexibility and wider opportunities."

We are now told that the Süddeutsche Bank will "continue the century-old banking tradition of the Deutsche Bank." These were some of the "traditions" of the Deutsche Bank, according to a U. S. government report:

"The information available, however, is sufficiently diversified and significant to show the leading part played by the Deutsche Bank in furthering the expansionist aims of the Nazi regime and its major industrial backers."

The Deutsche Bank was an "excessive concentration of economic power and a participant in the execution of the criminal policies of the Nazi regime . . ."

The Deutsche Bank "showed the way to all-German commercial banks with its contributions to the rearmament program. It provided the Reich with vast funds for rearmament purposes."

The Deutsche Bank acted as the "spearhead institution for the German government and the economic penetration of the annexed occupied and satellite countries of Europe."

"That the Deutsche Bank was given the most monopolistic position for handling the remittances to their home countries of the savings made by foreign workers in Germany is indicative of the close working relationship between the Deutsche Bank and the Nazi government."

"As Hitler's aggressive war engulfed more and more countries and ever increasing labor forces were imported, frequently by force, the Deutsche Bank's transfer business grew accordingly."

The U. S. Government report was not at all impressed by these "traditions" and so it recommended that:

"1. The Deutsche Bank be liquidated.

"2. The responsible officials of the Deutsche Bank be indicted and tried as war criminals.

"3. The leading officials of the Deutsche Bank be barred from positions of importance or responsibility in Germany's economic or political life."

The U. S. government report and recommendations were made in the year 1946, but as we now usher in 1953, the announcement of the rebirth of the German banking monopolies makes us rub our eyes and wonder: "Is it really 1953, or are we still in the year 1933"?

A FRENCH EXPERT'S VIEW

"The new political fact in Europe is that the Germans for the first time since the end of the war appear to have reassumed their old tendency to nationalist arrogance and will to power. They have begun again to show the face which so often in the past has made Europe tremble.

"This resurgence of German nationalism must, I believe, be attributed to two basic causes:

"The tempo of economic development in Western Germany is now more rapid than that of all other European countries. Germany has neither a military budget to support nor an Asiatic war (like Korea, Indo-China or Malaya) to pay for. It has been able to concentrate solely on its recovery.

"By the testimony of Germany's own press, the Republican victory in America has led a large number of Germans to believe that American policy will now be oriented to a support of Germany as America's principal ally in Europe."

(J. J. Servan-Schreiber in the New York Herald Tribune)

RECOMMENDED READING:

"Sword and Swastika"

by
TELFORD TAYLOR

It is unfortunate that this issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III was about to go to press when "SWORD AND SWASTIKA: GENERALS AND NAZIS IN THE THIRD REICH" by General Telford Taylor was published. We should have desired to analyze this important book in more detail for our readers. Though this cannot be done in this issue, we certainly intend to take up this matter in a subsequent one. However, because of the importance of this book, we believe our readers will be interested in some of the comments made by New York Times' book reviewer, Mr. Orville Prescott.

Mr. Prescott tells us that Sword and Swastika is dramatic "because it is a story of intrigue and conspiracy, of secret rearmament in violation of the Versailles Treaty, financed and supported by the supposedly democratic Weimar Government, and of frenzied preparation for war under Hitler. It is dismal because it is the story of professionally able soldiers who lacked the intelligence, the vision and the courage to put the welfare of their country and of civilization itself ahead of their own advancement in rank and their longed-for opportunity to wage aggressive war."

General Taylor is an outstanding authority on this subject since he served as Chief American Prosecutor at the Nuremburg war criminals' trial from 1945 to 1949. Prior to this important assignment, General Taylor served as an Intelligence Officer in Europe from 1943 to 1945. His personal experiences, based on interrogation of many German war leaders, as well as captured documents, plus his talents as a lawyer, have qualified him as an expert on the subjects discussed in "Sword and Swastika."

In discussing the book, Mr. Prescott tells us that General Taylor showed how, despite specific differences between Hitler and the German General Staff, they were in basic agreement on fundamental principles with respect to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship. General Taylor quotes General von Blomberg as stating *"we soldiers had no reason to complain of Hitler. He fulfilled hopes which were dear to all of us."* The connecting links between the German military and the Nazis as shown by General Taylor explodes the newly built-up myth that the German military had not participated in, nor were they responsible for the aggressive policies of the Nazis.

Mr. Prescott concludes his review of the book by observing: "throughout this book, Mr. Taylor implies that the German Generals should have resisted Hitler, but he believes that they were really incapable of it because their reactionary military minds were a century or so out of date. Scorning democracy and loving war for its own sake, they were the joyful accomplices of one of the greatest criminals in history."

There is no question that "Sword and Swastika" deserves to be read by every security-minded American.

(Sword and Swastika: Generals and Nazis in the Third Reich. By Telford Taylor, Simon and Schuster)

Nationalist Fuse Sputters in Germany

by
ERNEST S. PISKO

Those who forecast stormy weather in Germany have been proved correct.

The center of the storm is formed by the hot air of nationalism billowing skyward and sucking into its vortex an ever-growing number of groups and individuals.

There are many striking parallels between what is happening in West Germany now and what happened in the Weimar Republic in the 1920's. Then, too, foreign developments and a scramble for power by various political parties fanned the fires of German nationalist feeling with results that are all too well known . . .

On Nov. 18, the German police arrested seven Nazis on the charge of conspiring to overthrow the government. Among them is Heinrich Vetter, formerly Hitler's Gauleiter in South Westphalia.

On No. 16, the Bonn Bundestag (Parliament) unanimously condemned the coming Saar elections of Nov. 30 as invalid and appealed to the Saarlanders to boycott the elections. Jakob Kaiser, Minister for All-German Affairs in Dr. Adenauer's Cabinet, called for the return of the Saar to West Germany, in keeping with the slogan accepted by all parties, 'Die Saar deutsch immerdar'—the Saar German for ever and ever.

On Nov. 15, a Munich court ruled that the killing of captured American bomber crews in World War II 'did not constitute murder . . .'

At a Communist meeting in East Berlin, Pastor Martin Niemoller declared that German participation in the European army must be prevented 'by all means.'

On Nov 5, another Munich court acquitted two former Nazi officers, Otto Thorbeck and Walter Huppenkothen, who had been charged with aiding in the murder of Admiral Hans Canaris and five other resistance fighters, in April, 1945.

On Nov. 4, a certain Dr. Gottfried Krummacher was cheered at a meeting in Kassel when he demanded that the Allies should pay Nazi party members $2 for each day they had been held in internment camps after the war. He also demanded that they should receive a back payment of 50 cents for each hour of work they had done by order of the camp commander.

War Guilt Denied

On Oct. 26 at a meeting of the former Waffen SS in Hanover, Hitler's tank Gen. Bernhard Ramcke demanded the immediate release of all German war criminals and declared that the Americans and British were the real war criminals.

Nothing signifies the change in the German atmosphere more clearly than the switch that took place during the past seven years in the popular attitude toward the Nazi crimes. In the beginning, practically every German said, 'I didn't know what was going on.' A year or two later, the stock excuse was, 'I could do nothing against it.' By 1949, one already could hear people say, 'The accusations are mostly propaganda.' And now, German crowds cheer wildly when they are told, 'We have nothing to apologize for. We did the right thing.'

But the fact that today some of the worst Nazis can openly boast of their misdeeds and are being elected to public office is not the most alarming feature. The Nazis never were a majority in Germany. They never could have seized power had it not been for the support they received from ultra-conservative groups within big industry, finance, and army.

It is in these fields that—today as 20 years ago—the danger lies. And it is in these fields that the Western Allies, particularly the United States and Britain, have to bear a major share of responsibility for the present state of affairs. For their lofty program of pacifying and democratizing the Germans hardly ever got beyond the printing of directives that first were ignored and eventually turned around.

As a result, Alfred Krupp has got his property back, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht can establish a banking firm, the I. G. Dye Trust directors, who admittedly financed the Third Reich, were acquitted by a United States war crimes court, the Foreign Office is largely staffed with employees of the Ribbentrop era, the contractural agreement between the western powers and the Bonn government is openly referred to as a "Schandvertrag' (treaty of disgrace), the majority of schoolteachers praise the 'glory' of the Nazi era, and the German generals while away their time until their expected reinstatement in the new army by writing books on how Germany 'almost won the war.

In short, as representative Jacob K. Javits, United States congressman, wrote a few months ago in the Reporter: 'The leaders of . . . democratic elements are forced to admit that theirs may not be the preponderant voice in West Germany today.'

Nationalists Agitate

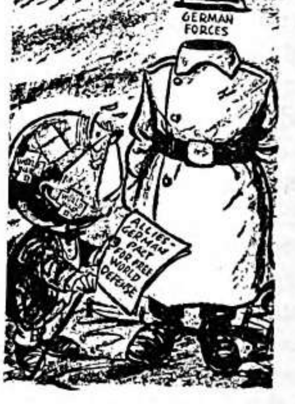
The voice that can be heard is the voice of nationalism, which is as different from plain patriotism as passion is from love. It comes from the left—the Social Democrats—the center—the Free Democrats—and the right—the German Party and the BHE Refugee Party . . .

The nationalists protest against the West's amply demonstrated willingness to forget the Nazi era. They do not want these seven years wiped off the tables of German history, for in the triumphs as well as the bitterness of that period they discern the signposts to new ventures better prepared and more daringly executed.

The nationalists are a minority in Germany. But they are articulate, well-versed in politics and agitation, comfortably endowed with funds, and have influence in most key spots of public life. They were able 20 years ago to mobilize the silent masses, and they are doing their best to repeat that feat.

(Courtesy, Christian Science Monitor)

"JEKYLL OR HYDE?"


GERMAN FORCES
ALLIES-GERMAN PACT FOR FREE WORLD DEFENSE

(Stampone in The Army Times)

"Berlin-Baghdad" Again

In the early years of the 20th century, the world was treated with the gaudy spectacle of the German Emperor turning up in the countries of the Middle East where he posed as the great defender of the Moslem Faith. Behind the Kaiser's flowery speeches and the pomp and ceremony attached to his visits lurked the more practical aspects of German imperialistic aspirations in the Middle East. Big German industrialists interested in the supply of steel rails and war materials and a finance consortium under the leadership of the predatory Deutsche Bank were working assiduously to gain a predominant position in Turkey and in the Middle East in general. This grandiose project of German imperialism bore an innocent sounding title—the Berlin-Baghdad railway.

The Grand Mufti Again

The plan was never completed by the Germans under the Kaiser, but Adolph Hitler revived it. In this connection, Hitler was assisted by many influential Nazi sympathizers in the countries of the Middle East led by the notorious Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The Fascist character of the Mufti's activities even before Hitler came to power qualified him as a trusted confidant of the Nazis. Among his specialties was his ability to plan and execute pogroms against Jews. Obviously the Nazis would not overlook his talents in this direction. Thus S.S. Hauptsturmfuhrer Dieter von Wisliczeny, who was a close collaborator of Adolph Eichmann, one of the chief executors of the Jewish extermination programs, declared in an affidavit, *"In my opinion, the Grand Mufti who has been in Berlin since 1941 played a role in the decision of the German Government to exterminate Jews, the importance of which must not be disregarded. He has repeatedly suggested to the various authorities with whom he has been in contact, above all, before Hitler, Ribbentrop and Himmler the extermination of Europe's Jewry . . . He was one of Eichmann's best friends and has constantly incited him to accelerate the extermination measures."* The notorious record of the Mufti prompted many outstanding Americans including Herbert Bayard Swope to call for his prosecution as a war criminal. Unfortunately this was not done. Today the Mufti is once more spreading his poison through the Middle East. His influence has grown by leaps and bounds. Col. Mehanna, who became a member of the Egyptian Regency after Gen. Naguib's coup, is a close friend of the Mufti and has given high civil posts to several old pals who spent the war years in Germany as guests of Hitler. With the re-emergence of the Mufti as a powerful figure in Middle Eastern affairs, the Germans are once more returning to this strategic area.

Germans in Egypt

According to Newsweek, August 25th, 1952, the influence of German military behind the present Egyptian Prime Minister Gen. Naguib is substantial. In connection with the overthrow of King Farouk by Naguib's forces, Newsweek reports:

"There is no evidence that the Germans initiated the coup. It is however known that the young officers who did the actual planning consulted the German advisers as to 'tactics.' The Cairo reports attribute the smoothness of the operation to German advice. Also, the young officers are reported to have chosen Gen. Naguib as their leader on German advice. Later, Naguib publicly praised the work of the German advisory group, thus giving it an official stamp." While we do not have detailed information concerning the backgrounds of the German officers, who appear to be the real power behind the Egyptian Army, some facts have come to light which are worthy of attention.

The leading advisor to Naguib is *Lt. Gen. Wilhelm Fahrmbacher.* Herr Fahrmbacher was a corps commander in the Nazi Army during World War II and for a while had been held by the French as a war criminal. Among his associates is *Major Gen. Oscar Munzel* who was a great favorite of the German officer caste. Another member of the German Military who plays an important role in the Egyptian Army is *Gerhard Mertins.* He was a veteran of the German air invasion of Crete and a battalion commander during the Nazi offensive in Western Europe in 1945. He now teaches specially selected Egyptian units the art of parachute jumping and attack.

The number of German military officers in Egypt is a closely guarded secret but it is known that the Egyptians had set up an office in Germany to recruit German specialists who served under Field Marshal Gen. Erwin Rommel in the North African campaign of World War II (United Press, January 11th, 1952). Apparently the recruiting has been satisfactory and the liaison between Bonn and the Egyptians seems to be operating successfully. Naguib's German military advisers possess valid West German passports and can travel freely between Egypt and Germany. Gen. Fahrmbacher, for instance, recently enjoyed a "well deserved" furlough in Bavaria. Perhaps this "well deserved" rest is due to Fahrmbacher's arduous efforts in helping Naguib to seize power. The United Nations World noted that Naguib's triumph "bore the earmarks of a Hitlerite putsch."

Infiltrating Syria

It is not known whether the Bonn Government was officially connected with this event, but the fact remains that these German military officers are granted every opportunity by Adenauer's government to earn their bread and butter in Egypt.

Though Egypt seems to be the main German target for the present, other Middle Eastern countries are not excluded. For example, Syria has also been infiltrated by the German Military. The Syrian Government called in a German Military group after it was defeated by the Israeli armies. Newsweek reports "the first to appear in Damascus was a former Gestapo Colonel named Rapp. He revamped Syrian Military Intelligence and is credited with a leading role in Syria's first military coup, when a group of army officers under Colonel Husni Zayim took over the Government." Following this initial success, the German military stepped up their infiltration. Today, the top ranking German officer in Syria appears to be *Gen. Stutterheim,* assisted by the very influential *Colonel Kriebel.* These men were high ranking Intelligence Officers in Hitler's army and they are now in control of the armed forces of Syria.

The Syrians, like the Egyptians, have been busily recruiting German Military officers and they seem to be in close touch with Gen. Gehlen "who now plays an important role in security matters in Germany."

According to Paris-Presse (September 20th, 1952) a former Marshal of Hitler's Wehrmacht, Schoerner, has taken over German operations in the Middle East. He was a former commander of the German forces in Bohemia. The ex-Marshal has at his disposal a group of men who were formerly members of Admiral Canaris' Secret Service. As head of the German Secret Service, Admiral Canaris had devised an elaborate and subtle plan for the peaceful conquest of the Middle East by Germany. Will Schoerner try to carry out the Canaris plan?

"Drang Nach Osten"

The march of the German Military to the Middle East has been followed by the steady influx of German industrialists, diplomats and technicians. The Associated Press (October 25, 1952) described this movement in these words: *"German commercial travellers—samples and order books tucked neatly in their briefcases—are back in force in Turkey and the Middle East. Observers who travel the area say they see German salesmen everywhere—from Istanbul to Teheran and Cairo and points in between, like Baghdad, Damascus, Amman and Beirut . . . Bonn announced that all German diplomats to these countries would have to qualify as economic experts."*

In the Spring of 1952, a leading German banker, Dr. Albert Buhler, arrived in Cairo to study the possibility of developing greater trade and financial relations between Egypt and Germany. Dr. Buhler stressed the urgency for the creation of an Egyptian-German Bank. He further stated that Egypt would find Germany as the best source for needed goods in view of the fact that the United States and other countries of Western Europe were devoting so much of their energies to rearmament.

Already the Germans have succeeded in placing some of their key agents in the highest levels of the Egyptian Government. *Hans Voss,* a former SS officer, is chief of the Egyptian Central Planning Board. He heads the German Mission of thirty individuals which deals with technical and production problems. S.S. Gen. Voss was at one time the chief of the Central Armament Office in the Reich Ministry for Armament and War production. He told a newspaper correspondent that it was mainly due to Arab distrust of "Western Imperialism" that Egypt had sought the services of German advisors, officers and economists. He denied that the Germans received any instructions from the "Fascist International" but in reply to a question as to what the duties of his organization in Egypt were, he blurted out, *"the general industrial organization as we once did in Germany, working for the 4 year plan."*

When Hitler seized Czechoslovakia, Voss, who was a favorite of the Nazis, was made director of the Skoda Works from 1939 to 1945. According to the United States War Department, Herr Voss was among those who benefited from the Nazi program of war and conquest and received high honors from the Hitler Government.

Another German who plays an important part in the economic set-up of Egypt is *Albert Degener.* Herr Degener is responsible for the operation of the German-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce in Cairo. He headed a similar organization in New York City up to the outbreak of war between Nazi Germany and the United States. As the executive secretary of the German-American Board, Dr. Degener boasted how this outfit under his direction had "corrected many an erroneous view concerning Germany (Nazi Germany) prevailing more particularly in American circles." He also wrote how the German Board of Trade in New York had received Germans of the "highest repute," including Fritz Thyssen (I paid Hitler), and Dr. Schacht (accused war criminal) to tell Americans what glorious things were being achieved under Hitler. As late as May 16th, 1940, Degener played a decisive role in organizing German war relief work among German-Americans in order to assist the Nazis in their fight against France and Great Britain. Whether he carried a Nazi Party card is irrelevant, for his heart, in any event, belonged to Hitler.

Among the German industrialists who are moving into Egypt is *Dr. Walter Rohland.* This German steel magnate is slated to direct the building of a steel plant in Egypt. He too, according to the War Department, especially profited from Hitler's war of aggression. When the Allies first occupied Western Germany Dr. Rohland was given the job of de-Nazifying the steel industry—this, in spite of the fact that Rohland had been a member of the Nazi Party. The results of his de-Nazification activities can be seen by the fact that most of the old Hitler supporters are once again in position and power in the German steel industry.

Another industrialist who is now very active in the commercial and cultural affairs of Egypt is von Richter. He is a director of the "Misr Europe Company" and has succeeded in cornering a number of business deals in Egypt. The well-known German oil specialists, Drs. Wahlter and Schidler, are also very active in Egypt today.

Even the Egyptian educational system is beginning to be infiltrated with German "educators." For example, Professors Schomberg and Ortner are active at the University of Cairo. Drs. Riddel and Pollier are applying their talents at the University of Alexandria. Indeed, there is now talk of making the teaching of German compulsory in Egyptian schools.

The "Eternal" Herr Schacht

The man who serves as the overall "co-ordinator" for German economic infiltration in the Middle East, is none other than *Dr. Hjalmar Schacht.* In this connection, Mr. Ernest Leiser, the well-known newspaper correspondent remarked, "Stalin's post-war propaganda slogan 'Hitlers come and Hitlers go but the great German people go on forever' has been adopted by the wags here-abouts 'Germans come and Germans go, but the Great Dr. Schacht goes on forever.' " Truly Schacht is the best example of the salesman "who did not die." It was Schacht who, while "fixing up" German finances to support Hitler's armament program, described the Fuhrer as "a man of sound principles on whom the German people should pin its entire faith." Herr Schacht managed to escape the hangman's noose at Nuremberg and after having wiggled his way out of several de-Nazification trials, emerged again as salesman par-excellence of German imperialism. He flits from one Middle Eastern country to another spreading his pearls of wisdom among the rulers of these states. He has been called in by the Iranians, the Egyptians and the Turks but after he runs out of answers, returns to Bonn and Madrid for further instructions.

According to the well-known political writer Hans Habe, writing in the German language newspaper Aufbau, October 24th, Schacht was particularly successful in winning over the Iranians. As a result, the Germans are able to exploit the split between the British and the Iranian Government over the oil question. Habe reported that 370 German technicians have proceeded to the Iranian oil center at Abadan. In addition to these technicians, Habe reveals that 65 German technicians from the Soviet Zone have also gone to Iran. Thus the Germans who like to pose as the bulwark against Russian expansion are quietly joining hands with the Soviets in this strategic area. Mr. Habe also points out that there appears to be a tie-up between Dr. Schacht and Dr. Grobba who was Hitler's Ambassador to Baghdad and is now operating as a "middle man" between the Moslem world and Moscow.

The progress made by these economic "ambassadors" of Germany in the Middle East, was described by Business Week, September 13th, 1952: *"West Germans are establishing political bridge-heads in the Middle East that may lead to a major economic invasion of the area . . . A cadre of German officers and economists have been advising the Syrian Government. Iran's Mossadegh has called in trouble-shooter Herr Schacht to bolster his faltering economy, and Mossadegh's* *oil aides had been recruiting West Germany's technicians with* ***an eye to re-opening Abadan.*** *For U. S. and British businessmen, this promises stiffening German competition in the Middle East in capital as well as consumer goods. You can be sure that these advisors will try to steer their clients into closer economic relationships with Germany."*

Diplomats at Work

German diplomats of the Ribbentrop School, presently employed by Chancellor Adenauer, are following the parade of German generals and industrialists to the Middle East. Recently the West Germans' Government announced the appointment of *Hans Joachim von der Esch* as Minister to Syria. According to reliable sources, Dr. Esch is not really a professional diplomat. He formerly represented some of the largest coal monopolies in Germany in the Middle East. He is said to have been a Nazi fellow-traveller and during the war, served in the Counter Espionage Department of Goering's Air Force in Athens.

The present German Ambassador to Turkey is Wilhelm Haas. Haas was originally Chief of the Office of Administrative and Personnel affairs in the Bonn Foreign Office and in this capacity, admitted that 14 out of the 31 senior members of his staff had been members of the Nazi Party. In 1937 Haas served as a political observer for I. G. Farben in China. In this position, he collaborated on the closest terms with E. W. Bohle and the State Secretary in charge of German propaganda and Germans abroad. It should be noted that the entire work was supervised and directed by the Nazi Party and Haas consequently took his orders from the Nazis. In view of Dr. Adenauer's defense of Nazi diplomats presently employed in the Bonn Foreign Office, one can expect that many more Ribbentrop proteges will be found in the countries of the Middle East.

Some Interesting Sidelights

There is an interesting sidelight to the present German drive in the Middle East which deserves brief mention. When the Germans agreed to give reparations to Israel on behalf of those who suffered under Nazi rule, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported that Dr. Nahum Goldman, head of the Conference of Jewish Material Claims and Moshe Sharett, Israel's Foreign Minister told Chancellor Adenauer that the reparations agreement might start bridging the "un-bridged depths" between Germany and the Jewish nation. However, this statement should be examined in the light of recent German moves to appease the Arabs.

The Reuters News Agency of October 3rd, 1952, reported that Bonn had taken steps to "better relations with the Arab World." It was announced that Adenauer's Government had decided to donate $25,000 ostensibly to help Arab Refugees. This move, Reuters noted, was seen as an attempt to mollify the Arabs because of the West German Government's agreements with Israel.

The New York Times of October 4th, reported that a movement was afoot in Germany to block the reparations agreement. The leader of this effort, is one *Josef Frischler,* who is a member of Adenauer's coalition Government and formerly represented German ethnic groups in Yugoslavia and Hungary when the Nazis occupied those countries. In addition, the Times reported that the Koelnische Rundshau, a newspaper which often serves as the mouthpiece for Adenauer himself, declared that it would be "unwise to shrug shoulders" at the Arab's protest over the agreement with Israel. This paper stressed the economic importance of the Arab Nations to Germany and pointed out that the Arabs had "warmly recommended return of Germany to the family of Nations whereas Israel rejected this proposal . . ."

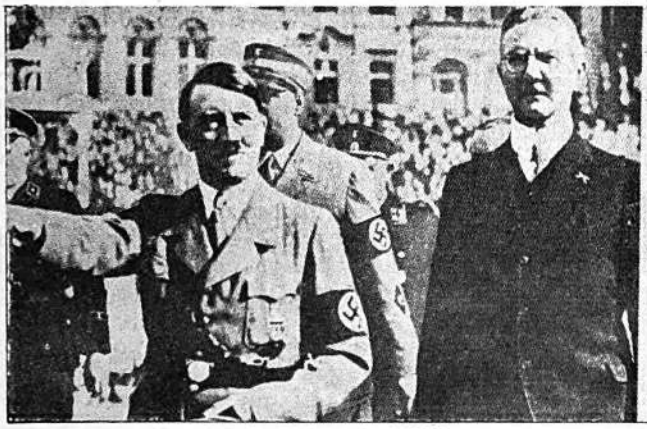
Thus, we see on the one hand, Adenauer expressing his determination to make good on the agreement made with the Jews while, at the same time, his political colleagues and his own mouthpiece flirt with the Arabs and try in every way, to sabotage the agreement. The bridge that is supposed to be formed on the basis of the reparations agreement between West Germany and Israel, does not appear to be as solid as that which is being constructed between the Bonn Government and its Arab friends by Dr. Schacht and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that the Egyptian Prime Minister, Gen. Naguib recently played host to Dr. Frank Buchman, the head of the so-called Moral Re-armament Movement. Dr. Buchman praised Naguib and in turn was toasted by leading officials of the Egyptian Government. Dr. Buchman was a prominent Nazi sympathizer and his movement attracted some of Hitler's leading henchman, including Rudolph Hess. It was Dr. Buchman who declared "I thank Heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler."

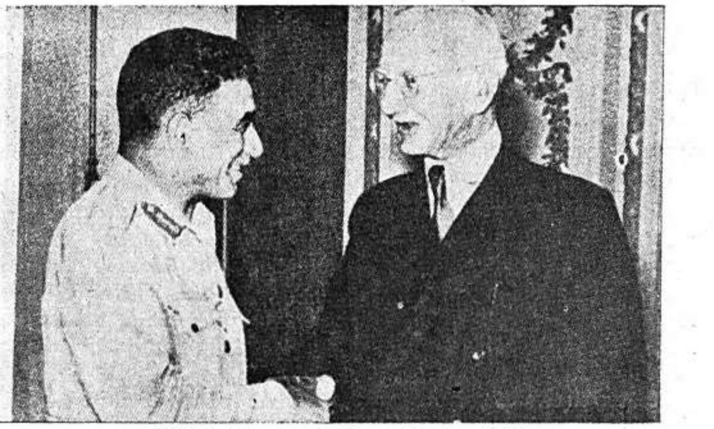
Conclusion

This article has merely skimmed the surface of Neo-Nazi intrigue and infiltration in the Middle East but the evidence presented above, indicates that the dreams of the Kaiser and Hitler to dominate this strategic sector of the world, live on in the hearts of their successors in Bonn. The Western powers have been rightfully vigilant over any attempts on the part of the Soviets to seize this vital area, but why is it that they continue to tolerate the drive of the Germans which, as history has shown, was always directed against the security of the West?

SAGA OF HJALMAR SCHACHT



With Hitlor in 1936



With General Naguib in 1952

(Courtesy N. Y. Times)

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

GERMANY'S "REARMAMENT" CONTRIBUTION

From an A. P. Dispatch:

"Finance Minister Fritz Schaeffer announced a 1953 budget of 26,544,000,000 Deutsche marks (about $6,289,000,000) for West Germany. It is higher than this year, but allows less money for defense costs . . .

"Defense costs are put at 9,000,000,000 marks for the whole year. This averages 100,000,000 marks a month less than the 850,000,000 marks being paid monthly by West Germany in accord with the agreement made by the North Atlantic Council in Lisbon, Portugal, last February."

From another A. P. Dispatch:

". . . Chancellor Konrad Adenauer said the United States had promised billions of dollars to equip West German troops . . .

". . . Listeners understood the Chancellor to use the figure 40,000,000,000 marks—$9,520,000,000 — in referring to the cost of rearmament . . ."

THE VOICES OF GERMAN MILITARISTS

From the New York Times:

"One of Germany's war heroes returned to harangue a group of more than 100 former Wehrmacht and Elite Guard officers about the 'dangers' of the Allied-German treaty system and the 'treason' of those officers who had plotted against Hitler. He was Hans Ulrich Rudel . . .

"'Whoever conspired with the enemy during the war should not be employed in any leading positions in a new German army,' he asserted. In a further reference to those connected with the plot against Hitler, Herr Rudel said 'treason remains treason, those people cannot be trusted again.'

"Former Lieut. Gen. Adolf Wolf also vigorously attacked the treaty system.

"'Every man who goes along with the policy of establishing and joining a European army is bound to expose himself to the charge that he has turned traitor to his comrades and may be considered a dishonored human being,' Herr Wolf declared.

"The meeting was organized by Ernst von Reichenau, former German military adviser in China and a brother of Hitler's Field Marshal Walter von Reichenau."

VERY INTERESTING

From a dispatch to the Wall Street Journal:

"East Germany gets its own fleet of Russian-made submarines. Intelligence sources say Moscow next month will transfer ten submarines to former Nazi naval experts who run Soviet-dominated East Germany's 'sea police force.' The base: A special submarine harbor on the Baltic Sea island of Ruegen. Specialists report the German-manned subs will hold joint maneuvers with Russian craft in the Baltic next spring."

REPARATIONS IN REVERSE

From "Background Letter." Office of British High Commissioner:

"The United Kingdom and the United States High Commissioners have informed the Federal Chancellor that the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States have decided to return to German ownership 53 ex-German merchant marine vessels, formerly recommended for allocation to Allied Governments by the Tripartite Merchant Marine Commission (T. M. M. C.)."

CHINESE MARKETS

From a report to Business Week:

"Each September for several years, Leipzig, East Germany's 16th-century fair city, has been taken over by the commissars of Communist industry . . .

"East Germans were not the only ones vying for a share of the Chinese market. Some 12,000 West German traders were on hand to plead their cause. The Hamburg Society for East Trade, whose membership consists of 300 market-hungry concerns, set up a pavilion in the center of the city. But the Society's activities may well have been overshadowed by the bigger-shot West German industrialists who did their dealing in the back rooms."

WHAT NEXT?

From Gamma Publications Ltd.:

"The head of the restitution office in Hamburg 13 is a former SS major, Dr. Walter Brahtz, who was in the Third Reich Ministerialdirigent and head of the personnel department of the Ministry of Finance. This man has to deal with former Jewish property.

"Near Schwarzenborn, Hesse, 2,000 former Nazis who had been arrested or interned after 1945 made a demonstration of protest against the 'arbitrary actions' which happened after 1945 and asked for compensation.

"The former district leader of the NSDAP and Landrat of Rendsburg from 1933-1938, Wilhelm Hamkens, will get his whole pension."

DEMOCRACY'S CHAMPION IN GERMANY

From a special dispatch to the New York Times:

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer defended today the presence of former Nazi party members in Germany's Foreign Ministry, who add up to 66 per cent of the senior officials, with the contention that the Foreign Ministry could not be built up without persons who knew something about the past.

"These members of the German Foreign Ministry who once were members of the Nazi party have 'advantages' that other officials do not have, Dr. Adenauer added.

"'They understand the principles of politics, they can speak foreign languages, they know the technique of diplomacy and they can get along with foreigners,' the Chancellor added."

WHERE THE MONEY GOES

From a report to ONA:

"After carefully inspecting Christian Dior's fashion collection, the lady bought a pretty little fur coat for five million francs ($12,500).

"Then she selected a delightful little fur coat to match for her lap dog Susie. Price: 250,000 francs ($625).

"And to what address were the coats to be delivered? The answer was: 'Frau Alfred Krupp, Villa Huegel, Essen, Germany.'"

* * *

DER SCHOENE ADOLF

By Jack Henry to Reuters:

"Adolf Hitler's picture, once common in Germany, is staging a comeback on German newsstands and advertising billboards.

"Pictures of Hitler, unshaven and haggard, clean-shaven and 'Heroic' now greet the man-in-the-street over West Germany and West Berlin.

"The Munich picture weekly, 'Revue,' with a circulation of 573,000, is running a series of articles on Hitler's life and character. Some West German weeklies have long specialized in revealing the 'secrets' of the pasts of the Nazi leaders and their families, but until 'Revue' gave Hitler his 'comeback,' the secrets seemed to have dried up months ago...

"A cartoon in 'Welt der Arbeit' (World of Work), weekly of the West German trade unions, depicted Hitler, with his arm raised in Fascist salute, standing on a pedestal bearing the inscription 'The Grateful Pictorials.' The cartoon had the caption: 'His Only Monument.'

"The same magazine also recently published photographs of former Field Marshal Erich von Mannstein, who is serving a 12-year war crimes sentence in a British-controlled prison at Werl. Mannstein, once commander of the German armies in Southern Russia, is on sick leave in a Kiel hospital for a 'complicated' eye operation."

* * *

BLACKMAIL PAYS OFF

From a U. P. dispatch

"A former German general who originally was sentenced to death for ordering the massacre of 300 Italians in Rome in 1944 has been released from prison.

"Gen. Eberhard von Mackensen, 63, was freed in what British officials described as an act of clemency....

"The freeing of Kesselring and von Mannstein was understood to be a move to satisfy West German parliamentary deputies who have demanded the release of the field marshals as a condition for the signing of the West German peace treaty."

> **"A Munich court last week acquitted Otto Thorbeck, a former S. S. judge, and Walter Huppenkothen, an S. S. prosecutor, on charges of aiding and abetting the murder of Admiral Canaris, former head of the German Intelligence, and five other anti-Nazi resistance leaders in 1945. The Court's verdict (the reasons for which are to be announced later) implies that German resistance to Hitler is now to be regarded as treason."**
>
> *(From the Manchester Guardian Weekly)*

"DAS REICH"

By Drew Middleton in the New York Times:

"The reconstitution of 'Das Reich,' the united German state, and of Prussia are among the final aims of the Free Democratic Party, Dr. Thomas Dehler, Minister of Justice, announced.

"Speaking in Bad Ems at the congress of the Free Democratic party, of which he is a leading member, Dr. Dehler denounced 'the centralized state' of Germany and told a cheering audience that 'there is another word that has a deep and soulful meaning for us'—here he lowered his voice to a solemn whisper—'Das Reich'. . ."

"'The time must come again when Prussia in a reconstituted German Reich once again fulfills its duty of maintaining Western culture in central Europe,' Dr. Dehler said. . . .

"Dr. Dehler thanked Dr. Franz Bluecher, Vice Chancellor and party chairman for 'sacrificing' himself as the German member of the International Ruhr Authority, 'the instrument of the conquerors.'"

* * *

A GERMAN YOUTH SPEAKS

From Der Freie Mensch:

"At a meeting held in Bonn, the leader of the German youth organization, Herbert Munchow, released a proclamation which contained the following statement: 'the German Youth Organization appeals to all German boys and girls to adhere to the concept of a Reich which should include as integral parts all provinces beyond the Oder-Neisse line such as East Prussia, Silesia, Pomerania and also those territories which were ceded to Germany's Western Allies after World War II.'"

* * *

ONLY THREE YEARS?

From a U. P. Dispatch:

"A former Nazi official who ordered one American airman shot and another beaten to death with a hammer during the war was sentenced today to three years in prison."

* * *

THE VOICE OF THE FUEHRER

From a dispatch to the N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun:

"Two West German cabinet ministers have just scared the daylights out of West Europe by supporting German territorial demands reminiscent of Hitler's days.

"Just as the German, French and other legislatures are preparing to consider ratification of the German treaties, two cabinet colleagues of West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer have:

"1. Supported the Sudeten German demands for return to their former homeland—the Czech Sudeten borderland handed over to Hitler at Munich.

"2. Encouraged the Sudeten Germans, now refugees in West Germany, to believe that the Sudetenland can be 'rewon by peaceful means.'

"3. Approved creation of a strong central political body to represent all East German refugee groups and sponsor their right to their former territories.

"The Adenauer government ministers who did this were Dr. Hans Christoph Seebohm, Minister of Transport, and Dr. Hans Lukaschek, Minister of Refugees. The occasion was the third anniversary of the Bonn Republic."

HOW TO GAIN POPULARITY

From Drew Middleton in the New York Times:

"The German party, the most reactionary of the three parties forming the Government coalition, was accused of imitating the Nazi party, copying its methods and taking over its old organizations.

"This accusation was made by Dr. Max Becker, a Bundestag Deputy and a member of the Free Democratic party...

"Dr. Becker charged that the German party 'had used electioneering methods corresponding exactly to the methods of the Nazi party' in a local election in Hersfeld, Hesse, recently.

"Loud speakers brought the strains of the Badenweiler March, Hitler's favorite march, and the fanfares of Liszt, which were used in Nazi Germany to introduce announcements of military victories, to crowds at German party meetings, Dr. Becker added...

"Just before the party held its last congress, a writer signing himself 'Adolphus' suggested to the party that 'since the new ideas on which National Socialism was based have proved their astonishing creative power it is quite natural that after a short period of quiet these ideas are coming to the fore again.'"

A MATTER OF ROUTINE

From a U. P. dispatch:

"United States authorities announced the release of another German war criminal. He is Franz Alfred Six, 43, former dean of the foreign political faculty of Berlin University, who was sentenced for acts committed as a member of the Nazi S. S. (Elite Guard) organization. He was originally given twenty years by a United States Military Court in 1948."

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN IRAN

From a U. P. dispatch:

"Hussein Makki, chairman of the Iranian oil nationalization program, said 370 German technicians had applied for jobs in Iranian oil refineries closed since Iran nationalized the oil industry.

"Mr. Makki, Premier Mossadegh's right-hand man, told a press conference Iran needed about '300 to 400' foreign specialists to resume oil production and that 'if possible we shall employ experts from Germany.' Applications have been sent to Iran for checking, he said."

THE NATIONALIST CHORUS

From the New York Herald Tribune:

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer said his West German government would not recognize the Saar vote as representing the will of the German-speaking Saarlanders...

"Minister for All-German Affairs Jakob Kaiser said, 'The Saar population should know that we will continue our exertions for their real freedom, because we know that they feel they belong to Germany.'

"Gerhard Schroeder, a leader in Dr. Adenauer's Christian Democratic party, said, 'The day will come when today's minority of invalid (pro-German) ballots will transform itself into an overwhelming majority.' Thomas Dehler, Justice Minister, said the election results 'do not prove the slightest thing' and that the question 'will solve itself in a national (pro-German) sense in a few years.'"

A NEW MAIL SERVICE

From a dispatch to the Reynolds News:

"German rocket experiments, controlled by the designers of the V1 and V2, are to be raised as a matter of extreme urgency when the House of Commons meets...

"Despite German claims that their rockets are designed to carry mails, it is a fact that research on rockets for carrying postal packets led directly to the horror weapons that battered Britain in 1944.

"'This news fills me with alarm,' said Mr. Elwyn Jones, M.P., who was assistant prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes trials."

STAFF RECRUITING

From a J. T. A. dispatch:

"The Egyptian Government has sent a mission to Western Austria to recruit 500 former Wehrmacht officers for the Egyptian Army, the neo-Nazi newspaper, Der Unabhaenige, reports. The paper said that two former Nazi generals are already working for the Egyptians in Cairo."

OPTION EAST OR WEST

From Gamma Publications Ltd.:

"Dr. Georg Pfleiderer, FDP member of Bundestag, explained in a memorandum that the connections between the European Defense Organization and the Atlantic Pact Organization ought to be so loose that even the Soviet Union could not mind the creation of the European Defense Union. He strongly advised not to ratify the pact with the Allies because in that case the Federal Government would renounce to all elements of an Eastern policy of its own. The best model was Locarno because Germany got in this way her freedom of decision and option between West and East! He is also strongly opposed to the idea of giving the Allies the right to march through Germany...

"Self-interest inevitably influences the individual in the Saar, and in favour of a 'European solution.' Today the Saar sends over 30 per cent of its all-important coal to France and 24 per cent to Germany. Union with the Federal Republic could limit the French market—however well the Schuman Plan works. The Saar is fed by France, but Germany imports 40 per cent of her foodstuffs and has no sort of agricultural surplus for the one million Saarlanders. France has developed the Saar's consumer-goods industries and doubled employment in them up to a figure of 50,000.

"This was something that Hitler's Reich never tried to do. The Saarlanders, moreover, now have a fair idea of how the Nazi Government of 1938 regarded their economic situation. The report of the German 'Committee for Economic Studies,' which surveyed the Saar at that date, has been published after years on a dusty shelf. This report saw the Saar as an economic liability to Germany and as an area which would not attract badly needed capital."

(From the Manchester Guardian Weekly)

ON THE MODEST SIDE

From the Arbeiterzeitung, Basel:

"Communications Minister Dr. Seebohm made a speech recently at a meeting of Refugees held at Rudesheim in which he proclaimed the necessity of regaining the Sudetenland. The basis for his proclamation was that 'only where Germans live there is culture.'"

DESERVED REWARD?

From a U. P. dispatch:

Dr. Gottfried Krummacher was cheered at a meeting here when he demanded that the Allies pay Nazi party members $2 for each day spent in internment camps after the war and an additional 50 cents for each hour of work done by order of camp commanders."

A GERMAN SOLDIER DOES HIS DUTY

From a dispatch to Reuters:

"A former German soldier accused of 71 murders, three attempted murders and one rape, sat smiling in court as a witness shouted 'If the judges let you off, I shall kill you myself!'

"'I saw Schwindt take babies by the legs and hurl them with all his strength into trucks,' he testified.

"Schwindt, a short, stocky man who was arrested after a former ghetto inmate recognized him, fled to the West two years ago as a 'political refugee' from East Germany. He denied the charges and said:

"'I was a German soldier. I have remained honest as a soldier and as a man. I have no need to fear my conscience.'"

GERMANY IS JUDGING AMERICA

From a report to New York Times:

"A Munich criminal court ruled that the killing of captured United States bomber crews in Germany during World War II 'did not constitute murder.'

"Reducing the charge against a minor Nazi party official from complicity in murder to complicity in manslaughter, the lay court said that 'bomb attacks against the civil population violated the Hague convention and possibly were crimes against humanity.'"

MORE OF THE SAME

From a J. T. A. dispatch:

"During a budget debate in the provincial parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia, it was revealed that Erich Reeder, a former Nazi government official in the province and onetime high ranking Gestapo officer, has been awarded a settlement of 26,000 deutschemarks (approximately $6,500) as 'compensation' for loss of employment when he was ousted as an ex-Nazi. Reeder, who was once chief administrative officer of the German occupation forces in Belgium, also draws a pension of 1,000 marks a month."

THE SIXTH COLUMN

From a report to Gamma Publications Ltd.:

"Bruno Fricke, former follower of Strasser, then of Gereke, now connected with the 'National Party,' told Matthäi, leader of 'Reichsorden,' after a meeting in Düsseldorf: 'When the Bolsheviks will be coming, I shall run to meet them with a white flag.'"

★

"The 'International Military Correspondence' organized a meeting in Munich which was attended by 39 high officers. The speakers were Reichenau, brother of the late Col. General, Cptn. Rodewald (Führungsring ehemaliger Soldaten) and Fritz Brehm who is connected with the SRP. They emphasized the peaceful intentions and the military superiority of the Soviet Union, the high standard of the Soviet Zone and protested against the defense contribution. When the organizers were asked about the origin of the funds for this meeting, the answer was that industrialists who wanted peace spent the money. The group is trying to get followers among former members of the Waffen-SS, former internees and 'victims of denazification' (Hanover). Among others, the generals Bogatsch (Munich), Hans Döring (Nuremberg), Greiner, Gräser, Jähn, Kless, v. Massow (Starnberg), Reuss (Munich), Sander (Bamberg), Adolf Wolf (Bayreuth), Wössner, (Reutlinger), Emil Vogel (Munich) and Zimmer (Mittenwald) were present. 'Militärpolitisches Forum' will be published in short time."

SEVEN YEARS AFTER

From a New York Herald Tribune report:

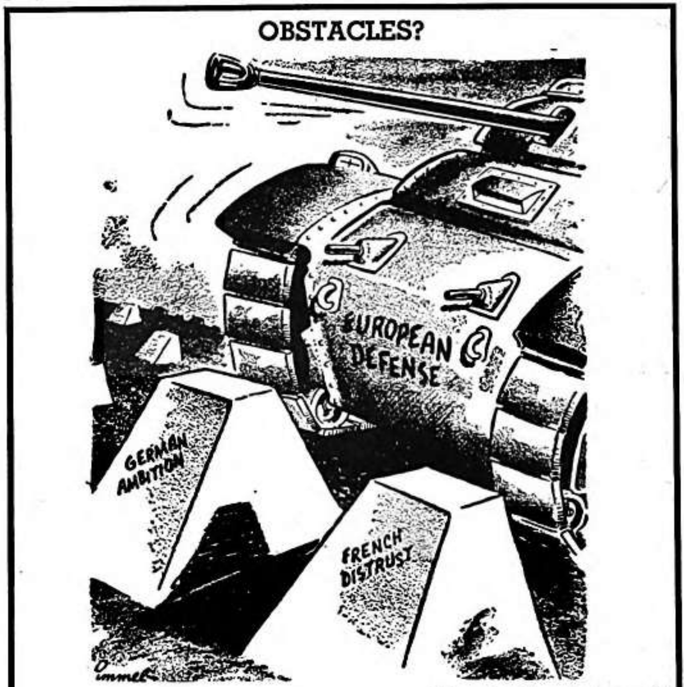
"A 'dangerous trend' from political parties to 'mass organizations' in West Germany was reported by German editors and political and economic writers who arrived here from that country.

"Mr. Fischer and Marcel Schulte, chief editor of the 'Frankfurter Neue Presse,' acted as spokesmen for the group of thirteen German writers...

"'Our Foreign Office has more Nazis now than it did under Hitler,' Mr. Fischer said.

"They were in agreement that the United States' post-war policy in West Germany has had a lot to do with the resurgence of nationalistic feelings. This policy was described as 'first too hard, then too soft.' Mr. Fischer pointed out that, in his own field, a man once convicted as a Nazi captain is now running a newspaper in Nurenberg."

OBSTACLES?



(Courtesy Peoria Journal)

RECOMMENDED READING:

The Devil's Chemists:
24 Conspirators Who Manufacture Wars

by

JOSIAH E. DU BOIS, JR.

It is of course rather bad taste today to mention the fact that not so long ago a nation called Germany under a paranoiac named Hitler with merciless efficiency set out to crush the democratic world and to establish itself as the ruling nation. Today we woo Western Germany and we look the other way when somehow or other erstwhile Nazi stalwarts wangle their way to high positions of trust and decision. Twenty-four brilliant men once ran the industrial empire called "Interessen Gemeinschaft Farbenindustrie Aktiengesellschaft" (shortened to I. G. Farben for Western tongues) and today many of these same men are happily engaged in building another industrial kingdom.

Josiah E. DuBois, Jr., who prosecuted these 24 men in the 1947 Nuremburg trials seems to be the one man around who is concerned about the potential danger presented by these former Farben directors, chemists and financial geniuses. The indictment drawn up by DuBois and his staff charged them with planning and participating in an aggressive war and with such crimes against humanity as the use of slave labor in their buna rubber plants and the use of Auschwitz inmates as guinea pigs to determine the efficacy of highly experimental antidotes for typhus (the guinea pigs of course first had to be inoculated for typhus).

I. G. Farben was not "Big Business" in the sense that we understand the term. Even before Hitler became Chancellor the organization had contributed 400,000 marks to his campaign funds. Henceforth Hitler and Farben were contented partners and Prosecutor DuBois gives the impression that Farben was by no means a silent or junior partner. Baron von Schnitzler, head of Farben's powerful Dyestuffs Committee, admitted to DuBois that the Nazi foreign policy and the I. G. Farben foreign policy were inseparable.

"Farben," he admitted as an afterthought, "was largely responsible for Hitler's foreign policy."

Hitler did not give the order to march civilization into the most horrible of all wars until Farben was ready. Farben was ready on the morning of September 1, 1939, and on that infamous date German planes dropped their first bombs on the little Polish village of Puck and the terrible fire which would engulf a large part of the world was set ablaze. The incendiary bombs dropped on Puck were made by Farben; the planes which dropped the bombs had aluminum fuselages made by Farben and Farben wheels capped by Farben rubber; their engines were made of Farben nickel and lubricated by Farben oil and gasoline. The infantry followed the planes and the soldiers were warmed by Farben textiles, wore Farben plastic helmets, and as they advanced under the protecting barrage of their artillery, the shells that screamed over them were made by Farben. The magnesium metals and alloys, the nitrates, the methanol, and the diglycol (which made 50,000 tons of gunpowder each month) were all produced by I. G. Farben.

In this country the great industrial firms went into war production only when we were threatened; DuBois proves conclusively (to this reader at least) that I. G. Farben made Hitler's aggressive war possible. His book, *The Devil's Chemists,* was written in white hot anger but DuBois is always the lawyer as he builds a damning indictment against those he calls "the German Generals in gray business suits." He presented this evidence in 1947 to the four judges who comprised the American Military Tribunal at Nuremburg but although they must have been convinced of the guilt of the 24 defendants they came to the rather incredible conclusion that the proof against them was presumptive and not conclusive and that international law did not provide a standard defining criminality in the kind of actions perpetrated by the defendants.

The four judges refused to accept the masterly thesis previously propounded by Justice Robert Jackson justifying the trial of men who had committed crimes against humanity; they scorned the age-old common law dictum, "He who creates the threat of force, knowing it will be used, is responsible for the direct consequences." And when all the evidence was in they gave nine of the defendants light sentences for "plundering" and imposed what can only be called token sentences on five others for employing slave labor at Auschwitz. Bewildered, heartsick, disillusioned, DuBois could only bow to the decision of the Tribunal but his indignation was too great to be kept within himself and *The Devil's Chemists* is the result.

DuBois thinks that we will hear from these 24 brilliant and evil men again. If there is a World War III, he believes they will be found fighting for the Soviet Union; all have a strong affinity for the totalitarian world.

During the last war Noel Coward wrote a brilliant satirical song "Don't Let's Be Beastly to the Hun." We laughed at it in London but now it develops that Noel's little song wasn't satire at all—it was sheer prophecy.

QUENTIN REYNOLDS

(Courtesy, United Nations World)

The Devil's Chemists by Josiah E. DuBois, Jr., in collaboration with Edward Johnson. The Beacon Press, 1952.

Germany in Defeat

(An analysis of Germany's economic boom)

by
JEAN PAJUS

Decidedly, the lot of the victorious nations is not an enviable one. Twice in a generation these nations were bled white in a super-human effort to defend their lives and human dignity; they won the wars, but each time the aggressor emerged stronger than ever. Does victory pay? Ponder two recent reports dealing with the economic situation in Western Europe. On September 7, 1952 an A. P. despatch from Bonn titled: "Germany's Four Year Success Story" began as follows:

"Western Germany is riding the crest of the greatest boom in its peace-time history—and the outlook is for a big expansion of economic activity this year."

In October 1952, Anthony Eden summed up Britain's economic plight in one sentence: "We want the opportunity to earn the dollars that we need, to balance our external accounts."

In 1940 Prime Minister Churchill begged the U. S. for "tools to finish the job," of fighting Germany. In 1952, 7 years after V-E Day, Mr. Eden is begging for an opportunity to make a living.

Clearly, there is something incongruous in these two reports. One report tells us that London, as well as the other capitals of the free nations, are greatly concerned over the trade slump, the collapsing exports and the widening dollar gaps. These free nations tell us that their industries are strained to the limit under the twin burdens of export drives and rearmament. The A. P. report, in contrast, exudes confidence by assuring us that Germany has room for economic expansion because she has a large, unused industrial capacity and surplus labor for further spectacular economic gains.

Was not Germany supposed to be utterly destroyed in 1945, her factories gutted, her machines pulverized, her will to dominate Europe's economic life snuffed out? Some three years ago, when the U. S. Senate debated the pitifully small reparations program which the Allies had pledged to carry out in order to help the rehabilitation of Germany's neighbors, the German industrialists flooded the U. S., especially the offices of the U. S. Senate, with pathetic pleas to give Germany a chance to make a living. They told Congress that Europe was threatened with bankruptcy, that recovery would never take place unless Congress kill the ECA recommendation of April 13, 1949, to turn over to Germany's victims 159 plants as reparations. (Parenthetically, the Allies had originally agreed upon and recommended a program of reparations totalling 2,000 plants to be taken out of West Germany. Official reports stated that the British Zone alone had a total of over 50,000 plants.)

The voice of the victims was conspicuous by its absence, and Germany's ability to cry upon the U. S. shoulders produced excellent results. Not only was the reparations program abandoned, but, as the U. S. News and World Report of Sept. 14, 1951 put it: "The fact that the U. S. alone spends nearly $9,000,000,000 in West Germany is ignored or minimized."

Did the scuttling of the reparations program have something to do with Germany's greatest boom in her peace-time history? Common sense would suggest that this is so.

At any rate, the German economic comeback is truly remarkable. As for the boom mentioned in the A. P. despatch, part of it is, no doubt, due to the intensive reconstruction and to the development of Allied air fields and other military installations in Germany.

Germany's Economic Comeback

Germany's economic comeback can be gauged by casting a quick glance at her export figures in the last five years. To take the month of September as an example, the statistics show the following value of exports:

September 1948 206,000,444 D.M. ($49,028,000)

September 1950 697,000,000 D.M. ($165,886,000)

September 1951 1,368,000,000 D.M. ($325,584,000)

No figures for September 1952 are available as yet, but those for May 1952 show that German exports amounted to 1,407,000,000 D.M. ($334,000,000).

The German over-all industrial production indicates a similar trend. On the basis of 1936 as 100, industrial production in '48 was 63; it reached 126 in 1950, and it zoomed to 158 in October 1952. In this connection, it is worthy of mention that the index of 1936, the target aimed at and advocated by the American military officials a few years ago, was utterly unrealistic since it was a year of extensive military preparation for war.

The recent figures published by the European Payment Union tell the same story. In November 1950, a few months after the European clearing house was established, Germany's deficit position reached the alarming figure of $457,000,000. In July of 1952, Germany's cumulative credit balance climbed to $$368,000,000.

How did Germany's neighbors and fellow members of the E. P. U. fare during these two years? At the end of 1950, France and Britain combined had a cumulative credit position of over $700,000,000. By the end of 1951, in one single year, their cumulative debit position amounted to almost $700,000,000. In other words, in two years both these countries suffered a trade reverse of $1,400,000,000. This astounding reversal of their credit position is partly due to the increased expenditures incurred under the NATO program. The total increase for all members of NATO between 1950 and 1951 was two and one half billion dollars—and France and Britain combined accounted for two billion dollars. Where did the money come from? An analysis of their 1951 gold balance suggests that France and Britain financed their rearmament by selling gold. They also had to borrow from abroad.

Since their economy was not strong enough to sustain simultaneously the increased rearmament program and their export drive, the latter was bound to suffer. The figures published in the Manchester Guardian—August 21, 1952 are revealing. "In the second half of 1951, the average monthly gap was £109,200,000 and in the first half of 1951 it was £92,000,000."

As for France, the New York Times of August 24, 1952, reported that "exports of metropolitan France dropped in July to the lowest level in two years."

According to the International Monetary Fund, France's dollar deficit was 217 million dollars in 1950 and 1 billion dollars in 1951.

And while both France and Britain

have been struggling for the past two years to bolster their defense and at the same time keep their economic head above water, the Germans have shown a remarkable ability to take advantage of their neighbors plight, as revealed in the following export statistics:

VALUE OF GERMAN EXPORTS

	1950	1951
To Europe	$1,500,000,000	$2,357,000,000
Western Hemisphere	269,000,000	636,000,000
To Asia	108,000,000	254,000,000
Africa	68,000,000	152,000,000
Australasia	28,000,000	64,000,000
Total	$1,973,000,000	$3,463,000,000

The Case of Belgium

The tremendous increase in German exports in the two years cannot be attributed, however, entirely to the fact that both France and Britain were busily engaged with their defense program. Belgium, for example, became seriously alarmed over Germany's inroads in her own market as early as 1950. When the Belgians discovered that Germany was able to sell an instrument for 62 Belgian Francs, whereas the same item was sold in that country before the war for 200 francs, the Belgians began asking questions. (Parenthetically, the same instrument was offered by the Americans for 125 Belgian francs.) Can the German competition be characterized as fair? Can the German claims as the lowest cost-producers stand up under a rigid scrutiny? Is Germany resorting to dumping again?

An intensive study was thereupon undertaken by the Economic Council of Belgium. The Commission's findings were that the following Belgian industries were in greatest jeopardy: mine construction equipment, electrical equipment, naval diesel engines, dyes, ethylene products, ceramics, foundry equipment, jewelry, and colored glass. The Commission's most important finding, however, was that the main reason why Germany was able to undersell the Belgians in their own market was the fact that German wages were lower than those paid to Belgian workers. As an example, the Commission reported that the German wages in foundries and rolling mills were 45% lower than those prevailing in similar plants in Belgium.

"La Nation Belge," commenting on these findings on April 28, 1950, called upon the O. E. E. C. and the International Labor Office to remedy the situation by "suggesting" appropriate legislation to raise wages and improve social legislation in Germany.

Britain's Plight

In July 1950, the South African Railway's Tender Board placed an order for 100 locomotives with the Krupp firm in Germany. The losers were the North British Locomotive Co., one U. S. firm and over 20 firms of various nationalities. The German bid was $680,000 below the second lowest bid.

German competition against Britain in foreign markets was not limited to the capital goods industry. It applied even to toys. In 1950, the British United Toy Mfg. Co. Ltd. made drastic cuts in the price of toys to be sold to Cyprus. The company went the limit, but when the Germans offered plush teddy bears and white rabbits at 10% lower than the lowest British bid, the Germans obtained the order. The same competition was encountered in Canada and Africa, and the British company as early as 1950 thought of abandoning the Canadian and the African markets too.

Nor did the British fine mechanical and optical instruments industry fare any better. Just when they had regained the post-war markets in these products in Scandinavia, India and South Africa, the Germans began to undersell optical goods in these countries by 25%.

A similar tale of woe was told by the British Dye Stuff and Pharmaceutical industries. By 1950, German production in dyestuffs and pharmaceuticals was back to the 1936 levels, and a representative of the British pharmaceutical industries stated that "the field will be dominated by Germany within 4 to 6 years."

The British steel industry, too, complained very bitterly against German competition in Turkey. Whereas a German firm was able to sell round iron bars in Istanbul, Turkey for $68 per ton, the British and American prices for the same items were $110 a ton.

More recent cases tell the same story. A few months ago, Turkey was in the market for electrical equipment, transformers and broilers. British firms thought they had a good chance and submitted bids. So did the Germans, and their bids were accepted—they were lower by almost 50%. In another recent case, the Germans offered to sell Turkey 36,000 tons of rails at a price which was not only much lower than that offered by the British, but 33% lower than that offered by an American firm. Moreover, the Germans offered credits and payment conditions which neither the British nor the Americans could possibly match.

In connection with the German competition in the field of electronics, a prominent Belgian correspondent, Gerges Blun, reported a few months ago that "I am in a position to reveal the name of a very prominent German firm known the world over in the field of electronics which is offering to undersell all foreign competitors to the extent of 35%." Since the two largest firms in Germany are Siemens and AEG, the assumption is that Mr. Blun had one of these firms in mind.

Two years ago, it became painfully evident to the British that motor cars, motorcycles and bicycles stood high on the German's "Most Likely to Succeed" list. In an effort to compete with the Germans, the British car producers drastically slashed the prices for their products. Despite these slashes, the German-made 4 cylinder Taunus manufactured in the Ford plant in Cologne, was offered at 10% less than the same size cars manufactuered by the British Hillman and Austin companies.

That the apprehensions of the British auto manufacturers were fully justified, can be seen from the latest statistics. In 1948, Germany sold to Switzerland 2,000 automobiles. This year, Switzerland will buy 20,000 cars from Germany and only 6,000 cars from Britain.

Four years ago, Holland bought from Britain twice as many cars as from West Germany. The figures for the first six months of 1952 show that the position has been reversed.

One might think that the British would have better luck in their own commonwealth but even there it appears they cannot compete successfully against the Germans. Canada, for instance, imposes a special tariff of 15% on German-made cars. Notwithstanding this, the Germans are offering their Volkswagen in Canada for $1400 whereas the best the British can do is to ask $1800 for a similar car. Naturally, the Canadians are buying German cars.

An analysis of German competition made by British officials in 1950 showed that Germany was able to compete successfully against British foreign markets because of her lower wages. The analysis showed that West German workers put in about the same number of hours per week as did their counterparts in Britain, but German wages were about 25% under Britain's level. Another advantage the Germans enjoyed was the fact that German taxes on industrial firms were much lower than those imposed on British firms. In addition, the West German budget for 1950 provided for even lower taxes on business.

And just when the British were thinking about effective measures to counteract German competition, the West German government announced, in July 1950, a new export incentive scheme which allowed German exporters to retain 20% of the proceeds in dollars. Prior to the introduction of that scheme, the German exporters had to turn over all dollars earned to the German government.

Trade Agreements and Credits

Prior to 1950, German firms had to do business with Latin America mostly by mail order. In 1950, German salesmen began flocking to South America and new trade agreements were concluded with Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Paraguay and Ecuador.

To be sure, the German salesmen complained bitterly about trade marks and representations lost during the war and after, but by the middle of 1950 and despite these German complaints, the British exporters discovered that they were already in danger of taking third, fourth and sometimes fifth place in the leading countries of Latin America.

From all accounts, the Latin Americans were glad to see these German salesmen, because they wanted to be less dependent on the U. S. and Britain for the supply of goods.

The Germans, on the other hand, showed their appreciation by pouring into Latin America a host of German artists, even circus troops.

The net result of this assault on Latin America was not slow in coming. Within 2 years of the first commercial transactions with the Latin American countries, the German trade with these countries reached a level of over 600 million dollars. The Germans granted these countries special favors and credits while the British were not in a position to offer similar terms.

The Germans started off their trade drive with the sale of many non-essential consumer goods, interspersed with orders for transport equipment, machinery and even coke ovens.

Conversely, German imports from Latin America increased fantastically in the last 2 years. They are running at the annual rate of 1,500,000 tons, while in 1938, pre-war Germany's imports from Latin America were only 1,300,000 tons.

So far, neither the Germans nor the Latin Americans have had cause to complain about their trade agreements. So long as Germany is willing to extend credit to Brazil for instance and not press for payment, the Brazilians are welcoming German goods. Similarly, so long as the Chileans and Peruvians are able to obtain higher prices for their non-ferrous metals from the Germans, the former are satisfied. Then too, the more raw materials they sell, the more their living standards tend to increase. Argentina is flattered that the big German trusts such as Deutz, Hanemag and Lanz are contributing to her industrial development by establishing branches to manufacture tractors and agricultural machines in her cities. Not to be outdone, Brazil invites Krupp to open a plant within her borders.

In Africa, the German drive is beginning to show excellent results. On June 17, 1952 the Christian Science Monitor reported that Germany has made prodigious inroads in the Belgian Congo market. Already Western Germany has succeeded in evicting the Union of South Africa from the place it held on the list of suppliers to the Congo. The despatch also reported that although the U. S. and Britain were still the top ranking suppliers to the Belgian colony, recent statistics show that Germany was fast becoming the foremost competitor there. Ironically enough, another pre-war competitor who had been absent for a number of years, Japan, also threatens to ease out both the Americans and the British from that market. According to the latest statistics, Germany and Japan together succeeded in obtaining orders amounting to over 500 million Belgian Francs in the Belgian Congo market.

"Mr. Hugh Dalton told his constituents at Witton Park, County Durham, that his worst fears were coming true.

"He said: 'One member after another of Dr. Adenauer's Government is making most provocative and disturbing speeches. They all demand the return to Germany of large areas of Poland and Czechoslovakia.'

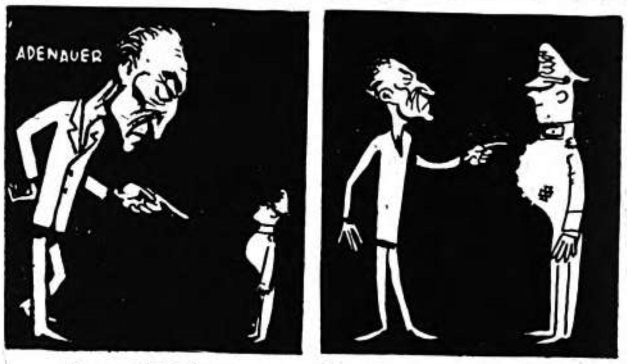
" 'Only last Sunday, Dr. Seebohm, Adenauer's Minister of Transport, made a violent attack upon the Czechs and was greeted with cries from his audience of "Hang them." '

" 'This is the voice of Hitler speaking. . . . If Germans talk like this before they are rearmed, what will they say when we have placed some of the most modern weapons of war in their hands?'

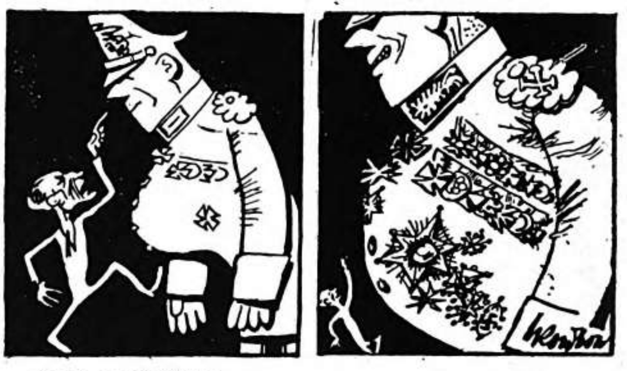
"Lord Hinchingbrooke, Conservative MP for South Dorset, who has just returned from Germany, and who opposed in the House of Commons ratification of the German rearmament agreement, referred in an interview yesterday to the outburst of Dr. Seebohm.

" 'It seems,' said Lord Hinchingbrooke, 'that the fears I expressed in the House of Commons lest a rearmed Germany pursue a dangerous revisionist foreign policy, are being confirmed.' "

(From the Reynolds News)



The old Story - Seems once more -



Just as before - To start all over again.

(Cartoon by Wronkow, courtesy Aufbau)

Infiltration In the Middle East and Asia

The Germans have also shown a remarkable comeback in their trade with the Near and Middle East. On May 27, 1952, the Germans entered into an agreement with Egypt, providing for the supply of machines, precision instruments, chemicals and pharmaceutical products, fertilizers, as well as equipment and technicians for the erection of a steel plant in Assouan. How important a place that country occupies in Germany's long-range plans can be seen from the fact that the Germans are planning to hold an exhibition of the German industry in Egypt, in February 1953.

In Turkey, Germany has regained the first place as an importer. In 1951, 21.6% of the total Turkish exports went to Germany. I. G. Farben plans call for the erection of a fertilizer plant at Kutaya. The Turkish press casually noted that the foremost French chemical companies such as St. Gobain and Kuhlmann were not interested in developing the Turkish industries, not having the necessary capital to invest in Turkey.

According to the commercial trade agreement of February 1952, Germany has undertaken to sell Turkey 10 million D.M. worth of automobiles, 12½ million D.M. of other vehicles, 24 million D.M. worth of tractors and other agricultural machines and 16 million D.M. worth of various electro-technical equipment, bicycles, watches, optical goods, etc.

In Iran, 5 years ago, Germany supplied 0.4% of that country's total imports. In September 1952, Germany's share rose to 10%. Among the Iranian imports from Germany we find textile equipment, nine woolen mills, a very large cement plant and the largest soap plant that country has ever erected.

Germany is making great inroads in the economy of Iraq. Thus, recently it was reported that two German firms have ousted the British from the Euphrates River.

German engineers are very busy in Indonesia, laying out plans for the entire road system of that country.

Although Pakistan is supposed to be a member of the British Commonwealth and friendly to Britain, the Germans have been able to displace the British from certain sectors of the Pakistan economy. The famous Siemens Company is now in charge of extending the telephone network at a cost of 9 million Pakistan rupees. Recently the Siemens Company concluded an agreement with Pakistan to erect a large plant to manufacture telephonic equipment at a total cost of £60 million, of which fifteen million sterling pounds will be provided by Siemens.

Under a new agreement made with Pakistan July 1, 1952, the Bonn Republic is slated to export to Pakistan various metallurgical products, machinery and equipment amounting to $64,000,000, the goods to be delivered by June 1953.

Although America has been making prodigious efforts to help the Japanese economy, the German Bayer & Siemens are back again, having concluded a technical aid agreement with the famous Japanese machine-tool firm Shikoku. Another prominent German firm, Demag, has undertaken to build 4 electric furnaces in Japan.

Space does not allow a detailed description and analysis of all the ramifications of German infiltration and competition. The above facts and figures will suffice, we believe, to show that Germany's neighbors are fully justified in crying "wolf."

French Complaints

A very recent example is quite to the point. On October 10, 1952, J. J. Caburol, the president of the French Chamber of Metallurgical Industry, addressed a memorandum to the French government in which he stated that the famous cutlery industry of Thiers is in great danger of being crushed by German competition. The memorandum revealed that the French have already lost their markets in Egypt, Iran, Syria, Lebanon and are about to lose completely the Turkish market. In the case of Turkey, whereas the French cutlery exports to that country declined from 150 million francs to 70 million francs in one year, the German exports increased from 500,000 D.M. to 1½ million D.M. during the same time.

Mr. Caburol also reported that the British Sheffield producers registered a similar export decline. Since the quality of the goods offered by these three national groups was equal, Mr. Caburol made a thorough investigation of the real reasons for the decline in French exports. His conclusion was that France will not be able to compete on equal terms with the Germans so long as the latter offer their cutlery 30% cheaper. Mr. Caburol also found out why the Germans are in a position to undersell the French:

Because (A) the base price for steel is higher in France than in Germany, and (B) because wages and social charges are also higher in France than in Germany.

The following figures presented by Mr. Caburol speak for themselves:

COST OF THIN PLATES, MARTIN PROCESS

In France: 47,000 Francs per ton
In Germany: 32,000 Francs per ton

LABOR COST

A skilled worker in the cutlery industry in France earns (social charges, etc., included) 189 francs per hour;

In Solingen, Germany, his counterpart earns 146 francs per hour.

British Charges of Dumping

Can we attribute the German manufacturers' success in the export field solely to the cost differential? The well-known British weekly, Reynolds News, does not think so. In October, 1952, this publication flatly stated that the German steel industry is determined to obtatin a larger share in the export field than it is entitled to under the Schuman Plan. In order to establish its domination in the export field, the German steel industry is again resorting to dumping, Reynolds News asserted.

Whether this is true cannot be ascertained at this time. Available data, however, clearly indicates that Bonn is resurrecting some old economic weapons from her pre-war armory of economic warfare. For instance, during the past year, Bonn made extensive purchases of raw materials in certain countries, the net effect of which was that these countries were forced to increase their purchases of manufactured items from Germany, at the expense of exports from other European countries. A case in point is Uruguay. Germany had incurred a very large debt for raw materials purchased. The Uruguayan government became alarmed in 1951 because of this and demanded that the Germans liquidate their huge indebtedness. The Germans willingly obliged by offering to sell goods of higher quality at lower prices. The Uruguayans were only too glad to accept the deal, and the net effect was that the Germans became the masters of the Uruguayan market.

The Germans claim that there was no dumping involved and that the deal was perfectly legitimate.

Another method used by the German exporters to defeat their British and other competitors in Latin America was the granting of extremely favorable credit terms, up to 5 to 10 years. Since the British were able to grant only 2 year terms, their bids were rejected.

The Germans, for instance, recently concluded a trade agreement with Turkey calling for the purchase of 60 million dollars worth of raw cotton and 11 million dollars worth of tobacco from Turkey. In return, Turkey agreed to buy a certain quantity of manufactured cotton goods from Germany. The agreement, however, stipulated that should Germany decide to increase her export quota of raw cotton and tobacco, Turkey will have to buy from Germany an additional quota of manufactured cotton goods. This scheme enables Germany to obtain a continuous supply of raw materials and at the same time assures her of a market for her manufactured goods, thus eliminating other suppliers. Here again the Germans say this is perfectly legitimate.

According to Plan

Either way we look at it, Germany's economic expansion is not a myth. Her fantastic success, however, is not an accident. It was encouraged and nurtured, in large measure, by American occupation authorities and carefully and skilfully executed by the German government with the help of expert advisers, technicians, export organizations, research, banks and business organizations. The work of the Welt-Wirtschaft Archiv of Hamburg and the Ges. Zur Foerderung Des Deutschen Handels and other organizations has been outstanding in this respect.

Last but not least, mention must be made of the activities of the Commission for Trade with the Iron Curtain countries which has been "advising" the German Ministry of Economics, with headquarters in Bonn and branches in Berlin, Hamburg and Munich.

Thus it is clear that Germany has long-range plans for economic over-expansion abroad. If further evidence were needed to prove it, recent statistics pertaining to her production of consumer goods would dispel any doubt. They show that during 1952, production of consumer goods continues to decline. This trend has been going on since 1950. Official statistics show that while the over-all index of production increased by 25% during the last 2 years, the production of consumer goods has declined by 10%. This would tend to show German determination to take advantage of her neighbor's plight to tighten her grip on world trade—even at the cost of reducing her domestic consumption of basic consumer goods.

Meanwhile, her neighbors are searching in vain for a solution to their dilemma: how to avoid being crushed by the twin burdens of re-armament and export drives. The situation is grim on both fronts. Both France and Britain, for instance, are forced to spend over 10% of their gross national product this year for defense; thus they have to use a large proportion of their national income, factory space and labor force to carry out their obligations incurred under the NATO agreement. This of necessity entails a great loss in export trade—the source of dollar income.

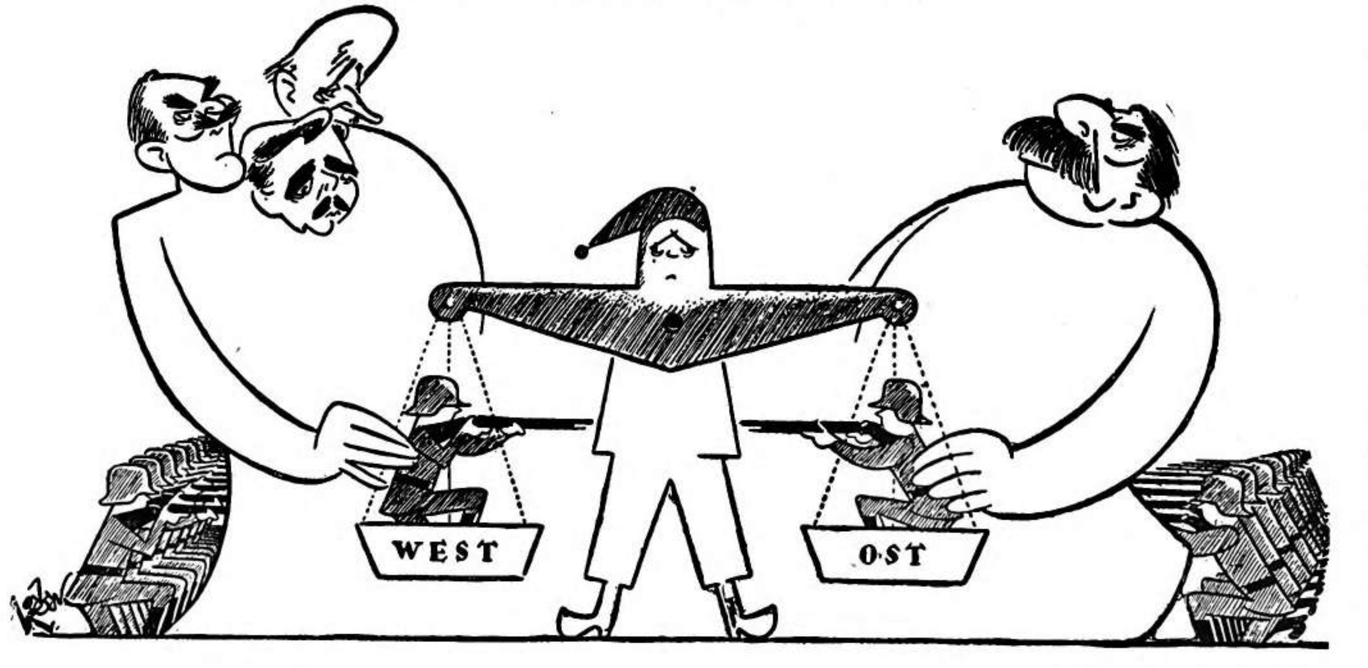
The total West European dollar gap in 1951 was 4½ billion dollars. Available evidence shows that the situation is getting worse. On the other hand, NATO is calling upon its members to increase their armament expenditures. Can they find the money to do it? Mr. Masoin, Economic Adviser to the Belgian Prime Minister and Financial Adviser to the O. E. E. C., is very pessimistic about their ability to do so. In a report he submitted in October 1952, to the NATO organization at Lisbon, he stated that the organization will need 225 billion dollars for the years 1950-1954, of which 75 billion dollars will have to come from Western Europe.

After analyzing the various contributions made and to be made by the NATO countries, and after analyzing American direct and indirect aid to those countries, Mr. Masoin concludes with the following sentence:

"There will remain a deficit of 15 billion dollars and that will mean a delay of 1½ years in the execution of the original defense program, unless the NATO members revise their program and accept the obligation to increase their financial effort towards their defense."

Neither France nor Britain are in a position to make up this deficit, nor can they afford to reduce further their gold reserves in order to obtain new credits. The Germans say they cannot increase their contribution to the European defense programs nor can we expect the smaller NATO members to increase their share of the already heavy burden.

"For the next fifty years—the proper balance."



(Ostdeutsche Zeitung, Hamburg)

All the NATO members say they want trade and not aid. Financial and economic experts have suggested that elimination of trade restrictions, resumption of convertibility of currencies and greater access to American markets will solve Europe's trade deficit. While all these measures are helpful and should be seriously considered, it is doubtful that their implementation will bridge the dollar gap.

America's Responsibility

So long as Germany continues to pay low wages and social charges and does not impose adequate taxes on business, she will be in a better position to undersell her neighbors in world markets. By the same token, so long as we continue to regard Germany as our principal ally in Europe—with all the advantages that would accrue to her—the suggested remedies will fall short of their aim. If the European economy is to become viable again, equity and fairness demand that all of Western Europe be given a chance to compete for world trade on equal terms.

This, certainly, is not too much to ask of the U. S. for, as mentioned above, the U. S. policy toward Germany for the past few years has encouraged and nurtured Germany's economic expansion. It is therefore only fair that we devise ways and means to help our wartime allies, too.

Recent despatches emanating from Europe that both the O. E. E. C. and the Advisory Board of the U. S. Mutual Security Administration are desperately trying to find a solution to Europe's economic dilemma. The O. E. E. C. report will not be ready, we are informed, before January 1953. The study of the M. S. A. Board is being conducted by former Under-secretary of the Treasury Daniel Bell. The Europeans are hopeful that Mr. Bell's study will recommend appropriate ways of harmonizing the U. S. import program with European export needs.

On the other hand, numerous complaints against Germany's trade practices have also reached Washington. The sum of these complaints is that the German government is pursuing the same policies that Dr. Schacht used; that German industry is being subsidized to the tune of 3 billion marks this year by the Bonn government; that Germany is again resorting to a well-organized dumping campaign in order to conquer more foreign markets and to undersell their British and French competitors, and that this applies to the continent of Europe as well as to the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

These reports do not mention America's position in world markets. It has been assumed for a considerable time that we can take care of ourselves and that German competition can have no adverse effects on our economy. That these assumptions will have to be revised is clearly indicated in a paragraph from an article in the New York Times, Nov. 15, 1952, on the future of the American multibillion dollar machine tool industry. At a meeting of the industry held at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, Nov. 14, 1952, "Burnham Finney, editor of the 'American Machinist,' a McGraw-Hill publication, told the association that the rapid recovery of the German machine tool industry, partly as a result of Economic Cooperation Administration financing, was the biggest threat to the American industry's attempts to regain world markets."

Mr. Bell will render our wartime allies, and our country a great service by looking into these charges before making his final recommendations to the President of the United States.

"When the German 'Peace Contract' is signed, it will be a great victory for the Acheson-McCloy policy of rearming Germany in the face of Russian rage, German sullenness, and West European bitterness. The Secretary of State has been most skillful and has turned in a pretty polished performance, using American military and economic aid as a persuader all around. . . .

"Look at what the new treaty is likely to mean. For the Germans it will mean the return of Big Cartel control (despite an Allied effort to forestall it), and the return of the Wehrmacht generals into positions of German power.

"For Western Europe it will mean the entrance of German power into the tent of West European unity, and its threat to crowd out the weaker democracies and dominate Europe once more.

"For America it will mean the increase of European neutralist feeling and therefore of anti-American feeling. . . .

"What if, once they are in being, they combine under a not impossible new German Fuehrer? Who and what will stop them, once we have shown the Germans that they can have their way? Certainly not the paper guarantee that Acheson is writing into the treaty to assure the French.

"And once these divisions are united, Germany will hold the balance of power in Europe."

(Max Lerner in the New York Post)

"The key to the immediate European problem the new U. S. President will have to study before he takes office is the difference between two kinds of balance of power. Obviously Western Europe must be brought into some sort of co-operative unity as part of the Western weight of a world balance of power. But such an alliance will be a strong and safe part of the Atlantic Community only if U. S. policy can foster a balance of power *within* Western Europe which will have the trust and support of the peoples themselves . . .

"When Auriol said that Germany benefits from 'every solicitous attention' and gets 'more attention,' he was referring to a continuum of U. S. errors. The worst of these is to have thought only of the world balance of power, hence to have given a green light to Germany's rise to power *within* Europe while protesting France's retention of strength on the world scene . . .

"If the U. S. votes against French nationalism in Africa, they want proof that the same policy applies against German nationalism in Europe. For there are signs that U. S. policy has unleashed the kind of German nationalism that may wreck true European internationalism and make the French a subject people."

(Percy Winner in the New Republic)

Inside Germany

NEUTRALISM ON THE RISE

"There is little or no enthusiasm in Germany for a big rearmament program now. Industrialists would rather produce for the domestic consumer market than for an arms program. The German trade drive is paying off in a steady increase of earnings in foreign currencies.

"You get the feeling of Germans from a private poll of opinion. Germans were asked, twice this year, whether they should get on good terms with the U. S. or with Soviet Russia or stay neutral. The results:

	Percenages of Total	
	April	October
Favoring U. S.	41	39
Favoring U. S. S. R.	1	2
Favoring Neutrality	44	47
No opinion	14	12

(From U. S. News & World Report)

★

DEMOCRACY'S PROGRESS IN GERMANY

"Postwar democracy is being endangered at German universities by the rebirth of armed fraternities with their bloody, secret duels and code of intolerance.

"The movement has been fostered by alumni since the Allied Military Government ceased to screen all student meetings for intent and purpose . . ."

(By Jeanne Rogers in the Washington Post)

★

THE VOICE OF OUR ALLY

"Four thousand former members of Hitler's dreaded SS (Elite Guard) cheered ex-Gen. Hermann Ramcke here yesterday as he accused Allied soldiers of war crimes and demanded the release of all 'so-called German war criminals' . . .

" 'All those Allied officers and soldiers who bombed German cities are also war criminals,' Ramcke said.

" 'If our soldiers are convicted as war criminals then it was also a war crime when the Allies bombed unprotected German cities and when the Allies now invent atom bombs,' Ramcke said.

"These remarks were almost drowned in cheering."

(From an Associated Press Dispatch)

★

GERMAN-AMERICAN INTEGRATION?

"Major (Retd.) Adalbert Weinstein, who is in touch with professional military opinion, suggests in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung that, as the psychological basis for a European army is evidently lacking in France, a possible alternative to the EDC might well be the 'integration' of West German and American armies. These are straws in the wind. Many German military men believe that America will eventually find that it is cheaper and more efficient to rearm Germany direct than through an international bureaucracy . . .

"Dr. Adenauer's increasingly difficult coalition partners, the Free Democrats, are trying to become the party of the army . . ."

(From the London Economist)

PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE

"According to the Peiping radio, Red China's National Import and Export Corporation signed a 150,000,000 ruble barter agreement with a group of West German business men in Berlin on June 25. The radio broadcast identified the West German group as Ostagam Ltd., of Bonn . . .

"The Peiping radio said the pact had been signed as an amendment to a general agreement reached on April 10 at the Moscow Economic Conference. It said that further negotiations were taking place in Berlin 'aiming at similar and even more comprehensive agreements.' "

(From a special to the New York Times)

★

GERMANS BIG BUSINESS IN POLITICS

"Big and middlesized business in Western Germany is getting into politics on a major scale for the first time since the end of the war.

"This was evident here this weekend at the annual convention of the Free Democratic Party. . . .

"The convention's decisions indicated clearly that the Ruhr element of the F. D. P., which represents heavy industry will dominate the party's future.

It is also appealing to ex-Nazis—and there are thousands waiting on the sidelines—by urging the end of all legal and political penalties against them and the freeing of all war criminals. . . .

"Ernst 'Putzi' Hanfstagel of Munich, Harvard-educated art dealer and Hitler's one-time piano player, is one of the new 'American' experts on the Foreign Policy Committee."

(Edwin Hartrich in the Wall Street Journal)

"The weightiest arguments indicate that America's policy toward Germany should be changed. Most important of those arguments is that the arms we thrust into German hands may be used against us at some future time.

"In the bargaining contest for the favors of the Reich, the Soviet Union can outbid us. The latter can command its Polish satellites to change the existing Oder-Neisse boundary for the benefit of the Reich, opening up large areas for millions of expellees now crowding Western Germany. . . .

"We are told that our German 'friends' will not be able to use their arms against us because we shall keep our eyes on them. The Inter-allied Military Commissions were supposed to see that the Reich limited its arms after World War I. Yet when World War II opened, Germany was the best armed country in the world. Moreover, sharp eyes of vigilance never foster friendships.

"By forcing arms into German hands, we defeat the peaceful elements in that country, and stimulate the resurgence of the most extreme form of militarism."

(Emil Lengyel in the Foreign Policy Bulletin)

IT IS NOW OFFICIAL

"The Russian zone publicly admitted for the first time today that the Communist people's police constitute the nucleus of a future army . . .

"They are equipped with Soviet weapons, including artillery pieces and tanks."

(From an Associated Press Dispatch)

★

RETURN ENGAGEMENT

"A surge toward the Right has swept several former Nazis into local offices in three West German state elections . . .

"But two things were clear:

"1. The vote for Right-wing parties increased—especially for extreme Rightist groups which may hold the key to next year's outcome.

"2. Nazis are beginning to make a political comeback in this country which only seven years ago was shattered by a losing Nazi war."

(From an Associated Press Dispatch)

★

KRUPP IN BRAZIL

"The Industrial Development Commission approved a proposal from the Krupp works of Germany to establish a locomotive factory in Brazil. The Commission recommended prompt government acceptance of the proposal so that construction of the plant may begin as soon as possible . . .

"The Brazilian Krupp subsidiary will invest approximately 90,000,000 cruzeiros ($50,000,000) in Brazil, the Commission said."

(From the New York Herald Tribune)

★

GERMANY IN DEFEAT

"West Germany's annual output is rapidly approaching the 19.8 million tons high hit during the Nazis' 1938 rearmament boom. The Germans this year have been producing at an annual rate exceeding 18 million tons, 20% better than 1951 . . .

"West German officials say the target of 20.4 million tons of steel production set for 1956 will be achieved before the end of 1954."

(Report from the Wall Street Journal)

★

EXTRADITION DEMANDED

"The West German Government has demanded the extradition from Argentina of Dr. H. Klingenfuss, currently head of the German-Argentine Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires, on charges of complicity in the deportation and subsequent death of Jews from Germany. Klingenfuss was once a high official of the Nazi Foreign Service."

(From a J. T. A. Dispatch)

★

NAZI CONSPIRATORS AT WORK

"Seven former prominent Nazis have been arrested in the heavy industry area of the Ruhr and are being held on suspicion of 'plotting high treason,' German police said.

"Among those arrested was Heinrich Vetter, former deputy gauleiter of South Westphalia and lord mayor of Hagen, in the Ruhr, during Hitler's regime. . . .

"Vetter was interned as a ranking Nazi after the war and had worked as a business man since his release from prison."

(From a U. P. Dispatch)

MEMO FROM WESTERN GERMANY:

"Met a veteran of the German Army in Westervald the other day, a colonel of the old school, strongly anti-Nazi. When asked about U. S. plans for Germany, about the new German Army, he said he'd never fight alongside Americans . . .

"Anti-American? Sounds like it. So do other Germans who will tell you, at the drop of a hat, how GI's stole their valuables the day they surrendered.

"German workers — Socialists — have a new anti-American charge. They say officials, in U. S. plant at Hanau, won't hire Socialists, prefer Nazis instead."

(From U. S. News & World Report)

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NEW TACTICS

"Western Germany's organized neo-Nazis are making industrious efforts today to find camouflage in a new label and a new political tactic.

"This does not, however, mean that the neo-Nazis have altogether suspended activity. A Party order intercepted by a Western intelligence agency declares that 'maximum effort will be made to keep our adherents loyal and alive to their responsibilities through private, invitational meetings wherever possible' and calls for a continuation of recruitment for new members . . .

"Count Wolf Westarp, Number Three man in the Party, and generally rated its 'brains,' has passed out the word that 'so long as there are spies and traitors among us, we must cloak our words and actions.'"

(From Ernest Leiser to the Overseas News Agency)

"Today France is threatening to run out on the European army (European Defense Community) before it is even in operation. One of France's elder statesmen, Edouard Herriot, voiced his opposition to it last week. Like Herriot, more and more Frenchmen are worrying about the revival of German power. . . .

"These men fear German domination of the European army and perhaps eventually of all Western Europe. . . .

"One French official recently summed up the general opinion like this: 'Before we climb into the cage with the German tiger we want to be sure we won't be eaten.'"

(From Business Week)

"In five years' time, whether Germany remains divided or not, the Germans will probably be the most powerful European member of NATO. . . .

"The Group were told that the Germans will find it difficult to arm and equip their twelve divisions without extensive aid from the United States. It seems, therefore, that the Americans will have under their hand the power to support or restrict German rearmament in accordance with NATO and EDC views of its necessity. . . .

"And ratification of the EDC Treaty will not necessarily mean that the West Germans will co-operate wholeheartedly."

(From the Report "Atlantic Alliance",
Royal Institute of International Affairs)

STRAIGHT TALK

"Amount of anti-Americanism you run across in West Germany is astonishing....

"The faster the beer and wine flowed, the franker the men became. All were outspokenly anti-American. They're against the Defense Pact, against rearming Germany, against the Administration in Bonn. They think it's pro-American....

"How can you expect us—these German workers said—to fight alongside American soldiers after the way they treated us? . . .

"Nazi crimes, naturally, are completely forgotten by people in this mood.

"And the moral: When you dig under the surface, German public opinion is not at all what the U. S. assumes it to be. Or what Bonn assumes it to be, either."

(From the U. S. News & World Report)

THE KRUPPS COME BACK

"The Krupp family cartel armed and abetted Hitler's war machine on the grand scale. Now Allied High Commission authorities are restoring that infamous dynasty to menacing power in the Bonn republic.

"In Europe, survivors of Hitler's carnage and Krupp's slave labor gangs have reacted to the news with bafflement and horror. In Britain, France and Holland and in Germany itself, people and press have wondered why, if Occupation authorities know what they're doing, they keep right on doing it.

"Our professed aim is to put Krupp out of the dangerous munitions business. We have certainly gone about it the hard way. At Nuremberg, Alfred Krupp was sentenced to a 12-year term as a war criminal and the judges ordered the vast family holdings confiscated. The 12-year term turned out to be less than six. The confiscation order was then revoked—and handily, too, because, with incredibly cynical foresight, it turned out never to have been carried out in the first place.

"For every holding cut off—for now, that is—from family control, the Krupps will be bought off with cash. They stand to profit handsomely from holdings left in their hands. The transparent allied plan to reshuffle Krupp holdings will leave them the richest and most influential family in Germany.

"What do we say to the thousands of Nazi victims, still vainly seeking compensation through the courts and quietly gavelled into silence?"

(The New York Post)

WEREWOLVES UNCOVERED

"Anger and dismay have been aroused in Germany by the discovery that Americans have been training, arming and financing a German 'underground' for use in the event of war. When the Socialist Premier of Hesse, Herr Zinn, revealed the facts, he stated that there exists a black list of unreliable Germans to be assassinated if war came . . .

"What is particularly alarming is the apparently carefree manner in which American officials recruited irregular forces from the Yeague of German Youth. It must surely be well understood that the mind of youngster who was happiest in the Hitler Youth would not much mind whether he was employed against Russians, German democrats or the Americans themselves.

(From the London Economist)

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THE QUALITY OF MERCY

The release of von Mackensen . . . is an act of executive clemency and casts no doubt on the validity of his original sentence.
U. K. High Commission. 10-3-52

How mercy seasons justice. Mercy pleads,
And one by one,
With pardon for the guilty intercedes,
Their term not done.
Reich prisoners their freedom have gained . . .
The quality of mercy is not strain'd.

With attributes of majesty and awe
The Nurnberg Court
Passed sentence; but the penalty of law
Is now cut short.
The course of law no temporal power can stay . . .
But mercy is above this sceptered sway.

The monstrous crimes of which they stood accused
Law must condemn,
But mercy her prerogative has used
To pardon them—
Field-Marshals first, and after, all the rest . . .
The quality of mercy is twice blest.

Offenses no strict judges can condone
May be reprieved.
The greater guilt, the kinder mercy shown,
The guilt relieved.
Now mercy pardons chiefs of murder-squads . . .
And earthly power doth then show like God's.

But if the act of pardon may acquit
These, justly tried,
Should mercy's season not be infinite,
To all applied?
To all offenders mercy should be given . . .
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven.

Why only to the Reich war criminal
Pardon restrict?
Should mercy not be rendered now to all
The Courts convict,
To mitigate the justice of their plea?
None should in prison lie, if these go free.

SAGITTARIUS

(Reprinted from "The New Statesman and Nation")

The Puzzle of Anglo-German Relations

by
PROFESSOR EDWARD HALLETT CARR

My theme is the perennial puzzle of Anglo-German relations. I call it a puzzle because it seems to me that we have not tried so hard about our relations with any country as we have with Germany, and that there is no country about which we have proved so consistently wrong. If you look back over British foreign policy for the last eighty years or so, you come across what strikes me as a very odd paradox. In times of peace our relations with Russia have almost always been bad. Russians—at any rate official Russians—have always baffled us: we have not understood them, and what we have understood we have not very much liked or trusted. Yet when it came to a show-down, we and the Russians, for good reasons of our own and somewhat to our mutual surprise, have found ourselves fighting on the same side. The Germans, on the other hand, we have almost universally liked and admired: we have imagined we understood them and that they were people very much like ourselves, more like ourselves than any other continental nation. But, as soon as the threat of war appeared on the horizon, it was the Germans who rattled their swords and went into battle against us.

'Shuttlecock of Violent Emotions'

One result of all this has been to make Anglo-German relations the shuttlecock of violent and opposite emotions. In the early years of this century, unstinting admiration for Germany and everything German was common form in this country; even as late as 1911 and 1912 desperate attempts were still being made, with very little encouragement from the other side, to keep up Anglo-German friendship. I remember well this pro-German tradition in which I grew up. Then came 1914, and for five years Germans were Huns, who raped women and tortured children, and if you had a German name or German ancestors you were likely to get your windows broken, and Germany was an orange to be squeezed till the pips squeaked. Then in the nineteen-twenties the Germans were once more solid, hard-working respectable people like ourselves, who had been very badly treated by the volatile and rapacious French, and Stresemann was a great European statesman, and the world was to be rebuilt on the solid foundation of a restored Germany and Anglo-German friendship. Then in the nineteen-thirties the horror began again, and a few years later Germany was once more the butcher-bird among nations, the eternal aggressor and enemy of civilization, and it was vigorously denied that there were any good Germans. And now, today, only seven years after that, we are once more busy admiring the Germans as solid, hard-working, vigorous people, so different from the quarrelsome French and Italians, and counting on them as the bulwark of our interests in Europe: we are back once more, incredible as it may seem to people with even the shortest historical memories, to the mood of "Come along, boys, let's get together with the Germans and save western civilization."

Now I was brought up to admire Germany and things German, I have generally liked Germans, and, except for a short time in the first world war, I have never at any time fallen a victim to the hysteria of believing that all Germans are wicked or that there is something specifically aggressive in the German national character. But this perhaps entitles me to take a tilt against the opposite—and for the moment more dangerous—hysteria of believing that the Germans have exactly the same political traditions and outlook, and above all the same political interests, as our own. Surely there is something radically wrong and unhealthy in this shuttlecocking of our emotions about Germany between these extremes. Even the abundance of our nicknames for Germans bears witness to this peculiarly intimate, yet ambivalent emotional attitude. Hun, Boche, Fritz, Jerry—we scarcely know whether they are terms of affection or opprobrium, whether they are tokens of love or hate. Is it not clear that we fall into one madness precisely because we are ashamed of ourselves for having so recently fallen into the other? Can we not find some half-way house between the folly of believing that the Germans are criminals and outcasts and the equal and opposite folly of believing that the Germans, considered as political animals, belong to the same species as ourselves?

History seldom repeats itself. We are not in the least obliged to believe that, because we have fought two world wars against Germany, we shall fight a third, or that, because in days of Wilhelm II and of Hitler, the house of Anglo-German friendship proved to be built on sand, we can find no more solid foundation for it in the future. But history does, or should, enable us to dig down into the roots of attitudes and policies that have proved particularly persistent, and by understanding the past to understand better the potentialities of the future, whether for good or for ill. It is not my business in this talk to plunge into current controversies or offer prescriptions for action: the most I can attempt is to make some small contribution to our understanding of the German dilemma, to draw attention to two aspects of German thinking and German policy which seems to me, in the light of history, fundamental and unlikely to change in the near future, and to suggest that we should be ill-advised to leave them out of account in our current calculations.

The first is the desire for German unity. For more than a hundred years this desire has dominated German political thought and action. Long after France, Britain and even Russia had achieved national unity, Germany remained divided and disunited: even today Germans have an uncomfortable feeling that they are not wholly one, that they are still Bavarians or Prussians, or Rhinelanders or Saxons, that they have never cohered as a nation as thoroughly and unreservedly as the other Great Powers. And it is this consciousness of having lagged behind, which has given the drive for unity its compelling force. In the eighteen-forties democracy and nationalism, the two legacies of the French revolution, went hand in hand; and all progressive young Germans were fervent nationalists and democrats. After the fiasco of 1848 democracy and nationalism parted company; and Germans threw democracy overboard and marched with Bismarck for national unity and the German Reich.

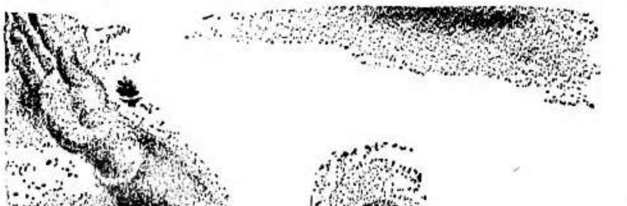
It was one of Hitler's boasts, and a not unimportant point in his propaganda, that he would wipe out the divisions between the German lands which had been tolerated or encouraged under Weimar. And now once more the Germans are faced not only with the provincial separation fostered by the Western Allies in the new constitution, but with the far graver rift between western and eastern Germany. We all know that the Germans today want to recover their unity. But when I am told that somebody wants something, I always want to know how much he really wants it; and the only way to measure this is to ask what other things he is prepared to sacrifice in order to get it. And when I ask how much Germans want national unity, or, in other words, what they are prepared to sacrifice for it, I think the plain answer is: "Everything."

The Lesson of History

That seems to me to be the lesson and the moral of German history for more than a hundred years past. A lot of Germans today, perhaps even most Germans, want democracy; a lot of Germans want to see applied in Germany that rather vague code of liberal doctrine which we call—a little priggishly, I fear—"western values." But how much do they want it? What are they prepared to sacrifice for it? In my view, the answer to this question is the answer of German history. Offer Germany the choice between national unity and democracy, and the answer will come pat: "Let democracy go." Offer Germany the choice between national unity and western values: they will not hesitate for a split second. I am not blaming them. If I were a German, I might make the same choice. I do not think the choice is either wicked or irrational. In a sense it is one of those choices about which one cannot argue. I plead only for understanding. German national unity is the overriding political ambition—political obsession, if you like—to which all, or almost all, else will be sacrificed in case of need. Let us realize this, or we shall once more be disappointed and then blame the Germans for our own blindness.

Let me pass on to the other fundamental element in Germany's political attitude to the world of which I wish to speak. I will put it in a deliberately provocative way. Germany is not, and never can be, a western power. It is equally true that Germany is not, and cannot be, an eastern power. Germany is an east-west power, a central power, occupying a key position in the European continent precisely for that reason. Germany cannot be a member of an Atlantic community in the way in which Britain and France are members of an Atlantic community. This is just as much of a truism as to say that Britain cannot be a continental power in the same sense as Germany and France; and it is just as important in its practical results. One does not need to pay an exaggerated tribute to geopolitics in order to recognize these simple facts of geography. It is just as silly to blame Germany for not behaving like a western power as it is to blame Britain for not behaving like a continental power.

A CLOUD NO BIGGER THAN A MAN'S HAND



(Cartoon by Pratt, courtesy The Sacramento Bee)

Duality Motif

Take a map of Germany at any recent period of her history, and look at that long, wide open frontier, geographically undefined and ethnographically blurred, that constantly shifting eastern frontier. Or go back a little further into history. Perhaps we are rather tired of being reminded that the frontier of the Roman Empire ran slap across the middle of modern Germany. Perhaps we are rather tired of being reminded of the duality motif in German literature, "Two souls, alas, dwell in my breast." But, after all, there is something vital and significant in this traditional background. Let me for the moment put it rather more cautiously as a historian: "Germany never has been a western power."

The limitations of geography are, however, sometimes overcome, and historical traditions are sometimes modified or they decay. Need we despair today of the possibility—in modern jargon—of "integrating Germany into the western community of nations?" This was what was attempted in the age of Bismarck and again, even more persistently and with greater apparent hope of success, under Weimar. Both attempts broke down. We had better begin by asking why; and the enquiry will, I think, bring us to grips with our subject.

It was rather less than 100 years ago that German heavy industry set out on its spectacular career. It started later than its British competitor, and, while it formed the basis of Germany's growing military power, occupied for some time a secondary place in world markets. Then, towards the end of the century, German heavy industry found a new and fruitful outlet in the east in the industrial development of Russia, and long before 1914 had well outstripped Great Britain as a producer of iron and steel and of machinery and equipment. These prosperous days ended with the first world war. After 1919 Germany was in a desperate plight. She was not allowed to manufacture armaments, always a major branch of German heavy industry; exports to the western world were cut off by the discriminatory measures imposed at Versailles. There was only one way out—the way that led east. Stinnes, the trust-maker and king of German coal, iron and steel in the early nineteen-twenties, was one of the two strongest advocates of an eastern orientation in German policy; the other was Seeckt, the head of the Reichswehr.

The Rapallo Treaty of 1922 was the political expression of the re-entry of German heavy industry into the Russian market. It began innocently enough with the manufacture of agricultural machinery for Russia by Krupp, swords into ploughshares. It developed less innocently into quite a large program of secret rearmament for the mutual advantage of Germany and Russia, weapons forbidden by the Versailles Treaty, such as aircraft and tanks, being manufactured by German firms (Krupps and Junkers were the most important of them) on Russian soil. In the fifteen years between the German defeat and the coming of Hitler it was the Russian market that kept German industry alive; and it was for this reason if for no other that Germany could not be a western power and had to balance so carefully between east and west—the policy of Stresemann. Only when Hitler came to power and started a vast program of armament at home did the Russian market cease to be vital for German heavy industry.

Where do we stand today—or rather where does Germany stand—in relation to this problem? We have left behind us the craziness of the butcher-bird period when we proposed to pastoralize Germany and destroy German industry. Nowadays we look with approval and admiration, perhaps sometimes with envy, at German figures of production. But have we considered where these products of German heavy industry are to find their market? The allies have encouraged, almost compelled, Germany to scrap the elements of a planned economy which they had themselves set up at the beginning of the occupation, so that there is no chance of finding an outlet for these products at hand in a big public works program.

There remain three, and only three, alternatives. The first is to find markets in the western world in competition mainly with American and British exports; but this will not suit either the United States or Britain, who will find ways and means to exclude this competition if it becomes serious. The second, and at present the most promising, way out is a big German rearmament program financed by the United States. But can this, one wonders, go on indefinitely as a permanent basis for the German economy? And, if it does, will it not soon make Germany so powerful that she will be able to dictate her own terms in Europe, if not beyond? It is not surprising that this alternative is not altogether to the taste of a good many Europeans. The third alternative is to reopen to German industry the markets of the east, not only the markets of Russia, now perhaps less absorptive since the industrialization of Russia herself under the five-year plans, but the markets of China, now in much the same position as Russia was thirty years ago. Do you really believe that we can keep these markets of eastern Europe and Asia indefinitely closed to a German heavy industry crying out for markets? I doubt it. German industry is not going to sit and starve for lack of markets. These markets will certainly not stay closed if we are going to put power back into Germany's hands to follow her own course.

Only the other day I read in an article in *The Times* that the German industrialists were now advertising their products in the Communist press of western Germany. Plainly it is not among German Communists that they hope to find customers. Last April one of the oldest and most respectable of the German reviews carried an article on the thirtieth anniversary of the Rapallo Treaty. It was written by a member of Stresemann's party, who held minor office under the Weimar Republic, and it ended with a curiously nostalgic sigh: "Germany, dismembered and disarmed, can today enter into treaty relations with the Soviet Union only as a member of a group of powers. . . . Nothing could show more graphically to what a decline Germany has been brought by a criminal and incompetent politician." Germany in decline, yes. But what about a restored Germany? I do not for a moment doubt the sincerity of those Germans who assure us that they regard the Russians with detestation and horror and want to have nothing to do with them. Seven years ago we had exactly the same feelings about the Germans; and we were just as sincere; today we are courting their alliance. I am making no predictions: all sorts of things may happen in the next decade in Germany. But of one thing I feel confident: Germany belongs to eastern Europe just as much as to western Europe. Germany never has been, is not, and, at any rate so long as she retains her present economic structure, cannot be a western power.

That is my conclusion. For forty years we have been looking at Germany alternately through eyes of hatred and mistrust or through a sentimental haze of wishful thinking. It is about time we realized that neither hatred nor wishful thinking is a key to understanding. It is about time we realized on the one hand that the Germans are not monsters of iniquity, and on the other hand that they cannot be kept as obedient satellites of the west, who share our interests and outlook and will dance to our tune. The Germans are a vigorous and independent people with an outlook and interests that diverge widely and legitimately from ours. Let us begin by trying to understand them.

(Courtesy, The Listener)

"Perhaps you were among the victims of the German bond deals which were palmed off on American investors during the 1920's . . . bonds which have been in default since 1929. Sen. Hiram Johnson investigated this business in 1932 and his committee branded it . . . 'The most shameful period in our financial history.'

"Are we going to go through it again? Have the investors of America forgotten so soon? . . .

"At the London Debt Conference this year, it was agreed that the present German government would start paying on the principal of these old bonds . . . start paying on them in 1958. . . .

". . . Our negotiator Mr. Warren Pearson, made a deal to cancel two billion dollars of the three billion we have loaned Germany since World War II. Mr. Pearson, simply wrote off two billion dollars of the taxpayers' money for the benefit of the German government . . . and this so-called settlement paved the way for the new German bonds to be peddled in America.

"The tip-off came in an editorial carried in the Hamburg Newspaper, Die Zeit, in its issue of October 2nd. The Germans were gloating over the manner in which they had outsmarted us."

(Frank Edwards over the Mutual Broadcasting System)

A German Speaks

(We believe that our readers will be interested in reading the letter reprinted below written by Count von Wedel to the editor of the Wisconsin Progressive, December 1952.

Count von Wedel is a former officer in the Kaiser's army and a former high official of the Prussian administration. Under the Weimar Republic, Count von Wedel was a prominent member of the Central Committee for Human Rights. Naturaly, as soon as the Nazis came to power, they outlawed this organization.

Throughout the inter-war period, Count von Wedel was one of Germany's great fighters for pacifism and democracy. His integrity and moral courage under all circumstances are well-known throughout Europe.)

The October Progressive contained a letter questioning German rearmament written by a group of Americans familiar with German history and politics. On the basis of my own lifelong studies and intimate contacts with German political realities, I fully concur in the findings of the signers that the German militarists will seize the first opportunity to make an alliance with the Bolsheviks—as they did in the past.

It goes without saying that those of us who have been struggling against German militarism for decades could add a great many other arguments against the remilitarization of Germany. I wonder, however, whether the West fully realizes the real danger involved in setting up a new German army, for once militarism takes root in Germany again, it will ultimately destroy our human rights.

I can cite, for instance, the fact that today the Federal German Police is already imbued with a militaristic spirit that was never known in the Weimar regime. Living in Germany, we already unmistakably see here the resurgence of a mentality which is the real incarnation of the Fuhrer concept.

Having watched Germany for the past seven years, we fear that the battle for democracy is nearly lost. In 1945 my friends and I welcomed with open arms the Allies when they freed us from the Nazi tyranny. We fully understood that after the defeat of Germany, the Allies regarded all Germans as bad. But after a while we were entitled to believe and hope that the Allies would treat differently those who, under the most trying conditions, had fought for democracy.

To our great dismay, we often discovered that the worst Nazis were given preferential treatment; they were selected for various positions, and given permission to travel abroad, whereas we who had resisted Nazism were shunted aside, if not treated with contempt.

Despite all this, we made every effort to get in touch with the Allies and our Western friends. We have asked our foreign friends again and again to give us their moral support, but we never succeeded. Now, after seven years of disappointment we feel embittered and we live isolated exactly as we did under the Hitler regime, in a small circle, in a self-imposed quarantine, as we tried desperately to keep the Nazi poison away from our children.

It is odd, indeed, to say that even in those Hitler days we had succeeded somehow in preserving our faith and imparting it to our youth. It is obvious that the generation under 26 has a completely different mentality from the older generation. How can we explain to our youth the failure of Allied policy to democratize Germany, the sabotage of the restitution program to the victims of Nazism, the return of the huge property to Krupp and his reinstatement in power?

We look at all this with great sadness. But we are firmly resolved to remain faithful to our ideals. And because we still hope to see a true democracy in Germany, we welcome the support of our friends abroad in our undiminished fight for a demilitarized Germany.

Graf von Wedel,
Frankfurt, Germany.

(Courtesy, the "Progressive" Magazine)

Nazi Activities in Chile

by
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

It is generally assumed that Argentina is the base for Nazi and pan-German activities in South America. While this is probably true, the Nazis have not overlooked the possibilities of expanding their activities in other countries of Latin America such as Chile. Thus a Nazi underground organization has recently been established in that country under the direction of former S.S. Baron *George Mapusch.*

Although the activities of the organization are limited, for the time being, to the city of Valparaiso, Mapusch intends to expand them throughout Chile. Baron Mapusch landed in Chile a few years ago with forged papers. Shortly thereafter he met a prominent woman, *Dora Obt de Mackel,* a Nazi, through whom he was able to obtain an introduction to the former under-secretary of the Interior, Hector Grez. Mr. Grez became interested in Baron Mapusch and helped him to legalize his status. Although Baron Mapusch was not very affluent when he landed in Chile, he succeeded in obtaining funds to start a big trucking business which nas netted him considerable profits.

Members of the Underground

Among the prominent German members of Baron Mapusch's underground we find the following:

1. *Eichermann,* former representative of the German shipping line "Kosmos."
2. *Heinz von Oepen,* a wealthy landowner who became a member of the Nazi Party July 1, 1936, Party Card No. 3726407.
3. *Kurt Goldmann,* owner of the steel firm, Goldmann-Janssen.
4. *Oelzen,* partner of Goldmann.
5. *Kliep,* director of the brokerage house of *Otto Osterloh,* the latter being the chairman of the German Association in Valparaiso. Mr. Osterloh has recently attacked, in the presence of the German Ambassador, Carl von Campe, the new flag of the West German Republic.
6. *Johannes Moeller,* head of the paper firm Luer und Paye, member of the Nazi Party since April 1, 1933, Card Membership No. 3281352.
7. *Hermann Kuhlmann* of the firm Perlina y Berolina.
8. *Buessing,* former representative of the German bank in Chile.
9. *Hasseldieck,* former captain of the shipping line "Kosmos."
10. *Von Appen,* formerly captain of a boat belonging to "Kosmos," at present with the firm Vorwerk y Cia, which is plying the waters of the west coast of America.
    The head of the new shipping company, *Arturo Vorwerk,* became a member of the Nazi Party July 1st, 1933, membership card No. 3281340.
    In 1943 Von Appen ran a radio station for the Nazis near Valparaiso. His activities were uncovered and he was deported that year to Texas. He was one of the most dangerous Nazis in Chile.
11. *Slubert Matthec,* owner of a large plumbing establishment.
12. *Adolf Herrmann,* owner of a dyestuff factory.

Baron Mapusch owns a house in Vina del Mar, near Valparaiso, where the members of his organization meet weekly. He seems to dispose of large sums of money which come directly from Buenos Aires. Baron Mapusch is in constant touch with the leaders of the prominent Nazi publication Der Weg. He also maintains a regular courier service with the Nazis in Argentina through the prominent Nazi, *August Siebrecht,* who is a member of Gen. Peron's staff.

Nazis in the German Embassy

Prominent Nazis are also active in the German Embassy. The director of the Economics Division of the German Embassy in Santiago, *Herman G. Schuette,* is closely connected with *Count Welzceck's* group. (Count Welzceck is a member of the firm, Welzceck and Schuchard & Co.) Count Welzceck is presently visiting Germany where he is discussing important affairs with the most prominent German industrialists in Cologne. Before going to Germany, Count Welzceck visited the famous S.S. Colonel, Otto Skorzeny in Madrid. In addition, Count Welzceck is known to have been in close touch with Dr. Schacht. It is worthy of mention that Baron Mapusch is also in close contact with Otto Skorzeny.

Herman Schuette was born in Paraguay and is therefore a so-called "Ausland German." Before the outbreak of World War II, he represented a Bremen firm in Buenos Aires. During World War II, he returned to Germany where he became a member of the Nazi Party. Naturally, today he claims that he is a "real democrat."

Another prominent Nazi, *Egbrecht von Oldershausen,* came to Chile some two years ago. He was formerly connected with the notorious Dresdener Bank and was arrested by the Allies after World War II. He was an officer in the German army and is 100 percent Nazi. He also lives at Vina del Mar and is an active member of Baron Mapusch's underground organization. He is working very closely with the Nazi spy, Von Appen.

The counselor of the German Embassy, *Ostermann* was a prominent S. S. man and distinguished himself for the services rendered to that organization.

How does it happen that the German Embassy in Chile is infested with Nazis? The answer to this question is obvious in view of the fact that the Bonn Foreign Office itself is dominated by the former diplomats who worked for Hitler. Thus it is not surprising that Ministerial Director Herbert Blankenhorn of the Bonn Foreign Office should be selecting Nazi personnel for Latin America inasmuch as he himself was a former member of the Nazi Party. Chancellor Adenauer has full confidence in Herr Blankenhorn and leaves the selection of personnel for foreign diplomatic posts entirely in his hands.

Pilgrimage to Germany

A "pilgrimage" to Germany is being planned to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the German's first arrival in Chile. Elaborate efforts are being made to obtain funds to subsidize the project and to obtain official invitations from the West German government. Most active in these efforts is the Singing Society of Santiago, Chile, a group completely dominated by Nazis. Present plans call for sending a troupe of about 70 dancers, singers and lecturers to Germany. The sponsors of the "pilgrimage" are: The German Chilean Bund and an assortment of German societies that have been very critical of the Bonn government by dubbing it the "Quisling regime." Among the leading organizers of this "pilgrimage" to Germany we find the following:

1. *Guillermo Bornemann,* director of

the Banco Osorno y la Union of Santiago. An old Nazi since he became a member of the Party March 1, 1932 and his card number is 2839564.

2. *Fernado Fonck.* For 15 years, Chairman of the German-Chilean Bund, also completely in sympathy with the Nazis.
3. *Father Joseph Mueller,* an important leader in the German Catholic community who has been in Chile for about two years. In this connection, Father Mueller has written letters to Chancellor Adenauer in which he supported the activities of Herr Ostermann, the counselor of the German Embassy who was a former prominent member of the German S. S.
4. Pastor *Dr. Helmut Schuenemann,* a blatant Nazi.
5. *Rudolf Soltmann,* president of the land-owners of German origin, a member of the Nazi Party since April 1, 1932, card No. 954139.
6. *Claus von Plate,* director of "Condor," 100% Nazi, a Chilean of German origin.
7. *Artur Junge,* director and choir master of the "Singing Circle," one of the worst Nazis in Chile, member of the Nazi Party since October 1, 1935, card No. 2837898.
8. *Bruno-Schmid-Palzer,* a Sudetan German who recently visited Germany, active in the Nazi-dominated German School, a very objectionable character.
9. *Edward Pfeiffer,* a member of the Party since May 1, 1933, card No. 3272800.
10. Prof. *Dr. Rudolf Wilcke,* Chairman of the German-Chilean Bund, officially not a Nazi.

There is something strange indeed about these "pilgrims." Their forebears landed in Chile some hundred years ago and yet they still call themselves "Germans." Their ancestors left Germany in despair because of the failure of the democratic revolution of 1848. In Chile, they kept up their ideals and their allegiance to the Republican flag—black, red and gold. The descendants of these Germans later became strong supporters of Germany's imperialism under Kaiser Wilhelm II. They renounced the ideals of their forebears and the majority of them turned Nazis in 1933—they have not changed since then.

"The predominant motif of German history has been an excessive self-reliance. But the thought of co-operating with Russia was traditionally less alien to German political thinking than the idea of a French or British alliance. Frederick II was saved from a debacle in the Seven Years' War by an unexpected alliance with Czar Paul I. Jointly, Russia and Prussia turned on Napoleon after a great Prussian statesman, Freiherr von Stein, had won Russia's support. Bismarck made it a tenet of German foreign policy never to alienate Russia. The Weimar period saw a significant school of conservative generals and politicians, by no means sympathizing with the Communist system, advocate close ties with Russia."

(By Thomas Goldstein, historian, and writer on European politics in the New Republic)

"Recently at Bonn, a middle of the road member of Parliament made a speech in which he said: 'the Americans came to Germany to re-educate the Germans. As we take a close look at the results, we realize that it is the Germans who have re-educated the Americans—at least those who are still in Germany and who still harbor one thought only: "to make Germany the ally No. 1 of the U. S."

"A few days ago in Darmstadt, Heinemann former Minister of Interior and President of the Evangelical Church, said 'what the Americans want is to create a Washington-Bonn-Tokyo Axis.'

"When we hear that Germany is going to be integrated in Western Europe, it is sometimes difficult not to think that what the Americans really want to do is to integrate Europe into Germany."

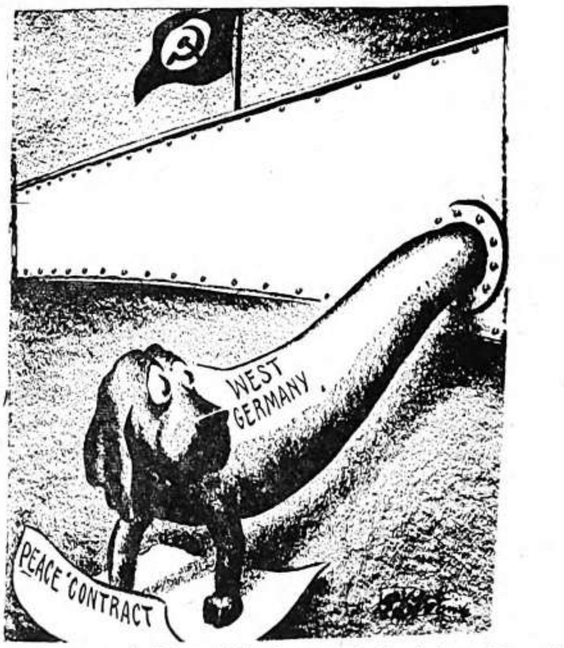
(Libre Belgique, Brussels)

"The new German—pardon us, European—general staff that has been set up by Western Germany is composed of men who can shed their national feelings, if Deutsche Korrespondenz, the official propaganda weekly of the Bonn government, can be relied on. . . .

The impression that they love the west but despise the east is skillfully planned for western, especially American, gullibility. But, as we said, a general staff made up of Germans may be called European, but it can never be anything but German. For this blindness we may pay a horrible price in the future."

(Spencer D. Irwin in the Cleveland Plain Dealer)

NO PEACE AT THE OTHER END



(Cartoon by Fitzpatrick, Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

A Dissent on German Rearmament

"We never thought Nazi jackboots would again stamp approval of an anti-Allied speech," observed the Daily Mail. "We never thought to hear frenzied Hitlerian denunciations of the 'Versailles criminals' at another German mass meeting." This comment is typical of the injured surprise with which most of the press greeted General Ramcke's speech to 6,000 S.S. men gathered for a reunion in a West German beer garden. The Daily Mail has been no blinder in its support for a German contribution to Western defense than the News Chronicle, or at an earlier stage, the Daily Herald. Like most of the national newspapers, it has merely swallowed the long series of official handouts with which first Mr. Bevin, then Mr. Morrison, and now Mr. Eden have soothingly assured us that twelve German divisions can be safely integrated into the defenses of Western democracy. Now, when the dragons' teeth begin to sprout their armed heads, those who sowed them stand round flapping their hands in dismay. "Krupp is receiving restitution! Guardians of the extermination camps are released! The Waffen S.S. receives recognition for its (premature) anti-Bolshevist crusade! But how terrible! We must at once register the strongest protest in Bonn."

Mr. Eden will make the required protest with the charming ineffectiveness which has won him such popularity, and Mr. Morrison and Sir Hartley Shawcross will chime in appropriately. These protests will be accepted sincerely enough by Dr. Adenauer. For the German Chancellor is neither a militarist nor a Nazi, but a Catholic who devoutly believes in Western European integration as a bulwark against Bolshevism. The trouble is that neither Mr. Eden's charm nor Dr. Adenauer's personal integrity count for anything in the long run. Once a sovereign German State is reconstituted—with the Ruhr industries in the possession of their old owners, with the old nationalist forces free to undermine a feeble democracy and with an army responsible to none—the Germans are bound to set out to destroy the diktat of Yalta as the diktat of Versailles was destroyed in the 1930s. In this process, Dr. Adenauer can be relied on to play a part no less high-minded and no less fatal than that of his predecessor, Dr. Breuning. German history may not repeat itself exactly, but it is still determined largely by those historical forces which unloosed two world wars.

Those who rearm a truncated Germany, therefore, as a bulwark against Communism should not be surprised when General Ramcke reminds them of some of the historical facts they wish to forget. After all, every single officer and N.C.O. of the new German army was once a member of Hitler's Wehrmacht or Waffen S.S., an organization which we dishonored and branded for war crimes only seven years ago. Now we have changed our minds: a few score "criminals" are to stay in prison; the rest must be accepted as Christian gentlemen. We have no right to be surprised if their spokesmen reply a little roughly: "You can have all or none. Admit you condemned the Wehrmacht unjustly and fought the wrong war, and we will be willing to accept you as allies. Those are our terms, and if you want a German army, we, the cadres of it, are the only Germans who really matter."

That should be clear enough. But already the ostrich heads, raised for a moment last Monday, are dipping gracefully towards the sand. Reassuringly we are told that General Ramcke is a voice from the past, out of tune with the European spirit of a new Germany.

General Ramcke is not a voice from the past, but a prophet of what will be the future, if the U. S. continues to make German rearmament the price of dollar assistance, and if Britain aids her in stamping down the protests of the French people, of the great majority of the Germans in the Western Zone, and of the whole world on the Eastern side of the Elbe.

(*Courtesy, The New Statesman and Nation*)

"Speaking in Berlin, Herr Hans Lukaschek, the West German Minister for Refugees, is reported as having proclaimed that Germany's former eastern territories, 'including those occupied by Czechoslovakia,' will become German again. This ill-judged utterance is the worst possible omen before the Bonn Government's entry into the West European defence system. The Sudetenland, to which Herr Lukaschek was clearly referring, was part of Czechoslovakia when the Republic was founded. It was also part of the old Austrian Empire. The claims to it which are now being staked by neo-Nationalists in Western Germany are an echo of the Hitler-Henlein propaganda campaign of fourteen years ago. At this rate, how soon are we to expect West German claims to Austria, on the grounds that it is a 'German' country? . . .

"The 'Greater German Reich' conception may still have attractions for many Germans. Its realisation remains something which the peoples of Eastern Europe would accept almost any 'protection' to prevent."

(From the Manchester Guardian Weekly)

GERMAN COMPETITION

"German industry has staked such a comeback that it is now pushing U. S. goods out of Latin America.

"Ever since 1950, German toys, chemicals, tools, and electric goods have been competing with U. S. products. But now the rivalry has moved into the field of heavy industry.

"Recently both U. S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel bid on a new bridge over the Guayas river in Ecuador—a major construction job.

"However—though they don't know it yet—the two big American firms are going to be left out in the cold, with the contract going to the Ferrostaal Co. of Hamburg, reorganized less than four years ago following 85 per cent destruction of its plants and offices by wartime bombardment.

"Bethlehem Steel offered to build the bridge linking Guayaquil with the terminus of the railroad from 9,300-foot-high Quito, for about $5,200,000. But the German firm underbid that figure by almost 30 per cent. . . ."

(Drew Pearson in The Washington Merry-Go-Round)

Saboteurs of Democracy

by
FREDERICK WALLACH

Supposing the U. S. Army in France and Great Britain has trained a secret saboteur group, consisting of French and English citizens, to go into action in the event of a Russian invasion. Supposing these saboteurs were found to have prepared black lists for the assassination of the leaders of the political opposition. Unquestionably, the exposure of such a plan would have grave consequences within France and Britain and would damage American prestige in those countries.

Yet, this hypothetical situation has actually been discovered recently as a reality in Western Germany. Unfortunately the press did not report this event in sufficient detail. One ot the first dispatches on the subject was a brief item by the International News Service (October 8, 1952) which read:

"Police discovered today the existence of a 2,000-man anti-Communist force in the U. S. zone of Germany and said it is mobilizing a guerilla army to help repel any Russian attack.

"The existence of the force was announced by August Zinn, minister-president of the State of Hesse. Most of the members of the anti-Communist group were said to be former officers in the German army."

The A. P. reporting this expose, admitted the existence of such black lists and named some of its "intended victims," including Germany's most prominent Socialist leaders. The intended liquidation and assassination was played down as a "removal if necessary." It was stressed that U. S. officials "had been unaware of what the organization was plotting." On October 10, a special dispatch to the New York Times emphasized that the plans of these saboteurs was a "betrayal of U. S. trust." The new "Division Brandenburg" (an ill-reputed Nazi saboteur unit during World War II, to which belonged a number of unsuccessful saboteurs, caught in the U. S. by the F. B. I., was said to consist of members of the Neo-Nazi "Association of German Youth," of ex-officers of the Nazi Army and Air Force and of ex-leaders of the "Nazi Waffen S. S. with former ranks as high as colonel." The Times report went on to say that:

"United States authorities said they felt that the guerrilla training program was not in itself wrong though possibly unwise. They said what most concerned them was the proclivity of the Germans involved for engaging in political activities that possibly had degenerated into a conspiracy against political and Government leaders."

That the U. S. Guerilla warfare program may very well boomerang politically, should be receiving the careful consideration of our policy-makers in Germany. It can encourage a mood of defeatism since it can come into operation only in the event of an Allied retreat. There is no question too, that the use of these Nazi elements as part of Allied military strategy will provide excellent propaganda material for the Communists in the nations of Western Europe. That it was a surprise to U. S. authorities that these ex-Nazis should "degenerate into a conspiracy" against "political and government leaders" shows once more that Allied political planning in Germany is void of realism and a basic understanding of recent German history.

Repeat Performance

This recent expose in Germany is almost an exact duplication of the beginnings of the strife which led to the overthrow of the Weimar Republic by a "combination of disgruntled war veterans, Nazis and Chauvinists, united in the "Harzburg Front." It is well worth recalling that the Treaty of Versailles restricted Germany to an army of 100,000 professional soldiers—the so-called Reichswehr. With the connivance of the German government, including Socialist and Catholic cabinet members, a black Reichswehr was secretly organized in order to increase the military potential of Germany. Only the most chauvinistic German officers and members of the ultra-chauvinistic para-military organizations were trusted to be "patriotic" enough to serve in these secret or illegal organizations without betraying the state. The Black Reichswehr leaders immediately launched a program to assassinate government officials of the Weimar Republic they feared politically or disliked. Among their victims were such men as Rathenau and Erzberger.

In order to protect their jobs they created the secret Fehme which had the mission to assassinate German "traitors" who were suspected of having betrayed the existence of the Black Reichswehr and its secret arsenals to the Allies. Hundreds of Germans were martyred in this fashion. The Fehme was financed by a front organization, the "Volkische Schutz und Trutzbund," which was devoted exclusively to the spreading of anti-Semitic propaganda. The Fehme was permitted to flourish because of the support received from leading officials and from the German legal profession which detested the Weimar Republic, and worked for its overthrow. The assassins of the Fehme, if they were ever prosecuted, were usually excused by the courts on the basis of an ad hoc fiction of an "extra legal excuse" or justified as a "defense of the State." When the Black Reichswehr even assassinated cabinet ministers, the Police either could not find the murderers, or the German government helped them to escape from Germany or saw to it that prison terms, when unavoidable in exceptional cases, were light.

Fully assured that nothing was to be feared from the authorities, the Black Reichswehr never lessened its attempts to overthrow the Weimar Republic. It was co-responsible for Hitler's Beer-Hall Putsch, and for the unsuccessful Kapp, Kustrin and Spandau putsches. The elements behind the Black Reichswehr, who also had been active in Hitler's Nazi Party from the very beginning, eventually joined hands officially with the NSDAP. The official historians of this party never have failed to acknowledge the debt of gratitude to the Black Reichswehr whom they gave the official, honorary title of "forerunners of the Nazi Party."

Does J. J. McCloy Know the Answers?

In view of this historical parallel, there are some questions which should be answered by the occupation authorities:

Why were ex-Nazis, S. S. leaders and members of a chauvinistic, Neo-Nazi organization, selected for the "secret" sabotage unit?

Shortly before Labor Day, the magazine Newsweek charged that the Allies under a defense minister Blank were giving preference to S. S. leaders in appointments to the Planning Staff for the new German army. Is this true?

If this is true, how does it square with Mr. McCloy's assurances before a Congressional Committee, that no war criminals or S. S. leaders would be employed in the new German army units?

(Note: The S. S. [Elite Guard] was declared a criminal organization by the Nuremburg Tribunal.)

Is it true or not that German police organizations are honeycombed with former members of the S. S. and the Nazi Party?

How could it happen that the saboteur unit whose members had to swear allegiance by touching a copy of Mein Kampff were not properly supervised by us and that only the German police uncovered the Black Lists and the murder plot?

If we cannot supervise the political activities of a small unit of 1 — 2000 saboteurs, what then is the value of Hicog's assurances to Congress that the new German army of ½ million will be effectively controlled?

Why was the sabotage unit not immediately dissolved when its political activities became clear as early as May 1952? In this connection, it is interesting to note that a similar organization in Japan "The Martyrs" has not as yet been dissolved.

Finally, if the Black Lists and murder plots were not sponsored by the U. S. authorities, why then have our officials prohibited the prosecutor's office of the German Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe to indict these individuals of conspiracy to overthrow the government in case of war and to prepare for assassination? (N. Y. Times, Oct. 9/10)

Why has the Adenauer government given 10,000 D.M. to the "Association of German Youth" in spite of the fact that this organization is not only heavily infiltrated by Himmler's Elite Guard but also employs the techniques of the "Volkische Schutz und Trutzbund" whose specialty it was to paste stickers on the doors of minority groups, Democrats, etc., denouncing them as traitors?

It is the opinion of this writer that our success in the cold war and the strengthening of American security depends on forthright re-examination and correction of the policies which have encouraged the resurgence of the most evil forces in German life. No democracy can grow in Germany, as history has shown, when would-be assassins of the exponents and leaders of this democracy are not promptly brought to justice.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER

"Hardly a ripple of controversy has been stirred in Washington by the announcement of the Bonn agreements. Perhaps that will come later; yet it is a rather sad fact of the times that German remilitarization is the one subject on which almost every member of Congress seemingly prefers to be either acquiescent or silent. Rep. Javits (R-Lib-N.Y.) is a notable exception; there are a few others. But in general it is said to be bad form and perhaps even a trifle subversive to question the wisdom of the Bonn deal. . . .

"This kind of paralysis of mind and thought can be fatal to a democratic foreign policy. . . .

"The resurgence of neo-Nazism is not a specter invented by nervous men. It is confirmed by almost every responsible correspondent. The sense that Germany can dictate its own price in all international dealings pervades too many areas of German life once again."

(From an editorial in the New York Post)

"To pass fair judgment on the Schuman Plan is at this stage impossible. Certainly none can fail to applaud its high purpose. . . .

"With due acknowledgment of this inspiring beginning, one is still faced with the question: will the plan in practice really work towards liberalism in trade or towards more controls, restrictions, and monopoly? It is impossible to review the extensive administrative superstructure of the Plan, and the broad scope of the powers delegated to it, without being impressed that here are the potentialities of the 'managed economy' raised to the nth degree. Though the Schuman Plan proposes to sweep away existing barriers to trade and free competition imposed by private cartels and nationalistic governments, yet it arms its administrators with the full arsenal of restrictive devices. Considering the pressures to which these administrators are bound to be subject, and the tendency of government everywhere to reach out and extend its controls, what assurance is there that this Plan may not, in fact, mean moving away from, rather than toward, the free markets and free enterprise which are its avowed objectives?"

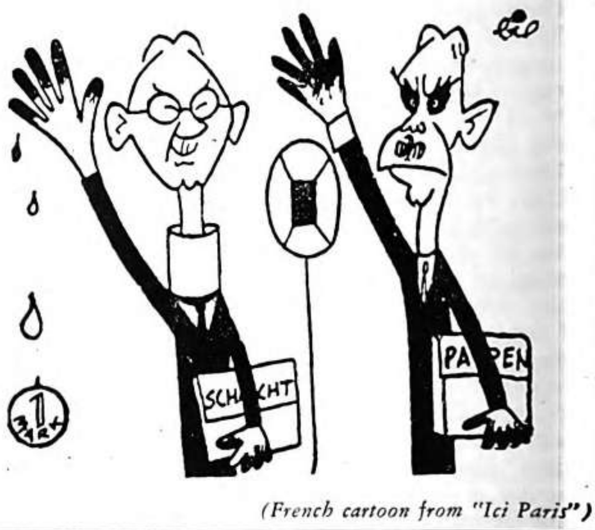
(Monthly Letter, The National City Bank of New York)

"Recently, Von Papen stated that 'German cooperation with the Western powers on the basis of equal rights is further advanced today than it was 15 years after the first world war; which goes to show that the second world war was not fought in vain.'

"Such impudence, coming from the elegant survivor of the Herrenklub simply shows that Von Papen does not mind adding insult to injury."

(Soir, Brussels)

"Germany has lost a battle but not the war."



(French cartoon from "Ici Paris")

History—Upside Down

by
"HISTORICUS"

Today, as after World War I, there has emerged a breed of U. S. historians who appear determined to act as the self-appointed guardians of the truth concerning the circumstances which led to our involvement in World War II. They call themselves the "Revisionists" because, in the words of one of their leading spokesmen, Harry Elmer Barnes, they are dedicated to challenging "the official propaganda that governed our views on war responsibility in the years following Pearl Harbor." (American Bar Journal, July 1951)

Pro-German Revisionism and Dr. Barnes

Unquestionably it is the right of students on world affairs to investigate the genesis of World War II, but it is their duty to present an objective and factual account of the events leading to our entry in that war. The question arises, however, whether the so-called revisionists are guided by such scholarly standards.

Revisionist literature contains many imprecations against power politics and secret diplomacy. Indeed, a superficial reading of their writings may easily create an impression that the Revisionists are moral crusaders against the evils of war. Alongside of their endeavors to expose the machinations of cynical politicians and diplomats, the Revisionists, generally speaking, are endeavoring to prove that our entrance into World War II was unnecessary and indeed avoidable.

Not only are the Revisionists self-proclaimed moralists but they strive to take on the halo of martyrdom. Dr. Barnes describes how the Revisionists have courageously faced up to "hostile opinion." "Revisionism," Dr. Barnes writes, "faces almost insuperable obstacles. Scholars, no matter how distinguished, are, if they are suspected of Revisionist inclinations, denied access to official sources and public documents which are freely opened to court historians and apologists for the foreign policy of President Roosevelt." In addition to these trials and tribulations, Dr. Barnes speaks of alleged censorship on the part of publishers and scholarly journals with regard to material prepared by the Revisionists.

In short, we have it from one of their most authoritative spokesmen, that the Revisionists are a persecuted lot who are battling against the great odds of unseen pressures exerted by the evil men of the Roosevelt regime. Of course, Dr. Barnes does not go into any details to prove these broad accusations but it is interesting to note that a leading Revisionist, Charles Callan Tansill, Professor of American Diplomatic History at Georgetown University, "was given access to the State Department Secret Files and through the efforts of scholars within the department, he was eventually able to utilize more unpublished material on pre-war foreign policy than any other historian." This fact does not seem to jibe with Dr. Barnes' lament that the Revisionists have been placed beyond the pale of respectability.

As mentioned above, the Revisionists in their writings seem to give the impression that they are great moral crusaders against immoral diplomacy and power politics. However, when their writings are examined carefully, it is easy to become disillusioned.

C. C. Tansill—Historian

To show that this is true, we should like our readers to stay with us for a while as we examine one of the oustanding Revisionist works yet to appear, namely the book by Prof. Tansill entitled "Back Door to War."

It is a massive work, rambling over 600 pages. Quotations are found galore but one does not know when the author is speaking his own mind or if it is the voice of someone else. Thus it is difficult to pin the author down as to his views on various events which he describes. Nevertheless, there are slips here and there which afford us the opportunity to examine more closely the so-called moral views of Prof. Tansill and his abhorrence for power politics and cynical diplomacy. We shall deal with the three examples of Prof. Tansill's approach to the background of World War II, namely Japanese policy in Manchuria, the Ethiopian War, and finally the Munich era and its aftermath.

Secretary Stimson's "Guilt"

Prof. Tansill tells us that Japan's interest in China was due to the growth of Communism and the threat of Soviet Russia in that region. "The Red menace was daily becoming more formidable and Japanese fears rapidly increase. The only way to insure Japanese security was through adequate measures of defense in Manchuria. This might violate some shadowy rights over sovereignty that China had over Manchuria, but these rights had not been successfully asserted since 1912 and would soon be extinguished by Russia if Japan took no action." (Page 91)

The danger of the Red menace is referred to again on Page 109 where Prof. Tansill quotes the words of Admiral Toyoda who warned the West over the dangers of Russian expansion in China. Thus, in the pacifistic mind of scholar Tansill it did not matter if Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria was violated so long as the Japanese militarists were acting as a bulwark against Communism. To some, this may seem to be a plausible excuse for the Japanese invasion of Manchuria but Prof. Tansill writes that this was not the only reason why Japan took action. Manchuria had strategic and economic significance for Japan. Prof. Tansill writes "to Japan it appeared obvious that Manchuria was essential to her as a bastion of defense and as the keystone of her economic structure." (Page 94)

Now the situation is a little more complicated. It was not only the Russian influence in China which Japan tried to sell the West as her justification for the invasion of Manchuria but it was also important that Manchuria be swallowed up as a morsel for the rapacious designs of Japanese imperialism. Apparently these contradictions do not trouble Prof. Tansill. On the contrary, he contiuues his apologetics for the Japanese militarists by trying to "prove" how Japan was "provoked" into taking over Manchuria. It is not necessary to dwell on Russian provocation which Prof. Tansill describes, but the author also blames the Chinese. "In 1931, Japan felt that she was being pushed to the wall by Chinese nationalists in Mukden and Nanking." (Page 94)

On page 96 he writes that Japanese interests "in North China were about to be crushed between the millstones of Chinese nationalism and Russian Bolshevism." Thus, the Chinese people who had the temerity to oppose the Japanese conquest of their country are also blamed for provoking the Japanese. What was the role of the U. S. during those fateful years. According to the Professor, Secretary of State Stimson played a nefarious game in needling the Japanese and by reason of failing to accommodate their aggressive demands. It was Secretary Stimson, according to Professor Tansill, who prepared the "path to war." (Page 97)

"Stimson was a pacifist who loved peace so much, he was always ready to fight for it. He also heartily subscribed to the slogan—'Perpetual war for perpetual peace.'" (Page 101)

Prof. Tansill avers that Stimson's provocative attitude toward Japanese aspirations played into the hands of the Russians. He accuses the Secretary of State of having closed his eyes to the Russian menace and "continued his policy of baiting Japan." (Page 108) So Stimson is turned into a dupe, at best, of Communist policy in the Far East. Yet, Stimson's program of opposition to the aggresive designs of Japan and Manchuria prompted the Communist Party organ in the U. S., the Daily Worker, to denounce the Stimson policy in these words: "Workers! War in the Far East means a war against the toiling masses of the world! It means the danger of a world war in the interests of the profiteers! Hands off China! Defend the Soviet Union." (Page 105)

Obviously, if Secretary of State Stimson's policy was good red meat for the Communists, one can hardly explain why the Daily Worker, a Kremlin mouthprice should denounce it so vociferously. But Prof. Tansill is not bothered by these apparent contradictions. So far as he is concerned, Stimson was a stubborn, shortsighted and gullible person whose opposition to Japanese policy in Manchuria paved the way for America's involvement in World War II.

Prof. Tansill is impatient with Stimson's "usual armor of righteousness." (Page 103) He is not at all bothered about the Chinese desire to remain independent and to assert their sovereignty over Manchuria. On the contrary, he denounces the Chinese for having dared to oppose their would-be masters. He berates the West for having been "inclined to accept the fictions and pretensions put forward by the Nanking government. The Japanese position in North China was in grave danger of being infiltrated by Reds or successfully attacked by fervent Chinese nationalists whose patriotism had turned into a 'flame of hatred.'" (Page 96) In this connection, the Chinese Nationalist government is put on the carpet by Prof. Tansill for having resisted the 21 demands of the Japanese and he alleges that this was "a fundamental cause of the deep bitterness that finally led to the outbreak of hostilities on September 18, 1931." (Page 94)

Scholarly Defense of Aggression

What were these 21 demands? According to Prof. Tansill, they were designed to give Japanese interests in Manchuria "a firm foundation."

For reasons unknown, Prof. Tansill does not go into detail about the 21 Demands and thus the reader is left in the dark as to their real implications. It is unfortunate that Prof. Tansill did not quote the State Department's White Paper on China which tells us in no uncertain terms the meaning of the 21 Demands: "Early in 1915, Japan secretly presented to China the 21 Demands which, if accepted in full, would have made China a virtual protectorate of Japan. Not only did the Japanese government demand further economic and political rights in Manchuria, Shantung and Inner Mongolia, but it also sought exclusive mining and industrial rights in the Yang Tze Valley and actually demanded supervisory control over Chinese society, and political institutions including not only schools and churches but even the government itself." (P. 7.)

However, Prof. Tansill in his peculiar approach, is more concerned with the provocative behavior of Secy. Stimson in preventing the Japanese from taking over China. There is no element of moral consideration in Prof. Tansill's support of the Japanese imperialist program. His main shafts are aimed at the Chinese themselves and the "fire brands" conducting American foreign policy. According to Prof. Tansill, the Stimson policy was more or less carried on by Secy. Hull and Pres. Roosevelt. How can one explain Pres. Roosevelt's insistence on pursuing the Stimson line? To this question, Prof. Tansill quotes Westbrook Pegler as a source for understanding Roosevelt's behavior "When one reads the colorful columns of Westbrook Pegler's 'Fair Enough' and ponders the repeated assertions that the wealth of the Delano family was partly gained from dubious smuggling operations along the coasts of China, it would seem all too true that Roosevelt's roots went very deep into the dark soil of the Orient. . . . It is possible that he (Roosevelt) had felt some spark of gratitude for the Chinese who had been exploited for his benefit." (Page 118) The Prof. had finally uncovered the truth!

Emperor Haile Selassie's "Guilt"

In discussing the sordid history of Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, Prof. Tansill employs the same techniques which he applied in the case of the rape of Manchuria by Japan. The reader is at first treated to a series of apologies which are supposed to explain why Mussolini's Fascists had to take over Ethiopia. On Page 167, Prof. Tansill tells us that Italy was deeply hurt because she had been left "completely out in the cold," when it came to dividing Germany's African colonies after World War I.

The reader is informed that Italy was overcrowded and required Lebensraum "for her surplus population." (Page 169) Besides these grievances, Italy was menaced by "the aggressive attitude shown at times by the tribesmen of Emperor Haile Selassie." (Page 169) Thus, poor Italy the victim of a double-cross and menaced by that tremendous military machine of the Ethiopians, had no other alternative but to defend itself by invading Ethiopia!

It is true beyond doubt, as Prof. Tansill declares, that certain European statesmen were anxious to make a deal in order to appease Mussolini. Among those who were very active along these lines was the convicted traitor to the French people, Pierre Laval. Prof. Tansill makes no reference to Laval's later role as a traitor nor is there any condemnation of his role in the Ethiopian affair. Laval, however, was not alone in wishing to accommodate Mussolini in Ethiopia. Indeed, after some lengthy maneuvering on the part of the British, the Hoare-Laval agreement was made in 1935. This agreement, according to Prof. Tansill, would force Ethiopia to "cede Italy some 60,000 square miles of territory and receive in return a slice of Eritrea with an outlet to the sea. The southern half of Ethiopia—approximately 160,000 square miles—would be reserved as a sphere of influence where it would enjoy certain economic privileges. Along with these advantages there would also go a definite amount of political control which would be equivalent to Italian domination."

Before this plot to rob a people of its independence had been unmasked, a similar plan had been favored by the U. S. Ambassador to Italy, Mr. Long. Mr. Tansill writes "his plan was based upon the belief that Italy would have to be given some 'additions to her territory in Africa' as a bribe to keep her from going to war." Prof. Tansill regarded Ambassador Long's scheme as a "judicious plan of settlement" and regrets that it had fallen "upon the very deaf ears of Secretary

Hull. . . ." (Page 193) Likewise, does he praise the Hoare-Laval Pact "which might have saved for Emperor Haile Selassie a considerable portion of his empire." (Page 247) It is difficult to describe a more bitter piece of cynicism than this statement by Prof. Tansill after he had told his readers that the Hoare-Laval agreement would, for all practical purposes, wipe out Ethiopia as a sovereign state. But while condemning what he calls the diplomatic double-talk of the British, Prof. Tansill's main barbs are saved for Pres. Roosevelt and his Secretary of State.

The Neutrality Act of 1935

Prior to the outbreak of the Ethiopian war, Prof. Tansill describes how the isolationists succeeded in exposing the Wall Street "merchants of death" who led us into World War I and that it was through their efforts in Congress that the Neutrality Act of 1935 was passed. "The Neutrality Act," Prof. Tansill states, "had established a new policy of peace insurance which was ardently hoped would keep America safe from the ravages of war."

Essentially, the Neutrality Act enabled the State Department to control the export of war materials from the U. S. and in time of war an embargo could be proclaimed by the President which would put a stop to this trade with belligerent nations. On Page 237, Prof. Tansill's warm enthusiasm for the Act disappears and instead he bemoans the fact that Secy. Hull dared to invoke the Neutrality Act, "in an effort to sabotage any rapid advance of Mussolini's war machine . . ." This action and subsequent statements by Secy. Hull turned out to be "a clarion call to arms whose overtones kept vibrating along State Dept. corridors until they were magnified into a chorus of war by the tragedy of Pearl Harbor." (Page 237)

Apparently Prof. Tansill believes that the Neutrality Act was a sound piece of legislation so long as it wasn't applied against Mussolini's aggressions in Ethiopia. The failure of Western statesmen, including Secy. Hull, to give sympathetic understanding to the march of Mussolini's legions "into a country (Ethiopia) that was hopelessly backward and in dire need of intelligent direction" (Page 263) is considered by Prof. Tansill to have been unrealistic as it was insulting to Fascist Italy and contributed to the creation of close ties between Hitler and Mussolini. Such is the logic employed by this expert on world affairs.

The "Misunderstood" Nazis

After alleging that the Roosevelt administration had dissipated "a large fund of Italian good-will for the United States" Professor Tansill proceeds to discuss the U. S. relations with the newly installed Hitler Government in Germany.

According to the Professor, "the Nazi authorities were anxious to create a more friendly American public opinion. When a group of young American boy scouts visited Munich, they were given such a friendly reception that the leader remarked that Hitler 'was making true Socialism a reality.'" (Page 265) German officials expressed the hope that visiting U. S. Coast Guard Cadets would "disabuse the American mind of the stories of outrages and the persecution of persons not connected with the Nazi movement." It is understandable of course, that the Nazi cut-throats in 1933 were anxious to suppress all the facts concerning their gangsterlike tactics which had been so successful in cutting down all opposition to their drive for power. In this connection, Professor Tansill relates how certain private good-will Ambassadors from the United States tried to create a climate of mutual understanding between the American people and the Hitlerites.

Among these "pioneers in good-will," was Mr. Joseph E. Ridder who was owner of the New York Staats Zeitung. Mr. Ridder visited Nazi Germany in the early days and according to the Professor, he told a German newspaper that he had found the atmosphere in Nazi Germany "one of clear honesty in all things, whether it is in the political, commercial

POST-MORTEM

"Karl Diekow, a Munich architect, whose testimony was instrumental in the conviction and sentencing of the late Philip Auerbach for embezzling funds of the Bavarian State Restitutions Office, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for perjury in another case."

(From a J. T. A. dispatch)

"Dear General Sir John Harding (former British Commander in Germany):

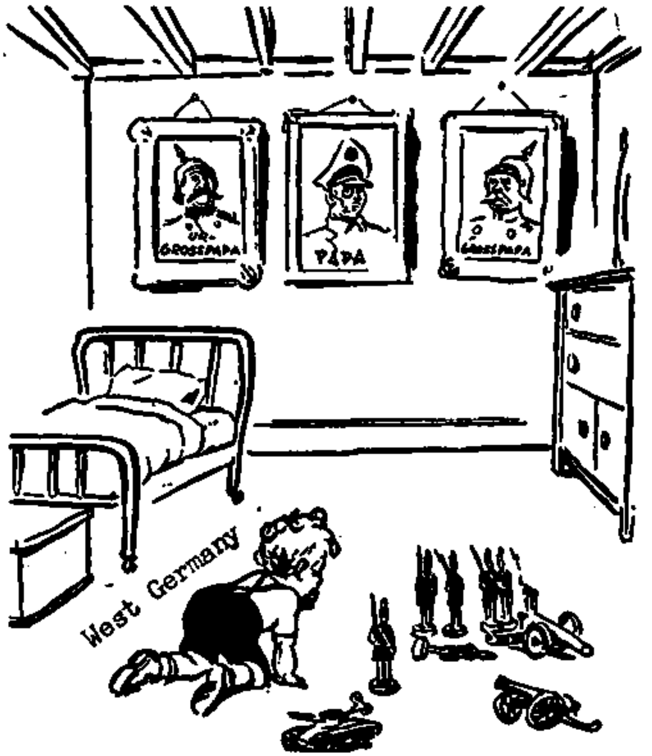
"I don't know what effect you would have upon the enemy in the terrible event of our country being once again involved in war, but you terrify me.

"Millions of British citizens who fought and suffered in two world wars must have read with shame your words to the Foreign Press Association in Bonn:

"'I think German military thinking will contribute tremendously to Western defence. After all, the Germans were the ones who fought the Russians in their own country in the last war.'

"Did you think, my dear General, about the effect of your words on the people of France, who twice in a generation have been occupied by the men responsible for 'German military thinking'?"

(By Ben Johnson in the Reynolds News)



The kid has forgotten everything. But he will learn again. *(Courtesy, San Francisco Chronicle)* or cultural field." (Page 266)

It is not surprising that Mr. Ridder should have given fulsome praise to conditions in Germany under Nazi rule. Mr. Ridder's brother, Victor, was also an enthusiast of the Nazi regime. This fact was brought out in a libel suit pressed against Victor Ridder. It was firmly established during the trial that he was a propagandist for the policy of Hitler's Reich in the U. S. and that he put the Staats Zeitung in the service of Pan-German and pro-Nazi propaganda.

Pro-Nazi Propaganda Drive

As early as May 6th, 1933, Victor Ridder wrote in the New York Staats Zeitung "I told this gentleman from Danzig that though he may consider himself as an outpost for Germany, he is still part of the main army, only two hours away from the German border; whereas I myself, as a member of the German-American Conference have the right to consider myself a holder of an outpost (vorposten) of the German Nation 3,000 miles away."

After his return from Germany, Victor Ridder published in the Staats Zeitung, articles praising Hitler and other members of the Nazi Hierarchy. In one of his pieces, he eulogized Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels "the principal head of this Ministry," Victor Ridder wrote "is the by now world renowned Joseph Goebbels who, by his extraordinarily wise propaganda, has turned National Socialism from a party into a movement . . . Goebbels is a man of unusually quick powers of perception . . . during our talk, he was extremely courteous and co-operative and as a newspaperman, I find him quite amiable. It could be that we both, newspapermen, had mercy with each other, but I would still be very happy to welcome him here in America." Joseph E. Ridder's other brother Bernard, was just as enthusiastic about the Nazi cause. In presenting himself to Adolf Hitler he said "I am 90% Nazi," according to the Ridder newspaper "Staats Zeitung."

Another messenger of good-will mentioned by Professor Tansill, is George Sylvester Viereck. He was supposed to be an expert on Germany and he offered his services to the White House. Viereck, according to Professor Tansill, was working assiduously to dispel suspicions between Nazi Germany and the United States. After a trip to Germany in November 1933, where he had spoken personally with Hitler and other Nazi leaders, Viereck told Under-Secretary of State William Phillips that "Hitler was the over-compensation of Germany's inferiority complex." This is the way Viereck tried to explain away the growing aggressiveness of the Nazis. From Professor Tansill's account, one could easily get the impression that Viereck's efforts to "improve" German-American relations were not based on ulterior motives but rather on the desire of a disinterested private individual to create an atmosphere of friendliness between the two countries.

In describing Viereck's so-called efforts to help America, why did Professor Tansill hide the fact that Viereck was on Hitler's regular payroll? In the first World War, Viereck was exposed by a Senate Committee as an agent of the Kaiser's government. At the beginning of World War II, he was sent to jail for suppressing important facts concerning his relations with the Nazi authorities in Germany. Prior to his jail sentence, this Nazi agent worked as one of the chief organizers of the pro-fascist and pro-Nazi movement in the United States. On May 18th, 1934, the New York Staats Zeitung, in reporting a Rally of German-Americans in New York, quoted Viereck who addressed the audience in these words: "I was a friend of the Germany of the Kaiser, I was a friend of the German Republic and today I am a friend of Adolf Hitler."

Professor Tansill omits these important facts, and as in the case of Mr. Joseph Ridder, the reader is supposed to believe that he was working on behalf of American interests. Needless to say the failure of these characters to put over their glowing descriptions of Nazi Germany is deplored by Professor Tansill. In his view, it was the fault of certain vociferous elements in the United States who were blocking the path toward full understanding of Nazi Germany. As a result, relations between the United States and Hitler Germany deteriorated.

"Deutschland Ueber Alles"

We now come to Professor Tansill's description of the Munich crisis and subsequent developments. Commenting on the political situation in Europe prior to the Munich sell-out, Professor Tansill states: "In the meantime, on April 21st (1938) Hitler had an important conference with Gen. Keitel in which a plan of operations for an attack upon Czechoslovakia was discussed in detail. Hitler's policy of 'planned aggression' left little to chance. While Britain and France nursed hopes of finding some formula of appeasement that might lead to a new Locarno, Germany was thinking of peace only upon her terms, and those terms meant Nazi dominance in Europe." (Page 392) Here is an un-ambiguous statement pointing to the fact that Hitler's policy was one of war or at best a graveyard peace for the sovereign nations of Europe. Following this accurate estimate of Hitler's policy, Professor Tansill notes that British appeasement "was the salvation of Hitler and his clique who were bent upon a policy that meant inevitable war." Off-hand, this would seem that Professor Tansill was opposed to Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler, but on page 543 where he discusses Hitler's plan to swallow up Poland, he states that Chamberlain's pledges to support Poland were "difficult to understand." If Chamberlain "had been willing to 'write off Eastern Europe to let Hitler move eastward with the strong possibility that he would come into contact with Stalin' such a policy would have been 'the sanest and most promising course Western diplomacy could have followed.' "

The above quotation is taken from a book by William Henry Chamberlin, another Revisionist, but it is obvious that Professor Tansill has voiced his own approval of appeasing Hitler through the words of Mr. Chamberlin.

Writing about alleged peace overtures by Hitler to the President in October 1939, when Czechoslovakia had already been swallowed up and Poland bombed by Hitler's Luftwaffe, Prof. Tansill states "if the President had real courage and vision, he would have welcomed these German overtures and staged a peace conference that would have saved both Poland and Czechoslovakia. But he and Secretary Hull were fearful that a move toward peace might benefit Hitler and discourage the Allies, so they rejected the German peace feelers and thus prepared the way for eventual Red domination over both these countries. In the long chapter of historical might-have-been's, Roosevelt plays a prominent and dismal part." (Page 607) Is the reader then to believe that Hitler sought peace and the establishment of a truly independent Poland and Czechoslovakia? Prof. Tansill knows better than that, for on Page 519 he states that Pres. Roosevelt "was well aware of the fact that none of the European nations that had profited by the Treaty of Versailles were willing to give up one crumb of the spoils of war. The injustices of that treaty could be rectified only through war."

Thus, after having informed his readers about Hitler's real plans and having denounced the British in the first place for appeasement, Prof. Tansill turns his wrath against Roosevelt as a war provocateur for refusing to appease in Oct. 1939, admitting that even appeasement could not satisfy the appetite of the dictators who were resolved to make war against the "injustices" of the Versailles treaty. Rather involved—is it not?

Although Pres. Roosevelt turns out to

be the main culprit, Prof. Tansill does not spare Poland or Great Britain. For example, in the Polish case, Prof. Tansill states that the Polish foreign minister Joseph Beck "was not greatly attracted by the political possibilities that lay along the path of German-Polish cooperation." Beck nursed the "hope of continued Polish independence" and "rejected a ride in the German war machine along a path that promised Poland power and plunder as a satellite state." Instead, Poland "chose the road that led to war with Germany . . ." (Page 510)

In Prof. Tansill's opinion, "Polish diplomacy in 1938-1939 was a design for disaster." Thus, the Poles are adjudged guilty of following a policy that allegedly led to war rather than joining up with the arch bandits of Europe. Indeed, Prof. Tansill states that it was the British-Polish understanding in the spring of 1939 that "led Hitler to turn to Stalin." Here again the Poles are put to task and Hitler's pact with Stalin is whitewashed on the ground that the Fuehrer had no other alternative, in view of Poland's refusal to accept his magnanimous offer.

Again, on Page 513, the Prof. berates Foreign Minister Beck for "turning his back upon Hitler . . ." On Page 514 he returns to this theme "Beck had now pushed Poland far down the road to war and national destruction. Such a policy pointed to disaster." How can one reconcile this judgment with Prof. Tansill's view that the British Prime Minister Chamberlain should have written off Eastern Europe, including Poland as geographically indefensible and permit Hitler to move eastward?

Did Hitler really want to save Poland as Prof. Tansill implies? The authoritative answer to this question appeared in the records of the International Trial at Nuremberg. Hitler is quoted in a secret talk: "there is no question of sparing Poland and we are left with no alternative but to attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity. We cannot expect a repetition of the Czechoslovakian affair. There will be fighting. The task is to isolate Poland." (Proceedings, Trial of the Major War Criminals, Vol. 10, Page 358) This statement by Hitler takes on all the more significance in view of the fact that it was made months before the *Nazis attacked* Poland during which *time they were* still pretending to be ready to negotiate. Yet, Prof. Tansill, who makes no mention of this fact, denounces the Poles, the British and Pres. Roosevelt because they were wary of Hitler's trap.

F. D. R., the "Warmonger"

Of course, Roosevelt turns out to be the arch war-monger in this whole situation. Writing about the President's criticisms of the dictators, the Prof. states that the President "provided additional tinder that awaited the sparks of war." (Page 521)

On Page 599 after Prof. Tansill discusses the agreement whereby Britain received a number of destroyers in return for U. S. leased bases in the B. W. I., he quotes with apparent approval a St. Louis Post-Dispatch headline "Dictator Roosevelt commits an act of war." (Page 599) There are many more statements dealing with Roosevelt's alleged war provocations. However, to the charge that Germany sought war with the U. S. Prof. Tansill tells the reader that Von Ribbentrop, the Nazi foreign minister, had insisted "upon the pacific disposition of the Fuehrer concerning the U. S." The Prof. adds that Baron von Weiszacker, a leading member in the Nazi foreign office, confirmed this alleged fact, namely that the Nazis did not desire war with the U. S. Has Prof. Tansill told the whole story? Let us see.

Exploding Tansill's Bubbles—Germany

In the opening address by Supreme Court Justice Jackson at the Nuremberg Trial, mention is made of a captured memorandum from Hitler's headquarters dated Oct. 29, 1940 in which certain information is requested regarding air bases and supply. The memorandum reports further that "the Fuehrer is at present occupied with the question of the occupation of the Atlantic Islands with a view to the prosecution of war against America at a later date. Deliberations on this subject are being embarked upon here." (Vol. 1, Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression—Page 153)

Additional information on Germany's military plans with regard to the U. S. were quoted at the Trial Proceedings at Nuremberg. The Nazi Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, told the Japanese Ambassador one week before Pearl Harbor, "it is essential that Japan effect the New Order in East Asia without losing this opportunity. There never has been, and probably never will be, a time when closer co-operation under the Tripartite Pact is so important. If Japan hesitates at this time and Germany goes ahead and establishes her European New Order, all the military might of Britain and the United States will be concentrated against Japan. As the Fuhrer Hitler said today, there are fundamental differences in the very right to exist between Germany and Japan, and the United States. We have received advice to the effect that there is practically no hope of the Japanese-United States negotiations being concluded successfully, because of the fact that the United States is putting up a stiff front.

"If this is indeed the fact of the case, and if Japan reaches a decision to fight Britain and the United States, I am confident that that will not only be to the interest of Germany and Japan jointly, but would bring about favorable results for Japan herself." (Document D-656)

As for Baron von Weizacker, the convicted war criminal, the Prof. did not refer his readers to the following passage in the Nazi diplomat's memoirs which were recently published: "it is true that attempts have been made to bring Japan into the war; but it was against England and also against Russia that Hitler wanted her to go to war and not against the U. S. For opportunist reasons, Hitler wanted to avoid a conflict with the U. S. A." (Page 260) Thus it is clear even from von Weizacker's own admission that only opportunist considerations were impelling Hitler to avoid war with the U. S. for the time being. In other words, the Nazi plan was to knock out Britain and Russia before concentrating the might of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis on the U. S. These facts simply do not square with Prof. Tansill's attempt to clothe the Nazis with the white robes of innocence.

Tansill's Japanese "Bubble"

As with Germany, so does Prof. Tansill attempt to prove that the Japanese also sought "peace not war with the U. S." (Page 630) But on Page 641, Prof. Tansill admits that at a Japanese Imperial Conference held on Sept. 6, 1940, it was decided that Japan's preparation for war would have to be continued so "that they be completed approximately toward the end of October."

The Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka told the Fuehrer on April 4, 1941 that in case Japan "should decide to attack Singapore, the Japanese Navy of course had to be prepared for a fight with the U. S. because in that case America would side with Great Britain." (Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, Vol. 4, Page 523) He further stated that Hitler "might give the necessary instructions in order that the proper German authorities would place at the disposal of the Japanese the latest improvements and inventions which are of interest to them because the Japanese Navy had to prepare immediately for a conflict with the U. S."

The allegations that Japan was only interested in destroying England and not the U. S. is controverted by the statements of the Japanese Foreign Minister. Matsuoka told the Fuehrer as early as May 27, 1941 that the Japanese were determined to capture Singapore and South East Asia thereafter. "It was only a question of the time when Japan would attack. According to his idea, the attack should come as soon as possible." (Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939-41 — Department of State, Page 295) In view of the fact that Matsuoka realized that such an attack against British interests would bring the U. S. to the side of Great Britain, then it is clear that the Japanese knew what they were doing; that it was not only a question of destroying the British Empire but it was also necessary to destroy the U. S., or at least render it harmless.

The Japanese plan was described in the indictment of the Allied prosecution at the trial of the leading Japanese war criminals in Tokyo. "In March, 1941, conversations between the Japanese ambassador in Washington and the United States Secretary of State took place in an endeavor by the United States to settle outstanding differences and to reach a peaceful settlement. While these were proceeding Japan continued at a feverish pace to prepare for war. At an Imperial Conference on July 2nd, the decision to advance southward, obviously directed against America, the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the British Commonwealth, was reached. At a further Conference on 6th September, it was decided to open hostilities against the United States of America, Great Britain and the Netherlands in case the requirements of Japan seemed unlikely to be realized by some time during the first part of October. On 1st December, a further Conference definitely decided on war. The decisions of the two last-mentioned Conferences were kept secret."

Prof. Tansill disregards this authoritative evidence and accuses Secy. Hull and the President of seeking war. Roosevelt is charged with having attempted to provoke the Germans and failed—now the President hoped that "perhaps some Japanese statesman would prove more accommodating." (Page 615) Thus, the concluding chapter of Prof. Tansill's book is entitled "Japan is maneuvered into war." Roosevelt is denounced because he refused to support Japanese aggressive aspirations. But what were the aims of Japan? The Japanese desired to conquer all of South East Asia as they had raped Manchuria, and they brazenly requested the support of the U. S. for this infamous design. The refusal of the U. S. to become an accomplice in this criminal conspiracy is considered by Prof. Tansill as Roosevelt's method by which he was able to maneuver the Japanese to bomb Pearl Harbor!

The Japanese plans for aggression were carefully nurtured for many years. Just as Hitler's Mein Kampf in the 1920's served as a blue print for subsequent actions by the German Military, so did the Japanese possess a "Mein Kampf." We refer to the secret plan for world conquest outlined for the Japanese Mikado in 1927 by one of the most prominent members of the Japanese general staff, Admiral Tanaka, The Tanaka Memorial, as it is commonly called, dealt with the ways and means by which Japan could achieve world supremacy and in this connection it said, *"In order to conquer the entire world, the conquest of China is a prerequisite. In the future, if we want to control China we must first defeat the United States of America as we have smashed Russia in the past. As we have not enough resources at our disposal, we should be vanquished in moving too soon, especially if Britain and the United States united in order to counter our action.*

"In order to preserve our race and give warning to China and the rest of the world we have to fight America now or later.

"In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. If we conquer China, the other countries of Asia and those of the South Sea Islands will be intimidated and then will surrender to us. Being in possession of China's resources we can proceed to the conquest of the South Sea Islands, India, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe."

Conclusion

The quality of Prof. Tansill's scholarship can be judged by the fact that in explaining Roosevelt's policy toward China, he used as a source none other than Westbrook Pegler while completely failing to inform his readers about the Tanaka memorial. Even if we should accept, for the sake of argument, the Revisionists' view that the U. S. could have stayed out of World War II, this would have unquestionably meant a total victory on the part of Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia.

Would such an Axis triumph have affected our own national security and interests? It seems that the Revisionists believe that we could have allowed Germany and Japan to conquer Asia and Europe and then made a realistic deal with them whereby the world could have been split up among the three surviving powers. Aside from the immorality of such a scheme, the documents quoted above prove that if the U. S. had remained "neutral" it would have eventually been isolated and finally subjugated by the overwhelming might of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Admittedly the specific policies of Pres. Roosevelt were not always effective, but his greatness lies in the fact that he was able to perceive in time that the U. S. would be heading toward disaster if it condoned aggression and permitted the Axis powers to destroy our most reliable Allies and condemn to enslavement hundreds of millions of human beings.

Is it coincidental that Revisionism which is a fancy name employed by those who tried to cover up their apologetics for the Nazi-Fascist Axis should be coming to the fore again? It so happens that the Revisionists are endeavoring to put across their thesis at a time when the Western Allies have forgotten the lessons of World War I and are resuscitating the menace of a strong and powerful Germany.

The Revisionists, far from being outcasts as they pretend to be, are in the "swim of things" by helping to justify and underwrite this "new" approach to the treatment of Germany and Japan. Worse, they are re-writing history in such a way as to give justification for the present German and Japanese campaigns to place the onus of war guilt on the Allied powers.

It is also interesting to note that the Revisionists in an effort to prove their genuine scholarship, have invoked the name of a great historian, of American history, Charles A. Beard. Prof. Beard's competence in the field of American history is undeniable, but we are aware of the fact that he became a bitter opponent of Roosevelt's handling of foreign policy. Nevertheless, as late as the autumn of 1940, Prof. Beard wrote the following as part of his introduction to Ambassador Dodd's diary:

"It is in such a perspective that Mr. Dodd's record and wisdom are vindicated. He saw more clearly than most of his colleagues, American and foreign, in the diplomatic corps, the hard drift of things toward the tragedy of the coming years. He repeatedly predicted, despite the epithets, 'alarmists' and 'sensationalists' applied to him by unfriendly critics, the ruthless course which Germany, Italy and Japan was destined to take if unchecked by the concerted action of their neighbors. He divined the frightful crash bound to come from the policy of appeasement, intrigue and vacillation, and he fought relentlessly, as far as he was able, to stop it."

Among Ambassador Dodd's critics was none other than Prof. Tansill who attacked the Ambassador for his "continued unsympathetic attitude toward the German government." (The Deutsche Weckruf, March 25, 1937)

A Report on Germany

by

HOWARD K. SMITH

Coming back to Germany on my first visit here in three years, it is easy to see some of the causes for alarm. Germany, the worst destroyed country in the war, is recovering with startling speed. A conscientious citizen finds himself in a dilemma whether to admire the phenomenon, or to be frightened at it.

The big ugly wastes of urban ruins are giving way to expanding areas of bright new houses and buildings. The skies of the Ruhr, clear and blue over idle and broken mills just a few years ago, are dingy with smoke again. The railways crawl with long freight trains carrying rows of new automobiles, and machinery for export. Bright new shops are filled with good things to buy, markets are full of red meat such as the English have not seen since the war.

The other day, on the occasion of a Catholic festival, an altar was set up in the market square outside my hotel window, and people passed by eight abreast in an endless procession to receive blessing. In three hours, what must have been very nearly the whole population of Bonn thus passed in review beneath my window—and I have not seen anywhere in Europe average people so well dressed and so apparently well fed and sturdy . . . people who a short while ago were on the edge of destitution.

Contrasts

Coming, as I have, from Britain, I inevitably compare this country with that one. The two nations—Britain and West Germany—have nearly the same areas, the same population of around 50 millions each, and the same problems: Both are highly over-populated, highly industrialized nations depending heavily on selling in foreign markets and importing foreign raw materials.

It is sad to report that Britain, the victor, suffers in many respects by comparison with Germany, the defeated. While England's dollar gap—the excess of what she imports from abroad over what she earns funds to pay with—continues large . . . Germany has virtually closed her trade gap. In reserves of foreign currency and gold, Germany has a quarter the amount of reserves that Britain keeps for herself, and all the sterling nations—Australia, India, Scandinavia and so on, together. While Britain's position in foreign markets is shaky, Germany has been establishing herself firmly, especially in former British markets in South America.

In both countries, housing is the outstanding domestic problem. While Britain is striving, so far unsuccessfully, to achieve a building target of 300,000 new houses per year . . . Germany has attained and passed a target of 400,000 new houses built per year.

There are many reasons for these contrasts. For one thing, Britain has to maintain a big navy, an expenditure which Germany, having twice luckily failed to build an empire, does not have. Also, occupation causes a vast colony of American soldiers and officials and their families to spend millions of dollars a year in Germany; Britain has no such rich source of dollar income.

But, in addition to reasons like those, the fact cannot be denied that Germany is showing greater vigor than Britain. German workers are working harder and more conscientiously; German businessmen are going after foreign markets more aggressively.

Dominating Europe Again

It takes little imagination to project present trends into the future, and to predict that the contrasts between Germany and the other West European nations, of whom Britain is the strongest, are likely to become more pronounced.

With the stimulus of rearmament, West Germany plans to expand steel production to its old capacity of nearly 19 million tons a year—higher than that of Britain, and third in the world after those of America and Russia. Other branches of industry are expected to expand commensurately.

Moreover, rearmament will be stimulus and not strain as it has been in Britain. Britain's economy and manpower were fully employed before rearmament; therefore rearmament meant curtailment of civil production and a fall in the standard of living. Germany, however, still has great unused plant and over a million workers unemployed to take care of rearmament. Germany thus is likely to be the only country in Europe which will raise its standards and strengthen its economy by rearming.

In the realm of military power too, the advantage is Germany's. Two years after rearmament begins, Germany expects to have 500,000 troops in arms and ready to fight. Each year then there will be a turnover of 300,000 trained men leaving and as many new conscripts entering the forces. In five years Germany will have an army plus a trained reserve of around two million soldiers. . . .

The decisive difference, however, is that while France and Britain's armed might will be scattered over the globe maintaining commitments in Hong Kong, Malaya, Indo China, Egypt, Tunisia and so on . . . Germany's might will be centered in Europe, where the command is situated and where the decisions are made.

In view of these facts—Germany's coming superiority of economic power, her superior concentration of military power . . . —I am persuaded that Germany's word will come to have the greatest weight in the councils of Western Europe. At the least, the other nations will not be able to take decisions Germany is opposed to. At the most, Germany may be able to force her decisions on them. In other words, Germany is likely to become the dominant West European power.

Germany's Bargaining Power

It can be argued, of course, that America is in Europe to right the balance of decision in favor of the older allies. For five or ten years to come, while Germany depends on America for building her strength, that is so; Germany will be subject to American pressure. But, after Germany's strength is built up, a new factor—Germany's inevitably superior bargaining position—will come into play.

The simple truth is that America does not have to make concessions to France or Britain to keep them in the alliance. As a weak country, France is unalterably tied to America for help. As an island, Britain needs American sea-power. With far-flung empires, both those nations need American naval support.

Germany, a central European land power, however, has no such natural ties to America. She faces, in fact, strong natural temptations to bargain with Russia, to bargain for Germany's old traditional East European markets, for the unification of Germany, which only Russia can grant, and for German territories Russia seized beyond the Oder-Neisse.

With the always tacit threat thus that Germany might do business with Russia, America is unlikely to be in a position to force decisions on Germany; quite the contrary, she may have to make concessions to Germany, increasing Germany's weight in the western councils.

That Germany will be, in five or ten years' time, the first power in Western Europe, seems to me inevitable. All therefore depends on what kind of Germany evolves in that time to wield that tremendous power . . .

The Fate of Europe

. . . There remains the old, oft-stated fault of German history: Germany has never had a clean dramatic break with feudalism. There has been no shock to change psychology like the French Revolution or Cromwell's Civil War in England. The powerful men of Germany are still accustomed to command; the common people are still too docile in accepting command. Authority still flows down from rulers to people, not up from people to rulers.

Germany's new political system of democracy, on the principle of authority flowing up from people to rulers, is still a young and tender growth. The real residuaries of power in Germany—though that power is being used with some restraint at present—remain in the mighty Ruhr industries in the hands of all too few powerful men who operate on the feudal principle of authority flowing from the top down.

The fear of German democrats—even those who support rearmament as a necessary evil—is that it comes ten years too soon. In a still weak new society, a big army will give generals too strong a voice; and generals, like Germany's industrialists, inevitably believe in authority from the top down. The fear is that with Allied supervision now relaxed, industrialists will throw off restraint and, with the generals, sway the young growth of German democracy, or in the extreme case even break it . . .

If, however, things go on as now; if Germany is invited as a sovereign unit into a group of individual and competing national units, Germany will have to play according to the rules of competition, and she will out-compete the others.

She will attain top position so easily, I am convinced, that the temptations to dominate, to jockey between east and west, to set herself up as a power on her own, will be too great to resist. In that case support will go to the nationalists and to the principle of feudalism.

The fate of Europe thus lies still with the western democracies. If, however, in the next five years they take no more action than they have in the past . . . Europe's fate will then rest solely with Germany.

(Courtesy, CBS-Radio)

"The Germans still seem to me to be a strong and brilliant people who are obsessed with a pathological father complex—and, at the moment, they are orphans; they are desperately looking for a father. I doubt that they will find one with us, among the Western democracies. They may find one within themselves—or they may find one eastward, beyond the Iron Curtain.

"The eventual capitol of the Communist Empire may be Berlin, not Moscow."

(By Robert Sherwood in the New York Post)

CARTELS AT WORK

"Official sources have disclosed today that West Germany, which potentially is the greatest source of defense production on the Continent, was not fulfilling its promise in this respect . . .

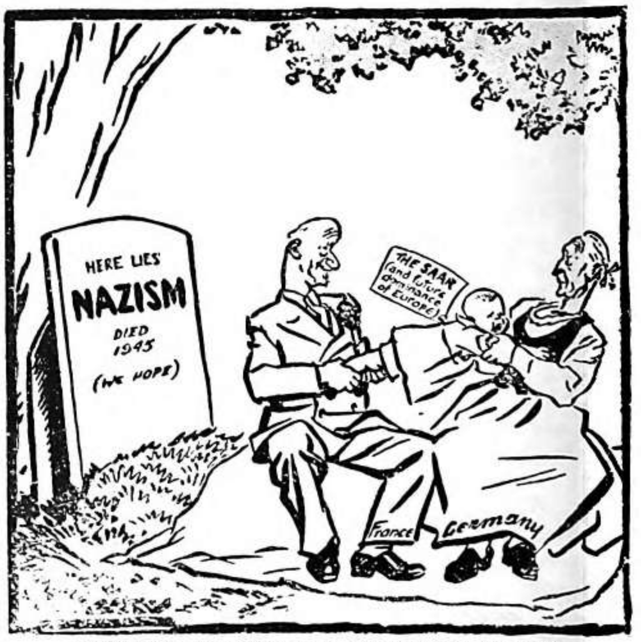
"The Germans, already notorious for a predilection for cartels, appear still are addicted to collusive bidding practices . . .

"For example, nineteen German concerns submitted identical bids on a $17,000,000 contract for the production of torpedo nets. In another case, an attempt to place a contract for $40,000,000 worth of radio parts was met with identical bids by several concerns . . ."

(Jack Raymond in the New York Times)

"Underlying the Laborites' desire for postponement of German rearmament — a desire which is shared by political groups of varied views in France — is a persistent fear of what the Germans may do once they are armed. The Laborites wonder how far the United States will go in re-equipping German industry and restoring to positions of influence those elements which helped Hitler's rise to power."

(From Foreign Policy Bulletin)



"P'R'APS I'D BETTER HOLD IT, DEAR"

(Cartoon by Low) *(Courtesy London Daily Herald)*

"Prince Charming"

Never have the Germans been found wanting in the skilled techniques of propaganda warfare. They demonstrated their adeptness after World War I when they were able to overcome in a short time, the animosity of millions of people both here and abroad who had learned the truth about the German militarists and their supporters. One of their "legmen" who was particularly successful in "softening up" the American people was the fabulous Count von Luckner, U-Boat captain of the German Navy. In his book "Sea Devils Conquer America," the Count bragged how he had succeeded in squeezing "tears from the ladies' eyes and dollars from the capitalists pockets." His act evoked a wave of sympathy wherever he lectured in the United States," They (the American ladies) came with tears in their eyes and gave me their hands, and said: 'You have restored the best in us, the love for your fatherland.' "

The Luckner racket was successful beyond all expectations and in due time, Germany re-emerged in the eyes of many Americans, as the land of beer and friendly faces.

Luckner is now an old man and the romanticism surrounding his exploits has faded, but the Germans are a resourceful people. This time they have pulled out of the hat, so to speak, a genuine blue blood, no less than Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, the grandson of the Kaiser. Prince Louis is young, handsome and alert. He has a sense of humor and loves Americans. Regardless of his future in the United States, we can be sure that the Prince will leave no stone unturned to fulfil his mission of "goodwill." As an entree to his visit in this country, the Prince presented, for American consumption, his book "The Rebel Prince." Remarkable in this unremarkable book, admittedly ghosted and blue pencilled by the well known journalist, Louis Lochner, are only its title, origin, history and the fact that it was printed in the U. S.

During the early years of the Allied occupation, the Prince was generally persona non-grata with American authorities. However, he managed to remain on the most friendly terms with Merle Potter, the controversial U. S. Military Governor of his postwar residence in Bad-Kissingen in Bavaria. In this connection, the Prince became involved in one of the first postwar occupation scandals, when in 1946 Potter on his own authority, founded the Cosmopolitan Club in Bad Kissingen, with the Prince as its most prominent member. The Club was dissolved on the order of Gen. Clay when it was found that a substantial number of the Club's members were prominent Nazis, some of whom were jailed later for perjury. When Potter's friend, Senator Ball came to his rescue, Potter was promoted to Gen. Clay's staff after he had been removed by the General.

Prince Louis lost the luxurious residence belonging to the Nazi Kreisleiter of Kissingen which Potter had procured for him and which was attached to Potter's own residence. Thus the Prince and his family was obliged to take up residence in two attic rooms for a short while and these were "the unhappiest days in the life of my family." Those who are familiar with the discomforts of Auschwitz, Dachau and Buchenwald can only say "Lucky family."

In describing the Cosmopolitan Club, the Prince is careful to omit the fact that it was dissolved because it was Nazi infiltrated. As for Merle Potter, the Prince portrays him as a knight in shining armor fighting for German-American friendship against overwhelming odds.

Likewise, the Prince or Mr. Lochner's blue pencil omit some interesting data concerning his relationship to Herman Goering and his work for the Lufthansa, the Civilian Air Organization which actually did the spade work for the Nazi airforce in violation of the Versailles Treaty.

There are however, abundant photos of the Prince in the uniform of a Nazi Airforce Lieutenant, although he professed to be a fanatical opponent of militarism.

The title "Rebel Prince" is a tantalizing one, and presumably derives from the fact that the grandson of the Kaiser pretends that he was a hero of the "Resistance Movement" against Hitler. An entire chapter is devoted to his alleged role, but unfortunately, he is not at all convincing. The Prince had some conversations with some of the members of the Resistance and was advised to remain in the background. He followed this recommendation and according to the book, he never discussed the matter with his father, the Crown Prince. He was in close contact, however, with Goerdeler and Gen. Beck, the leaders of the movement against Hitler. The significance of the tie-up between these leaders and the Prince was revealed by Dr. A. W. John in the special memorial edition "July 21st" of the Bonn Weekly "Das Parlament."

John writes that Beck and Goerdeler wanted to restore the German Monarchy. Even the leader of the Socialist Resistance Movement, Wilhelm Leuschner, according to John, had accepted this ultimate aim in the conspiracy against Hitler. John also states that in 1942, it was the hope of the German Resistance Movement that contact could be made with President Roosevelt with the help of Prince Louis who was considered to be "a close friend of the President."

The book's only contribution to History is the Prince's frank admission that Hitler had promised to his father, the Crown Prince, that the Monarchy would be restored, but then proceeded to double-cross him. It was upon the basis of this pledge that the Crown Prince and his sons cast their lot with the Nazis and paraded in Nazi uniforms with prominent swastika brassards before Hitler in 1933. The Prince's uncle, August Wilhelm, was a prominent Nazi and storm trooper.

All this should make it abundantly clear that the House of Hohenzollern had one foot in the Nazi Movement and the other in the Resistance to it. Today, Prince Louis continues to play a double role—one of friendship to the United States and the other unswerving support to the German Nationalists who will, when the favorable opportunity arises, turn against the West.

In cultivating the friendship of the German Nationalists, the Prince created a rallying point for them at his ancestral castle "Hohenzollern" in Swabia. In the medieval atmosphere of this Castle, he established a shrine for the coffins of Frederick the Great and his father—outstanding symbols of Prussia's Militarists and Nationalists. Thanks to American generosity these coffins had been saved from Russian capture in 1945. When the coffins were found in a Thuringia salt mine by our troops, they were covered by a giant laurel wreath with a swastika adorned dedication "from Adolf Hitler."

The Fuehrer was not a very bright student of World History but he understood the basic forces in German History.

While in New York, the Prince and his wife enjoyed the luxury of the Waldorf-Astoria. There is no poverty or hardship in these accomplishments in spite of the fact that most of the Hohenzollern estates which are located in East Germany were confiscated by the Russians. What is the secret of his success?

F. W.

The Mills of Mars

(Munition makers don't lose wars. The German family Krupp may win another war.)

by
FRANK EDWARDS

The sullen red glow in the sky over Essen, Germany, is an ominous sign: Krupp is at it again!

It is the same red glow that preceded World Wars I and II. There is reason to fear that it is the same glow from the same great furnaces that marks the opening phases of World War III. For a hundred and forty-two years the Krupp family has used its industrial empire to spread military havoc across the earth. Kings have fallen; Kaisers have fled; dictators have died in the gutter, but Krupp goes marching on.

How do they do it?

An excellent question. Perhaps we can find the answer by examining the record of past performance, although some of it will undoubtedly be obscured in the devious operations of recent years.

It makes little difference in the final analysis whether we regard the Krupp family as patriots or conscienceless profiteers. Military records indicate that some thirty million human beings have died under the guns and tanks and other war machines turned out by Krupp. Staggering but not surprising, for Krupp was the principal arsenal for Germany in the first World War as it was for Hitler in the second global conflict.

During that first great bloodbath the sprawling factories and smelters at Essen, Germany, were safe behind the lines. Short-range planes had little chance to effect bombing raids, if indeed they were able to inflict any raids, that far from their bases. Starting in 1912 the tempo of Krupp at Essen was a steadily increasing roar of heavy machinery. The Kaiser's knockout blow must be swift and invincible. The iron sinews for that blow were forged at Essen. When the Great Plan came crashing down around Wilhelm's ears he took refuge in flight; but for Krupp the only refuge was cunning. Defeat was a new experience to be met and matched with deceit.

The Treaty of Versailles supposedly reduced Germany's military power, including her ability to rearm. Actually it did no such thing. The greatest military plant in the world was Krupp—and it evaded the demilitarization causes of the Treaty in spite of efforts to enforce them.

Gustav Krupp wrote in 1941: *"Without arousing any commotion the necessary measures and preparations were undertaken. Thus, to the surprise of many people, we began to manufacture products which really appeared to be far distant from the previous work of an armaments plant. Even the Allied snooping commissions were duped. Padlocks, milk cans, cash registers, track repair machines, trash carts and similar 'junk' appeared really unsuspicious and even locomotives and automobiles made an entirely 'civilian's impression."*

The stage was set for quick and easy conversion to war production. Workmen were being trained. Machinery was in place. The admission will be found in the annual report of the Krupp Direktorium for 1937-1938 which states:

"In spite of numerous doubts and contrary to the advice of outside experts, it (Krupp) decided, as trustee of a historical inheritance, to safeguard the valuable experiences irreplaceable for the armed strength of our nation and through constant close ties with the works members to keep the shops and personnel in readiness if the occasion should arise for armament orders later on.

"When in 1933 we were again called upon to manufacture war materials in large quantities, we were immediately ready to do so . . . Our plants, after a short preliminary state, were soon working at capacity."

The cash registers which Krupp had made by the tens of thouasnds were beginning to jingle again to the tune of war profits. Hitler was in the saddle. War was in the air. It would take time, of course, and money. The mills of Mars ground faster and faster. The bloodthirsty paperhanger became noisier and more defiant as his war machine deevloped. The great day for which Krupp had schemed was taking shape in the sullen glow of the skies over Essen.

The same Krupp family which had served the Kaiser and his father before him found no difficulty in transferring their allegiance to the allegedly Democratic politicians of the illfated Weimar Republic. When that experiment was swept from the decks, Krupp moved in to the camp of Hitler, to become one of Der Fuehrer's chummiest and most valuable compatriots. The master munitions makers were not only durable, they were also pliable.

The trickle of war materials which began in 1933 poured from Essen in a flood by the mid-thirties. At a special ceremony in 1940, Hitler presented to Alfred Krupp, the son of Gustav, an award honoring the munitions works as a national socialist model enterprise. Krupp proudly assured Hitler that the award was recognition "of a social attitude which was rooted in a tradition one hundred and twenty years old."

If that tradition included profiting from mass murder, Krupp was telling the truth.

Whatever their personal feelings about Nazism, the Krupp family managed to submerge those feelings in order to reap the greatest possible benefit from it. During World War II they were among the foremost plunderers of German-occupied Europe. They looted tens of millions of dollars worth of property from other countries. They were notorious exploiters of slave labor.

Records show that Krupp enslaved more than 100,000 foreign workers, including 25,000 prisoners of war. These unfortunates lived and worked under conditions which were incredibly inhuman; a few miles away the lordly Krupp family lived luxuriously in its ancestral estates—another part of their tradition, no doubt.

Hitler and his gang were mindful of the very important part which the Krupp family had played in launching Nazism on the world. Gustav Krupp had induced other financiers to put up the money for Hitler's "election" in 1933. Gustav Krupp personally pledged one million marks to the Nazis at that time. While the rest of the world was in the depths of a depression, the warmakers of Essen were setting in motion their plot against humanity.

In order to show his appreciation, Hitler enacted a special law in November of 1943. Known as "Lex Krupp," this unusual instrument actually made the Krupp firm a state within a state. It could regulate itself by its own internal laws. Alfred Krupp, Nazi leader, took over all the properties as his own and became the "first Noble of Industry" in Nazi Germany.

It is worth noting that Alfred Krupp did not appear to be very noble when he was hailed before the Allied War Crimes in Nuerenberg after the war. He was convicted of the use of slave labor in violation of the Geneva and Hague conventions. He was convicted of plundering and despoiling countries invaded by the Nazi aggressors. For these crimes the Military Tirbunal sentenced Alfred Krupp to twelve years in jail. All of his property, real and personal, was ordered confiscated. This decree sought to destroy Krupp's enormous economic and political power on behalf of German militarism.

Months dragged by after his conviction and sentencing, but General Lucius Clay, the Military Governor for the U. S. zone of Germany, failed to carry out the confiscation order. Clay finally offered the excuse that since the Krupp properties were in British-occupied territory, the British would have to decide what to do about it.

General Clay's strange reluctance to carry out the court order attracted the attention of Senator James Murray. Along with several other members of the Senate, he submitted a brief demanding that Clay carry out, without qualification or reservation, the confiscation decree of the military tribunal. Said the Senator's brief:

"These properties were the instrumentalities of crime. Is there anything contrary to the spirit of Anglo-Saxon or American law in confiscating them? Do we not seize the assassin's gun . . . the bandits' automobile?"

Senator Murray reminded General Clay that the charges on which Alfred Krupp had been convicted would have warranted hanging or at least life imprisonment . . . "Instead the tribunal decreed twelve years imprisonment plus confiscation. Take away the confiscation and you have left only the twelve year sentence, without hard labor. Wait a year and there will be a general amnesty and Alfred Krupp will go back to his properties to commit further crimes."

Senator Murray qualifies as a prophet.

In January 1951 Allied High Commissioner John McCloy freed Alfred Krupp. McCloy had previously stopped the flow of equipment from the Krupp plants, equipment which had been promised to the little nations looted and destroyed by the Nazis—including Krupp.

McCloy defended his actions by asserting that confiscation is not a usual practice "under American Law." Krupp was convicted under International Law, where confiscation is legally recognized under Law number ten.

When Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt took issue with McCloy over his actions in this case, the Allied High Commissioner asserted in reply that he doubted that Alfred Krupp was really in charge of the company, or responsible for using slave labor.

The report of the War Crimes Trials to the Secretary of the Army states clearly that Alfred Krupp was in active charge of the concern and became sole owner through "Lex Krupp" in 1943.

Chief U. S. Prosecutor at the Nuerenberg trials, General Telford Taylor, declared in a statement on February 4, 1951, that Alfred Krupp took part willingly in the slave labor deals; and General Taylor named examples.

McCloy, like General Clay before him, preferred his own decisions to those of the War Crimes Court. Today Alfred Krupp is a free man, after serving only a small fraction of his time. The vast Krupp enterprises at Essen employ 60,000 people and are a billion dollar enterprise. If Alfred Krupp gets this property returned to him, as diplomatic rumor says he will, he will find himself a multimillionaire; another top Nazi who benefited by strange decisions from high Allied officials.

The Krupp plants are turning out steel in great quantity. They are turning out milk cans, automobile parts, and locomotives. They are turning out much the same sort of "junk" they produced to dupe the Allied inspectors after World War One.

The glow from the great furnaces paints the sky an angry red. A few miles away Alfred Krupp lives in luxury. He has everything but his war plants. He isn't worried about getting them back in time for the next war.

It's part of the Krupp family tradition.

(Courtesy, the Grail)

GERMAN ROYALTY turned to stormtrooping. In the center is Prince Wilhelm, son of the Kaiser, who was a buck private in Hitler's private army; left, Prince Hubertus, company leader, and right, Prince Friedrich, first squad leader.

"I learned from continental sources that the German Federal Government has asked Britain, the United States and France for the return of German Archives captured in the last war. . . .

"A large part of the captured records are in fact, a blueprint for U-Boat operations. . . .

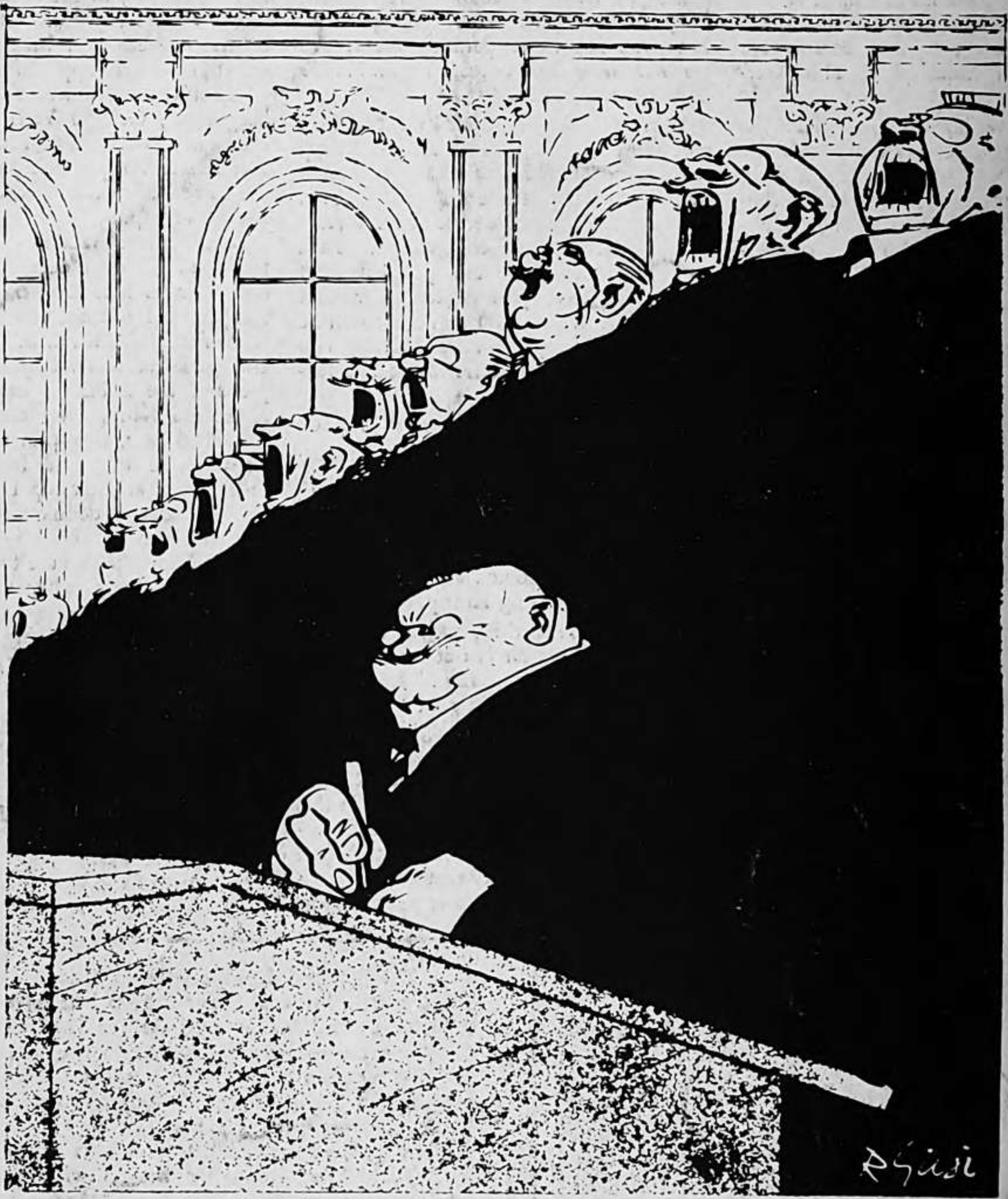
"These documents are a legitimate prize of war. They show the methods used in both World Wars to bring the British people twice within starvation. If they get into the hands of a Power planning in terms of World War III, the consequence for Britain and her Allies might be grim indeed. . . .

"One question of the greatest importance arises; suppose these documents are returned, what guarantee can be given that they, or copies of them would not be in the hands of an unfriendly power within weeks? . . .

"Today West Germany is in many senses, to be regarded as an Ally but it would be difficult to prevent much of the information finding its way into the possession of Russia. The Archives cover every aspect of Germany's capacity to wage war."

(Nowall Hall in the London Daily Telegraph)

"ALL THE NAZIS ARE STILL HERE..."



(*Translation from German*): The Departments of the Bonn government, especially the Foreign Ministry, are loaded with former officials of the Hitler regime.

All the Nazis are still here,
After hibernating.
They scheme, conspire, agitate,
They whisper, intrigue, demonstrate,
They resurrect the Fatherland
With noisy trumpets and with song.

All the Nazis are still here,
All the Nazis, all of them.
Stormtroop-leaders strut again,
Jew baiters sing their old refrain,
This is the shining Master Race
And each rascal is an ace.

Father, son and grandpapa—
Back they are, Hopplala!
Heil! Heil! Heil!

A parody on the old German song: "Alle Voegel sind schon da . . ." All the birdies have returned . . .
(Courtesy Nebelspalter, Rorschach, Switzerland)

No. 42
SUMMER ISSUE
1953

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
ociety for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985

No. 42 Summer Issue, 1953

German Realities

Our Analysis of the German Problem in Relation to Western Europe and Russia As submitted to the U. S. Senaté

IN the tense struggle against the aggressive designs of Soviet Russia, the United States, as the leader of the free world, has endeavored to create a system of alliances which will strengthen world security and democracy.

Much of American policy in Europe has rested on the assumption that Germany will become an ally in an anti-Russian coalition, as part of the defense force of the free world.

With regard to the establishment of such a coalation in Europe, Secretary of State Dulles has stated that "Germany's economic and military potential . . . is indispensable to an effective continental defense . . ." (Feb. 9, 1953). However great Germany's economic and military potential may be, it does not follow that Germany's real interests are commensurate with ours or those of our Western allies. A country no matter how strong cannot be a trustworthy and effective ally if its interests are basically opposed to the other members of the proposed alliance. The effective and enduring strength of any coalition must ultimately rest on a common heritage and a harmony of interests shared by the major participants. Allies must be reckoned in terms of reasonably certain performance—not in terms of wishful thinking.

A realistic assessment of the qualities of the proposed major ally—in this case Germany—is essential in determining whether Germany will serve the western alliance or disintegrate the cohesiveness of the West. The main purpose of this memorandum is to present a matter-of-fact appraisal of Germany from the historical, economic, political and ideological points of view.

I.

GERMANY'S NATURAL ECONOMIC TIES ARE WITH RUSSIA AND THE EAST

Our rapid rebuilding of German industry has increased the pressure for resumption of these ties. German economic and political policy today shows that it is her purpose to broaden them as soon as possible.

For decades the Germans have found the Russians to be one of their main trading partners. This is true, in spite of ideological differences which have existed through the years. German Realpolitik and economic considerations have never been inhibited by divergent ideologies. An illustration of that fact may be found in a N. Y. Times report from Germany, December 19, 1952, which disclosed that a group of leading German industrialists in the West had set up a Committee sponsored by the West German government to "activate trade with the Soviet Union and Soviet-bloc countries."

The industrialists who are at the head of this government-sponsored Committee are by no stretch of the imagination pro-communist. On the contrary, they were the key supporters of the Nazis, but just as after World War I powerful German industrialists strove to strengthen economic ties with Moscow, so do their successors of today. Just as the Weimar Republic, which was essentially anti-communist, supported the activities of the German industrialists in the 1920's to strengthen economic relations with Moscow, so today the Bonn government which is anti-communist, sponsors similar plans for closer economic ties with the East.

Illegal Trade With Russian Already Great

A Senate Sub-Committee Chaired by former Sen. Herbert

R. O'Conor reported:

(a) That during 1951 West Germany had been conducting illegal trade in strategic materials with the East, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars.

(b) That this situation was "extremely disturbing, particularly because the U. S. government has the authority and the responsibility in the occupation of Germany."

(c) That in effect, "the U. S. taxpayer is paying for this illegal trade."

(d) That "up to the time of investigation by the Subcommittee, Western Germany, an area in which the U. S. government has had authority and responsibility, was a veritable open channel for the flow of goods of strategic significance to the East."

Many West German firms were charged with selling strategic materials to the Soviet-bloc during the year 1952. The details were reported in the press (see Associated Press, April 23, 1952 and the N. Y. Times, June 4, 1952).

West German Plans for Enlarged Russian Trade Already Far Advanced

At the time when Secretary of State Acheson was flying to Germany for the signing of the contractual agreement, the Associated Press, May 6, 1952, reported that the Lower House of the West German Parliament unanimously "voted in favor of wiping out Western allied restrictions to trade with the Communist East." The Reuters News Agency on May 20, 1952 reported "West German industrialists have set up an office for West-East trade and to promote commercial relations with Russia, China and other Communist countries."

Germany's Natural Hinterland

That Germany will look toward the East, and at the same time threaten the economic wellbeing of our most reliable allies, is a foregone conclusion if we persist in the policy of building up Germany's economic power beyond her genuine peacetime requirements. The vast markets in Europe and Asia which the Kremlin can offer to Western Germany is a reality which must be reckoned with, and which will have a decisive influence on German policy.

The natural hinterland for Germany has always been the East. It therefore follows that if the Germans are given excessive economic power and capacity they will inevitably be obliged to re-establish their previous large-scale economic relations with the Eastern countries now under Soviet domination.

In this connection, the N. Y. Times, March 11th, 1953, reported that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Lower House of the West German Parliament had recommended to the West German Government that it initiate a project to re-examine Germany's overall relations with the Communist controlled countries of Europe. "The recommendation reflected the deep seated hope, nourished by German nationalists, that the day would come when the great markets of East and Southeast Europe would be re-opened to West German industry."

II.

The Theory That German Policy Is Basically "Western" Is Historically False

The assumption that Germany historically has had a predominantly Western orientation in its foreign relations, economic and political activities, does not square with the record. The consistent pro-Russian orientation of leading elements in German life is a matter of historical fact.

In this connection the State Department in its publication: "Confuse and Control" (No. 4107, April 1951) notes:

"Hitler made much of Germany's position as the defender of Europe against the barbarians from the East. But ever since Napoleon had conquered Germany and attacked Russia, there has been much in common between the upper military and social classes in Germany and in Russia. The Czar was closely related to the Kaiser. Bismarck's policy was always to cooperate with Russia. Now that Russia has a new ruling class as dictatorial as the old aristocracy, some of the old feeling of kinship is still to be found among extreme conservatives from Germany from the Junkers to the ex-Nazis . . .

"There is some feeling among the aristocrats that they might make terms with the Soviet aristocracy because of their experience and ability, and might become indispensable and powerful members of the Soviet ruling class."

The Consistency of the Eastern Orientation

As a matter of fact, the political and ideological concept that Germany must ally with the East against the West is a very old and deeply rooted tradition in Germany's foreign policy. It was an important factor in Frederick the Great's diplomatic schemes 200 years ago, which resulted in a Russo-Prussian alliance on the basis of a partitioned Poland. This pro-Russian policy was strengthened under Bismarck. Following the establishment of the Weimar Republic after World War I, the Rapallo Treaty of 1922 was signed between Germany and Soviet Russia. This treaty aimed at the secret rearming of Germany in violation of the Versailles Treaty and the establishment of a common front against the West. In spite of Hitler's avowed enmity and opposition to Soviet Communism, the Nazi government joined hands with the Kremlin in 1939.

It should be noted that the pro-Russian orientation of Germany which manifested itself during decisive moments of history was never forsaken despite the type of government ruling the Germans, i.e. monarchy, democracy or dictatorship. Thus, on the basis of the historical record, Germany cannot qualify as the indispensable bulwark against Russian expansionism.

Soviet Russia's Postwar Policy Supports a Rearmed and Heavily Industrialized United Germany

Russia's policy in the postwar period has been carefully designed toward strengthening the powerful pro-Eastern forces within Germany. However, the Soviets have never pursued fixed tactics in their general attempt to establish a common front between Germany and Russia.

The impression that the Russians would always insist on a weak Germany which, presumably, would create a climate for the growth of Communist influence, is contradicted by the repeated pronouncements of Stalin and Molotov advocating a united, rearmed, and heavily industrialized Germany.

Ideological considerations have always been secondary in Russia's policy toward Germany. Actually the Russians advocated a powerful and rearmed Germany regardless of political coloration, because such a Germany would provide the Russians with greater possibilities.

III.

PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY, AND GERMAN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY SHOW THAT SHE IS TODAY A MUCH MORE LOGICAL ALLY OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM THAN OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY

Extreme Nationalism and Adherence to Authoritarian Concepts Are Controlling Factors in German Public Opinion

The basic ideological concepts which have motivated Germany's aggressive actions in the past are a force which must be reckoned with in present-day Germany. For example, the State Department Bulletin referred to above, in discussing the business world of Germany notes that there still "remains the old habit of authoritarian control, which has more affinity for Eastern than for Western forms of government . . .

"The tradition of dictatorial power is common among older business and industrial leaders in Germany, as it is among the upper social, military and political parties. Former U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy in his Quarterly Report of October-December 1951 notes:

"Unhappily, most of the established political parties have also been stocking the merchandise of nationalism. Individuals or circles, and in a few cases, even the controlling elements of an entire State political organization, have expressed highly nationalistic sentiments . . . even some Federal ministers have not been above such actions. . . . The use of the extreme nationalist narcotic creates the need for larger doses; whereas the users must ultimately find that they cannot subsist on talk alone, they must resort to some action to avoid decline. The consequences of such a course, if long continued, must be general disaster."

Congressional Study Commission Finds Lack of Democratic Orientation

A report by a Special Study Mission of the House Committee of Foreign Affairs (February 1952) observed:

"In the light of the situation which has been summarized above and in view of the additional factors which will be enumerated, the Sub-committee cannot escape the conclusion that the people of Western Germany are not yet qualified to graduate from the course in democracy which has been offered to them during the occupation. It is the considered judgment of responsible U. S. officials, based on public opinion polls and other sources of information that too many of the German people today believe that Nazism contained more that was good than was bad."

The views of this Committee were further confirmed by a report on German public opinion issued by the Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, in which it was stated:

"The majority of the German people cannot be counted on to resist the efforts of any Nazi-Type group to return to power." (New York Times, Jan. 18, 1953)

An example of the extreme nationalism pervading all walks of life in Germany, is the utterance of Jacob Kaiser, Minister of All German Affairs in the Adenauer cabinet: "No real Europe can be formed unless the German bloc is reconstituted. I remind you that this bloc includes in addition to Germany, Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar, of course, and Alsace-Lorraine. When I think of the Strasbourg Cathedral, my heart hurts."

Extreme Nationalism Encourages Anti-American and Anti-Allied Attitudes

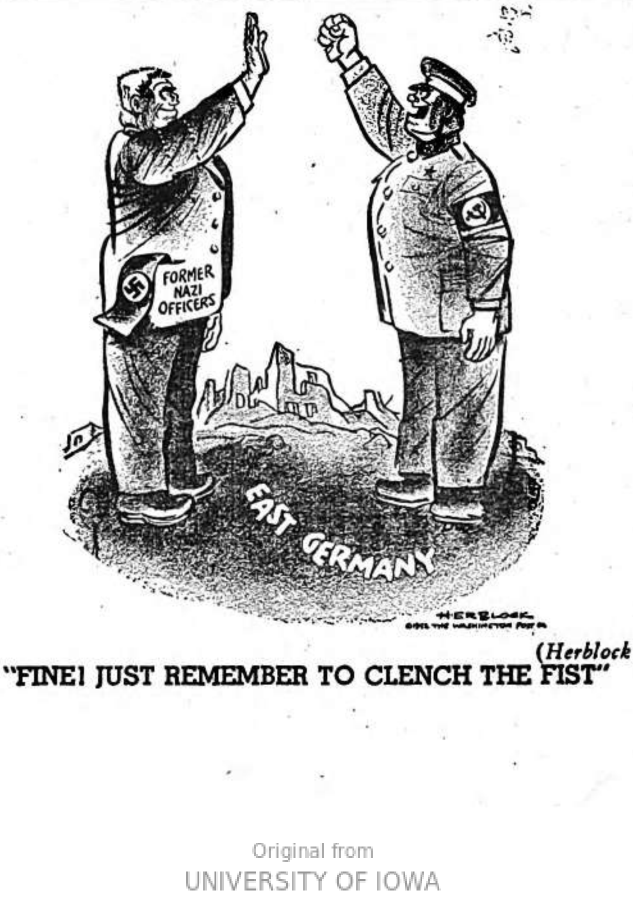
The resurgence of aggressive nationalism is a potent force in the planning and in the thinking of the Germans. For example, it manifests itself in a growing barrage of anti-American and anti-Allied criticism and villification. It has been particularly marked by the growing crescendo of demands for the freedom of the war criminals.

This campaign has the support of the German government. Indeed, the Germans have now gone so far as to accuse the allies of committing the real war crimes. For example, at a recent gathering of the notorious SS Troopers, a convicted war criminal, General Ramcke, accused the Allies of committing the real crimes. His abusive language was warmly applauded by the audience amidst the shouts of "schweinehund Eisenhower" (Pig-dog Eisenhower).

More recently, a German court reversed the judgment of the international war crimes tribunal which had sentenced to death Hitler's chief of staff, General Jodl. The German court exonerated the war criminal Jodl and prohibited the confiscation of his properties as dictated by the original verdict. The N. Y. Times of March 5, 1953 noted that this action "leads the way for other German courts to whitewash Nazis condemned by the Allies."

Results of the Resurgence of German Nationalism

It is now a matter of fact that the very forces which were the backbone of Germany's aggressive ambitions, of which Nazism itself was but one manifestation, are back in positions of power. The leading members of the present Bonn Foreign Office are over-whelmingly former Nazis and/or Ribbentrop diplomats (about 85%—according to press reports). Chancellor Adenauer, who acts as his own Foreign Minister for West Germany, and is therefore directly responsible for this state of affairs, has publicly supported the use of these Nazi diplomats, declaring that they possessed "advantages" that other officials did not have. (N. Y. Times, Oct. 23, 1952.) In this connection, it should be pointed out that it was these very same diplomats under Von Ribbentrop who served the



(*Herblock*)

"FINE! JUST REMEMBER TO CLENCH THE FIST" conspiracy leading to the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939.

In his Fifth Quarterly Report on Germany, October-December 1950, former U. S. High Commissioner McCloy made the following comment:

"Critics of the denazification program also point to the presence of former Nazis in important positions and in the public service generally. It is true that there are many former Nazis in public positions. Many are school teachers, mail carriers, policemen. Some few occupy higher positions, even in the state and Federal governments. Many business men holding important posts were once members of the Nazi party. Millions of former Nazis are re-employed, most of them in their former vocations . . ."

IV.

WEST GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY AND DOMESTIC POLITICS ALIKE SHOW PURPOSE TO BUILD UP INDEPENDENT CENTRAL EUROPEAN BLOC—NOT TO BECOME PART OF FREE WORLD ALLIANCE

The aim of German political planning has always been to establish Germany as the dominant power of Europe. Under present conditions this objective has taken the form of a concerted effort to build up a third power bloc in Europe under German hegemony, which at the appropriate time would break away from the U. S. and make common cause with Moscow.

Germany's Leading Geo-Politicians Have Prepared the Secret "Third Power Bloc" Plan

The details of this plan will be found in a secret directive issued by the chief German Geo-Political Center in Madrid. The full text may be found in the recently published book "Germany Plots With The Kremlin," by an outstanding expert on German geo-politics, T. H. Tetens.

The *Madrid directive* calls for the following tactical actions:

(1) To avoid any hard and fast commitments by Germany on cooperation with the West, so as to remain free to come to terms with Soviet Russia.

(2) To *build up anti-American sentiment in all Western European countries.*

(3) To *extract as many concessions and dollars from the U. S. A. as possible.*

(4) To *obtain all the advantages of contractual agreement and the other treaties with the West, without making significant reciprocal contributions.*

(5) To *establish a Third Power Bloc in Western Europe under German domination.*

(6) To *prevent this "third force" from becoming involved in any conflict between Soviet Russia and the U. S. A., that is, to break up NATO.*

(7) To *employ the strategic position of the Third Power Bloc for purposes of striking a bargain with Soviet Russia and thereby isolating the U. S. A.*

The Madrid Geo-Political Center has been issuing secret directives of the type outlined above regularly. In this connection, a comparison of the Madrid directive with the statements made by leading German newspapers and politicians will show that this plan forms the basis of the present strategy of German leadership.

Significant Statements on the Need to Establish a Third Power Bloc

The leading geo-political paper of West Germany, "Christ und Welt," which according to Mr. John J. McCloy is an Adenauer newspaper, stated:

"Continental Europe would break away from the Atlantic Pact if the Soviets agree to withdraw their forces behind the Prippet Marshes and release not only the Eastern zone of Germany, but the whole of Eastern Europe into the European Union. A Western Europe standing on its own feet and possessing its own powerful army . . . could afford to carry out such an independent policy, because it would have the strength of a third power." (Dec. 27, 1951)

Dr. Adenauer himself alluded to the same idea in a more diplomatic terminology. On May 20, 1950, he stated:

". . . A federated Europe will become a third force in the world, not as strong as Russia or the U. S., but powerful enough to intervene successfully—in a decisive moment—to safeguard the peace . . . Germany has again become a factor with whom others will have to reckon in international affairs."

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (March 15, 1952), which is the mouthpiece of the Bonn Foreign Office and also represents the thinking of leading industrial circles wrote:

"What can Russia win if she plays her trump card? . . . In order to jump out of her present isolation she can, exactly as the Rapallo Treaty did 30 *years ago, place Germany as a protecting buffer between East and West. From the politico-economic point of view, she should repeat the old game for world power position by concluding long-term agreements with German industry and by reviving her trade with Germany. Thus, Russia might re-open the door to the world market."*

Note: These are but sample quotations, the type of which can be found in all leading newspapers and publications in Germany, and also in the German language press in North and South America.

DANGEROUS VARIATION

". . . Strictly speaking, a revival of National Socialism in the specific and particular form which Hitler created seems unlikely.

"Meantime a dangerous variation has emerged. Its principal supporters are men who distrust what they lump as 'European parliamentary procedures' . . .

"These men are 'Nationalist' as opposed to 'internationalist.' They are essentially 'anti-western,' and they resent the ties and restrictions which co-operation involves.

"Many of them, like Naumann himself, reject the anti-Semitism of Hitler's heyday as 'outmoded' and no longer effective . . .

"They would shudder and probably sue at a suggestion that they are 'Communists,' but most of them nurse the idea that a 'deal' might be made with the Soviet Union. History is on their side, for they twice already have concluded such arrangements, at Rapallo in 1922, and in Moscow in 1939 . . ."

(By David M. Nichol in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2-18-53)

The Danger of a German Dominated Western Europe

In view of this over-all plan of the Germans to establish a third power bloc, their formal acceptance of integration with Western Europe would merely serve as a method by which they could achieve domination, which, in turn, is the principal pre-condition for striking a bargain with Russia at the expense of the U. S. The danger of Germany dominating Western Europe was reported by Mr. James Reston in the N. Y. Times, April 26, 1950: "It is now recognized in official quarters that the potential economic and military power of Western Germany is so great that it is likely to dominate any purely Western European economic or military organization. . . ."

The creation of a Third Power Bloc under German domination would in itself be a disaster to the American policy of trying to construct a united Europe as a defense against Communism.

The fact that such a German dominated Bloc would have a probable orientation toward the East, would be an additional disaster.

The more rapidly we rebuild German heavy industry and permit her rearmament, the more probable become both of these dangerous results.

V.

THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT DOES NOT FURNISH EVEN A PAPER GUARANTEE THAT A UNIFIED GERMANY WILL BECOME OR REMAIN A PART OF THE WESTERN BLOC

In discussing a unified Germany's relationship to the agreements, Mr. McCloy told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Germans "agree that a unified Germany shall enjoy the rights and *be bound by the obligations* conferred and imposed upon by the Federal Republic by the new agreements and treaties contributing to the creation of an integrated European community." (Our italics.) (Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate, June 11, 1952, Page 73.)

A Unified Germany Is Not Bound to the Obligations of the Contractual Agreement, According to Chancellor Adenauer

The New York Times, May 14, 1952, reported that Chancellor Adenauer's coalition government had adopted reservations to the agreements, stressing that "the freedom of a future government of a unified Germany to negotiate, must not be too closely restricted by linking such a government with the present treaty system integrating West Germany and Western Europe as the Allies wish to do." This reservation had a decisive effect on the formulation of Article 7 of the final agreement which reads:

"In the event of the unification of Germany the three powers will subject to such adjustments as may be agreed, extend to a unified Germany the rights which the Federal Republic has under the present convention and the related conventions, and will for their part agree that the rights under the treaties for the formation of an integrated European community should be similarly extended upon assumption by such a unified Germany of the obligations of the Federal Republic toward the three powers or to any of them under those conventions and treaties."

The meaning of Article 7 was discussed by Chancellor Adenauer in an interview with a German newspaperman on the Northwest German radio, May 28, 1952. When asked by this German journalist if Article 7 contains a clause that would automatically commit a future unified Germany to join the Alliance with the West, the Chancellor replied:

> "The final text of Article 7 says that a re-united Germany *can* claim the rights under the conventions *if it agrees* to submit to the duties." (Our italics.)

Thus Chancellor Adenauer's view of Article 7 clearly contradicts that of Mr. McCloy who told the Senate that a unified Germany is to be "bound" by the Agreements.

Further clarification of Germany's attitude toward her obligation to the Treaties was given by Chancellor Adenauer's coalition government which presented a resolution to be approved by Parliament that "the treaties were provisional and in force only until Germany had been re-united." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 5, 1952.)

It is therefore clear that the contractual agreement cannot satisfy the interests and ambitions of a united Germany, nor does this agreement contain any guarantees against its unilateral repudiation by the government of a united Germany.

VI.

PRESENT GERMAN PLANS SHOW NO INTENTION TOWARDS CONTRIBUTING TO THE COMMON DEFENSE

In fact, the Bonn budget calls for a tax reduction and decreased expenditures in defense activities next year (1953-54).

West Germany's Minister of Finance Proposes Tax Reduction

An accurate gauge of Germany's real attitude toward cooperation in the common defense of Western Europe is the German budget. While other countries of Western Europe have been heavily taxing their peoples to raise the sums necessary for defense, the Germans are determined to reduce taxes in the 1953-1954 budget. Dr. Fritz Schaefer, Minister of Finance, announced that the German budget would provide for a 15% flat reduction in income taxes and a reduction of the corporate taxes from 60 to 40%. The N. Y. Times (Dec. 2, 1952 and Jan. 28, 1953) reported that the 1953-54 defense budget for Germany would be 9 billion D.M. or 2 billion 143 million dollars. This would amount to a reduction of 1 billion 200 million D.M. from the defense budget of 1952-53 if it is assumed, in accordance with the Contractual Agreement, that Germany has been contributing 850 million D.M. (Occupation and defense costs) on a 12 month basis starting April 1, 1952.

In contrast to the German attitude toward defense contribution, the French defense budget for 1953-54 is approximately 4 billion dollars, which places a per capita burden of $100. For the Germans the per capita defense contribution would roughly amount to about $50.00.

Germany Expects the U. S. A. to Foot the Bill

That the Germans are looking to the U. S. to underwrite the greater portion of the costs for the arming of 12 German divisions (approximately 10 billion dollars) is confirmed by Chancellor Adenauer himself (Associated Press, Dec. 6, 1952) (U. S. News & World Report, Dec. 26, 1952), notwithstanding the fact that West Germany today is once *again the most powerful industrial nation* in Western Europe.

West Germany Is Now Foremost Industrial Power in Western Europe

The N. Y. Times, Dec. 21, 1952 noted: "the production index which stood at 138 last July rose to 167 in November 1952, a postwar high and a remarkable increase in so short a time." The U. S. News & World Report, Feb. 29, 1952 reported: "West Germany has a larger civilian industrial plant now than it did before the war. Industrial production has trebled in a little over 3 years."

An indication of Germany's power may be seen from the fact that West Germany "increased its 1952 production of steel by 17% over that of 1951, producing 17.4 million tons." (Wall St. Journal, Feb. 10, 1953.)

A special report, November 1952, by the Committee for Economic Development on the economic situation in Western Europe, declared: "Germany's stock of machine tools at the end of the war was above the pre-war level and actually as great as that of the U. S." In connection with the 1952-1953 budget, the Report declares that 40% of it is devoted to social welfare costs and "Germany has benefited from the absence of fixed interest charges since the public debt was wiped out."

Germany's export trade has reached approximately the 4 billion dollar mark, far above pre-war levels. She has again become a first-class exporting nation, rivalling Great Britain and the U. S. In view of these basic economic facts, it cannot be said that Germany does not have the economic power to make a contribution to the common defense of Western Europe.

Germany Stands Pat

It is not the lack of power but the lack of will which explains why the Germans are refusing to sacrifice as the other powers of Western Europe. The German attitude can only be explained in terms of Germany's real interests and ambitions which are diametrically opposed to sincere cooperation with the West.

Conclusion

Qualities which are requisite for a nation to play a major role as an ally of the U. S. are therefore completely lacking so far as Germany is concerned.

(a) It has been stated that a remilitarized Germany as part of a European defense force would strengthen the West against Soviet aggression. However, in the light of facts mentioned above, it is clear that German armed forces will only be employed by any German government for the aggrandizement of German power. To accomplish this aim, the Germans would not hesitate to drag the West into a war for their special interests, or to establish close ties with the Russians at the expense of Western security.

(b) It has been assumed that the solidarity of Western Europe would be strengthened by the inclusion of Western Germany. However, since this policy was announced and efforts made to implement it, there has been growing disunity in Western Europe. In short, this policy, rather than strengthening Western unity against Soviet totalitarianism, is creating the opposite result. The attempt to enforce this policy creates still deeper fears and suspicions among the peoples of Western Europe who live closer to the Germans, who have suffered at the hands of the Nazis and the German cartelists, and who are well aware of the fact that the Germans will settle for nothing less than complete mastery of Europe.

(c) It is also a fact that this policy strengthens the Soviet's grip over her Eastern satellites, whose peoples dread the resurgence of the German power which devastated their lands.

(d) It is therefore clear that if the U. S. is to avoid a breakdown of Western European unity against Soviet totalitarianism which would pave the way for the emergence of a Soviet-German bloc confronting the U. S. with overwhelming power, *a thorough re-examination of our policies in Germany should be undertaken immediately, as one of the most urgent problems involved in our planning for defense against Communist aggression.*

"Germany and Russia have always been able to come to agreement in crises in the past. There is no reason to think they would find it impossible to do so now.

"Frederick the Great agreed with Russia on the partition of Poland. Bismarck came to terms with Russia, thus setting himself free to attack France. In our own times Germany and Russia negotiated the Rapallo Pact and Hitler and Stalin their notorious non-aggression pact. In both countries there exists a strong tradition for an alliance of the East to overwhelm the West.

"This is a propitious moment, when Adenauer is making his first bid for dominance of Western Europe, and we are not yet fully committed to German rearmament, to re-examine our policy toward Germany to the end that Germany shall be subordinated to Europe and not Europe to it."

(Frank Kingdon, The New York Post, 2-24-53)

DOES THE BELL TOLL?

"Does the news from Germany cause a bell to toll in your memory?

"Do you remember when a German Chancellor named Bruening and a Foreign Minister named Stresemann were running a policy of co-operation with the West against Communism and claiming equality of armaments?

"Then suddenly we woke up and found that instead of a safe German watchdog on Russia we had a revenging tiger called Hitler who preferred to eat up the West before he turned on Russia.

"There is increasing evidence from Germany that the pattern is repeating itself. The new Nazis who have been arrested by the British, the American poll showing nearly half the Germans hankering after Hitlerism, are a warning that this dangerous nation is not yet fit to be trusted . . ."

(Reynolds News 1-25-53)

Editorials

THE GERMAN BUDGET

Much has been written and said about Germany's sincere determination to make a concrete contribution toward the defense of Western Europe. On the basis of the facts which have come to our attention, we cannot share this optimism. We still adhere to the old adage that in the last analysis deeds count more than words. It is in this connection that we can think of no more accurate gauge of Germany's true intentions than the budget which the German Finance Minister, Fritz Schaeffer, announced for the fiscal year 1953-54. Here we find in concrete terms what the Germans really propose to do and not to do in the way of "sacrificing" for the common good of Western Europe.

An obscure dispatch from Germany, December 1, 1952 (Associated Press) reported that the German Finance Minister had increased the total budget for the fiscal year 1953-54 while reducing defense costs to nine billion marks (approximatey 2.1 billion dollars). It was further reported that this reduction in defense expenditures would represent an average of approximately "100 million marks a month less than the 850 million marks being spent monthly in Germany in accordance with the agreement made by the North Atlantic Council . . ." In other words, the German Finance Minister proposed to reduce Germany's European defense contribution by 1 billion, 200,000 marks (approximately 300 million dollars), over a 12 months period.

As far as we know, Herr Schaeffer's announcement caused no stir in Allied circles. However, when Herr Schaeffer on January 28, 1953, told the Bundestag that the Federal government was determined to cut drastically its European defense contribution, the Allies expressed alarm and denounced Herr Schaeffer's unilateral interpretation of Germany's obligations. According to the New York Times (February 15, 1953) the Allied High Commission informed the Bonn government that Schaeffer's proposition was "likely to prejudice future negotiations on West German contributions to the European defense community."

One would expect therefore that the Allies would stand fast, but lo and behold, when the "show-down" came between Allied negotiators and the German Finance Minister, the Times of April 13, 1953, reported: "Bonn wins ceiling on defense costs." Several weeks late, April 26, 1953, the Times reported: "Bonn wins bargain on funds for Nato . . ." "Cuts its share on the defense treaty as well on interim costs of occupation force."

The substance of the agreements made in April of this year amount to nothing less than an approval of Herr Schaeffer's original reduction of Germany's defense contribution. In other words, about 1 billion, 200 million marks have been sliced off Germany's defense budget for the fiscal year 1953-54. Thus, while the defense budgets of our allies have been increasing year after year, the Germans who are being primed for a key role are actually reducing their defense expenditures. For example, the French defense budget for the year 1953 is about 4 billion dollars which places a burden of about $100 on each Frenchman. On the other hand, the German defense budget will cost every German roughly $50, which means that the French are carrying a per capita burden which is about 100 per cent greater than that of the Germans.

But this is not the whole story. While other countries in Western Europe have been increasing the tax load on their citizens, Finance Minister Schaeffer stated that his budget would provide a 15 per cent flat reduction in income taxes and a reduction in corporate taxes from 60 to 40 per cent. In addition to these cuts we find that the German budget makes ample provision for so-called welfare services. The monthly revue of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (January 1953) reported: ". . . a recent survey revealed that one out of every four Germans is currently receiving a pension on social security payments. Of the Federal budget of 5.5 billion dollars for the current fiscal year ending March 31, 1953, about 40 per cent is earmarked for 'welfare' purposes . . ." The new budget continues to allocate about the same percentage for welfare purposes. Indeed, the New York Times mentions that the latest savings on the defense budget "will be used to increase the salaries of civil servants and for social security disbursements." All of this can better be appreciated in the light of the fact that Germany "has benefited from the absence of fixed interest charges since the public debt was wiped out and the occupation cost has not been as heavy as rearmament expenditures in other countries." ("The Economic Situation in Western Europe"—a report by The Committee for Economic Development, Nov. 1952.)

Needless to say, the Germans have been pleading "poverty" as justification for their attempts to steer clear of any significant contribution to European defense. But no matter how hard they try to pretend that they are broke, the fact of the matter is that in the short space of 8 years the Germans have again become the foremost industrial nation in Western Europe.

As early as February 29, 1952, the U. S. News & World Report stated: "Western Germany has a larger civilian industrial plant now than it did before the war. Industrial production has trebled in a little more than 3 years." By the end of 1952 the New York Times reported: "The production index which stood at 138 last July, rose to 167 in November 1952, a post-war high and a remarkable increase in so short a time." The Committee for Economic Development in its report of November 1952 discloses that "Germany's stock of machine tools at the end of the war was above pre-war level and actually as great as that of the U. S." In February 1953 the Wall Street Journal reported that West Germany "increased its 1952 production of steel by 17 per cent over that of 1951, producing 17.4 million tons." Not only has German production been soaring above pre-war levels but the same holds true for German exports so that now Germany has once again become a dangerous competitor of the Allied powers, including the United States.

The success achieved in trade can be appreciated by the fact that by December 15, 1952, Germany had increased her gold and dollar reserves to 612 million dollars. It should also be pointed out that the Germans receive approximately 200 million dollars a year through the expenditures of U. S. personnel and direct army appropriations in Germany. This of course does not include other expenditures made by the U. S., including those by the Mutual Security Administration.

Finally, Germany's plea of poverty should be considered in the light of the fact that she is investing in her heavy industries at a greater rate than that of any other country in Western Europe. The rate of capital investment is presently around 23 per cent of the national income.

The facts cited above show no poverty, much as the Germans would like us to believe that they are flat on their backs. Lack of resources and industry does not explain why the Germans cut their defense appropriations. It is not power that is lacking but will to sincerely cooperate. The Germans did not hesitate to sacrifice for "der schoene Adolf." Nothing was spared to build up the Nazi Armies for their "Herrenfolk Mission." But when the Germans are supposed to work in the interests of democracy's defense, well, that's another story. The German attitude can only be explained in terms of Germany's real interests and ambitions which contrary to the wishful thinking of many of our statesmen, are diametrically opposed to sincere and long-term cooperation with the West.

This does not mean, of course, that the Germans are not willing to set up an army (which they intend to control anyway). But their answer to the alleged necessity for such an army is simply this: "Uncle Sam must pay the bill." Chancellor Adenauer told the Bonn Parliament that he expected 10 billion dollars from the U. S. for the arming of 12 German divisions. (Associated Press, Dec. 6, 1952.) His Defense Minister, Theodore Blank, supported the Chancellor's position in a statement reported by the New York Daily News—April 17, 1953. Blank even went further. According to the News report, the Defense Minister set the cost of rearming over a period of ten years "at 50 billion dollars and indicated the U. S. was expected to pay the check." This is the way our German "friends" propose to "cooperate" with Uncle Sam.

TWELVE DIVISIONS — A BULWARK?

We do not know whether all of the problems associated with the rearming of Germany have been carefully thought through. Though we may run the risk of earning the unflattering reputation of "armchair generals," we intend to examine some aspects of this question which certainly deserve clarification.

Ever since the Western Allies publicly agreed to support the rearming of Germany, U. S. officials have emphasized the importance of this project as a means of thwarting the aggressive designs of Russia. We have been told time and again that German rearmament would so strengthen the defenses of Western Europe that the Communist armies would think twice before daring to invade the West. Secretary of State Dulles made this clear when he said that Germany's military potential "is indispensable to an effective continental defense" (February 9, 1953).

The role of a rearmed Germany in such a defense system was discussed in more detail by Field Marshal Montgomery (U. S. News & World Report, April 10, 1953). The Field Marshal told his interviewers that a German army would stand "in the middle of the shield" (the shield being the European defense organization). He said that unless there was such a German army, the shield would have "a great blank in it." Then he declared that Western Europe cannot be defended without German rearmament. "It's essential. It's essential," he exclaimed.

It is not only the German army which is deemed to be the keystone of the European Defense System but its economic war potential is considered to be vital in the general build-up of armaments. In this connection the Wall Street Journal (April 16, 1953) quoted a high State Department official as stating that the failure of West Germany to fully participate in the rearmament program is "the greatest waste of industrial capacity in Europe."

Unquestionably, the ideas expressed above and the assumptions upon which they are based deserve careful consideration in view of the fact that they reflect the reasoning of some of our leading authorities on German rearmament. That a remilitarized Germany possessing a first class war potential will ipso facto become a reliable ally of the West in the event of a showdown with the Soviets is pure assumption. On the other hand, we do know that West German industrialists have been reluctant to recreate an arms industry in the Ruhr, finding it more profitable to regain their former market throughout the world, including those within the Soviet orbit. The New York Times (May 18, 1953) reported that the Bonn Government has established direct official contacts with the Soviet Union with the intention of resuming trade relations for the first time in 12 years. We know that there has been unofficial trade relations between Germany and the Soviet block where the Germans have been shipping hundreds of millions of dollars of strategic materials to the East. Now trade relations are established on an official basis. Students of international politics know that trade relations always provide the prerequisites for the establishment of political ties.

That West Germany under present conditions should devote a major portion of its energies towards the development of war industries has not been enthusiastically received by West German industrialists. Besides believing that more profits are to be made in trade with the Communist bloc, the Ruhr industrialists believe that an extensive arms industry in the Ruhr would present great dangers because it would be *"too close to the Russian armies for the Ruhr is only a little more than* 100 *miles from the Soviet zone border."* (New York Times, September 12, 1950.)

Chancellor Adenauer has also been explicit on that point. The Times of May 6, 1950, reported the Chancellor as stating that *"unless it is possible to restrain and confine the Russians, all industrial installations in the Ruhr . . . would be destroyed by war."* He returned to the same theme two years later when he told reporters *"our position is too exposed to an attack by the Russians and nothing attracts heavy bombers more than having an arms industry."* (Associated Press, January 24, 1952.)

The contrast between the views expressed by German industrialists and Herr Adenauer and those by Allied authorities are too glaring to be ignored for our own safety. The implications of the strategy outlined by Field Marshal Montgomery which contemplates that West Germany stand in the center of the shield to absorb the first blows of a Red Army invasion, will not find favor, to say the least, among German leaders, for such a strategy involves the turning of Germany herself into the major battleground where the East German puppet army and the West German army would meet in head-on collision.

Does the Field Marshal really believe that the Germans would consent to such a role? As a matter of fact, as early as 1949 the President of the West German Government, Theodor Heuss, told newsmen, *"Frankly, I cannot see the people's police waging a Socialist Unity Party crusade to conquer and subdue democratic West Germany, just as I cannot see the West fighting the men from the Soviet Zone. This would not be the German way of handling internal political matters."* The implication in President Heuss' remark is clear. It is, of course, a direct challenge to the concept of the European Defense Community strategy outlined by Field Marshal Montgomery. We have no doubt that the militarists of West Germany have no intentions of permitting German manpower to act as a shock absorber. They have other plans. Chancellor Adenauer himself on December 13, 1950, publicly declared, *"Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European Army is to be able to recover our Eastern territories."* There is nothing of a defensive military posture in the Chancellor's remarks.

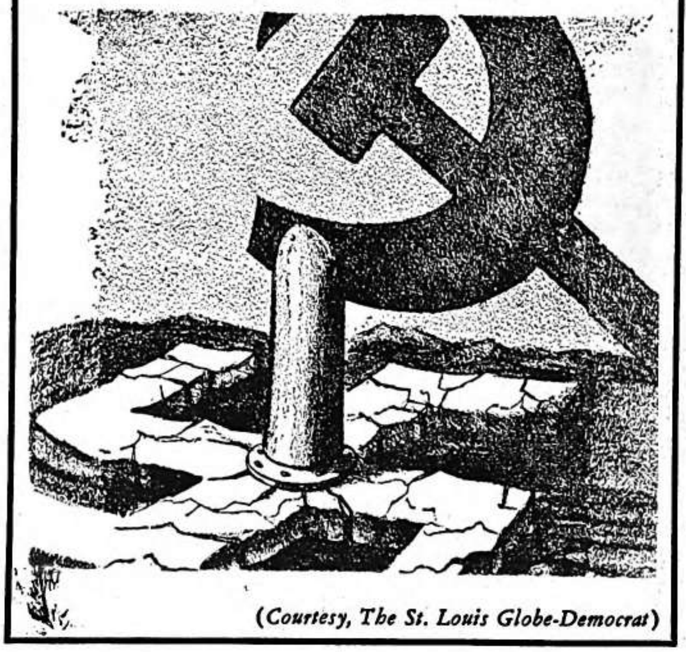
Much has been said about the great value of the 12 German divisions in bolstering the strength of the European army. Yet Chancellor Adenauer made the following comment at a news conference in Germany March 10, 1953: "What could we do with our 12 divisions in the European Army—and perhaps another 12 reserve divisions—against mighty Soviet Rossia?" Apparently the Chancellor was not at all convinced that 12 divisions would be sufficient to stop the Red Army. Thus, if the Germans reject the strategy of Field Marshal Montgomery which unavoidably would turn Germany into a battlefield and if Chancellor Adenauer himself questions the effectiveness of 12 German divisions in the event of a Russian aggression, what then becomes of the thesis that German rearmament is indispensable to the defense of Western Europe?

Of course, Chancellor Adenauer tried to give an opposite impression when he recently visited the United States. On that occasion he told American audiences what they wanted to hear. This is in line with his shrewd diplomacy which has enabled him to obtain concession after concession from the Allies and billions from U. S. taxpayers.

Since the Russians have not retreated from their present positions in Germany it is clear that a huge arms industry in the Ruhr would be exposed to the Russian airfleet, and in view of this fact—how would the Ruhr fare in the event of war? Would it be pulverized by Russian bombers or captured by the Red Army (perhaps even with the connivance of the Germans) and its weapons hurled against us?

In the 1920s American taxpayers poured billions into Germany only to find that these funds were converted

"ON AN OLD FOUNDATION"



(Courtesy, The St. Louis Globe-Democrat)

into a huge military potential which threatened our survival as a free nation. Should American taxpayers be called upon again to underwrite such a poor risk with additional billions?

There is another important consideration which seems to be always overlooked in regard to the recreation of a German army. We refer to the effect of such an army on the morale of the people of Western Europe. The truth is that the very unity of the Western coalition which is supposed to be buttressed and cemented by the German defense contribution, is actually in danger of disintegration because of the rising spectre of German rearmament. The Russians are fully aware of this fact. Thus, Walter Millis in speculating on how a Russian strategist would appraise the strength of Western coalition writes:

"If he were wise, I think he would arrive at his answer by applying an x-factor, in which x would equal the degree of general unanimity and resolution which this extraordinary Western coalition presented. I do not think he would care too much whether there were or were not twelve additional German divisions in the line-up. If he had any sense, he would know that in a real war all the cumbersomeness of the existing NATO command would be tossed into the discard in the first hours. A Western coalition, substantially organized and agreed, would be stronger without twelve German divisions than a Western coalition would be which had the German divisions but was so riven by internal stresses that it could not unite when the chips were down. The German divisions are important. But they are not all-important." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, March 23, 1953.)

In our opinion the bulwark against aggressive Communism must be the United States and its trusted friends in Western Europe and not a people who "at the decisive moment" might make common cause with our enemies and whose resurgent power can only inflict grave damage to the cause of Western unity at a crucial moment in history.

". . . There are many who think that the Germans may seek to recover the lost territories by maneuvering the Western Powers into an armed anti-communist crusade. It is this which has led some people to fear that if Western Germany were to be allowed into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization she would turn it from a defense into an aggressive alliance . . .

"It is far more likely that German thinking will turn to the possibilities of re-uniting their country through a deal with the Soviet Union. Such a development, it is true, could hardly occur in the near future . . . But with the growth of German military and economic strength the situation might change, especially if war in Europe were to become more imminent. In such circumstances, the Soviet Union would have a compelling motive for detaching Western Germany from the Western alliance even at the cost of very great sacrifice. On the German side, therefore, the possibility would open up of obtaining their objective at the expense of Poland by remaining neutral—a far more attractive proposition for them than entering a war between east and west.

"Should such a situation arise, it is difficult to believe that any purely constitutional provisions, integrating the Germans into a Western European Community, would be strong enough to bind them effectively in the face of so great a temptation. Nor is it easy to envisage any sanctions, military or economic, which the west could effectively take in such a case, without precipitating the very war which all schemes for European unity are designed to prevent . . ."

(Rt. Hon. Kenneth Younger, M.P., in "THE GERMAN PROBLEM")

". . . Without France the security of the Atlantic Community cannot be organized. There is, therefore, no substitute for France, leaving aside the great imponderables, in the military constitution of Western civilization.

"It is sheer silliness and geographical illiteracy to talk about 'substituting' Germany, for France lies between Germany and the United States and the high roads to Germany must cross France. There is no possible way in which the United States could make an effective military alliance with Germany unless France not only consented but collaborated . . ."

(Walter Lippmann in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch 3-20-53)

"Former high officers of Hitler's Waffen SS or Elite Guard, pledged strong support for the European Defense Community treaty and demanded the right to serve in the contingents that the West German Federal Republic would contribute.

". . . General Steiner was reported to have said in private that the Bonn Federal Government was giving serious consideration to a proposal to permit the Elite Guard veterans to serve in the German contingents that would be called up after the European Defense Community would have become effective.

"Unofficial data give about 200,000 Elite Guard living in West Germany and available for military service.

"Former General Herbert Gille told the meeting at Alzey he regretted that these veterans were being discriminated against as potential members of the future European Defense Community forces. General Gille claimed that the concept of a United Europe was first born at the ranks of the Waffen SS. . . ."

(N. Y. Times, 6-22-53)

CARTEL SHADOWS OVER THE SCHUMAN PLAN

When the Schuman Plan was announced, it was generally regarded as a hopeful sign in the efforts of Western statesmen to improve relations among the nations of Western Europe through economic integration.

The Plan was enthusiastically received by the American people who were told that its realization would eliminate cartel and other restrictive practices among the participating nations and thereby strengthen the competitive ability of West European industries in the markets of the world.

We also hailed the stated objectives of the Schuman Plan. However, we declared that their attainment required relative equal economic status among at least the major participants and that no single nation should be permitted to utilize its membership for ulterior motives. We were particularly concerned lest a strong and powerful Germany take unfair advantage of her neighbors and dominate the pool. Moreover, we cautioned against the possibility of the Schuman Plan developing into a supercartel under the guise of promoting free enterprise.

There were other voices in the U. S. who also cautioned against the potential dangers which could arise if the participating nations were tempted to turn the clock back by setting up cartel arrangements which would dwarf the old steel cartel dominated by Germany in the 1920's. For example, the prominent American industrialist, Clarence B. Randall, President of the Inland Steel Corporation, speaking before the National Industrial Conference Board on November 16, 1950, expressed fears that the Schuman Plan might be turned into "the most pernicious cartel the world had ever seen . . ." Mr. Randall observed that *"European business men have the cartel way of life. They are government control minded by tradition. They are restrictive—convenient-minded by habit and they are writing their impression on the Schuman Plan . . ."*

On June 26, 1950, the Sub-Committee on the European Recovery Program of the National Association of Manufacturers issued a statement which also expressed concern over the danger of the Schuman Plan turning into a gigantic monopoly. The well-known columnist, David Lawrence, writing in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, June 8, 1950, took even a more catgorical stand on the Schuman Plan. He stated that in reality the Plan was a cartel, that it could threaten the markets of American producers and that it bore similarity to the industrial cartels established under the Nazis. *"Politically,"* Mr. Lawrence wrote, *"the move is all-important in signifying Franco-German unity. But the old-time Nazis in Germany and the Fascist business men of Italy must be smiling to themselves at the resurrection of their mode of controlling industrial production."*

Recent developments now provide additional justification for the caution expressed by many far-sighted industrialists and commentators in this country as to the way the Schuman Plan would actually turn out.

The lofty ideals of the Schuman Plan are now in grave danger. This is borne out from recent press reports (N. Y. Times, May 1, 1953). (Wall Street Journal, May 1, 1953.) According to these reports it appears that the participants in the Schuman Plan are beginning to wink at the old cartel game. In this connection, the N. Y. Times correspondent writes that "the High Authority is well prepared for its battle against cartels." If this is true, then why has the Authority failed to use its powers to eliminate the bulk marketing arrangements and common selling practices which are still employed in many of the six countries which are members of the Schuman Plan pool? Is the High Authority aware of the fact that the four leading steel producers in the Plan *"have signed a secret price-fixing agreement aimed at capturing the world steel markets of the U. S."* (United Press, April 5, 1953)? The U. P. dispatch reported that experts *"have called the move a revival of the pre-war European steel cartel."*

This sensational disclosure has thus far been met with a loud silence on the part of the High Authority but its ramifications, particularly with regard to the United States, are far reaching. According to the United Press, one of the basic objectives of this "gentleman's agreement" is to keep prices *"below the American level for advantageous competition with the U. S. in the world markets and the simultaneous attempt to seize the American markets is said to be the main reason for the pact."* There certainly is no ambiguity in this report—little is left to the imagination.

The members of the Schuman Plan organization have agreed to use Belgium prices as the basis for the export of steel because these prices are higher than those which obtained in France and Germany, yet low enough to undercut the United States. The agreement is a brazen violation of the Schuman Plan. Article 3 of the Plan stipulates that its members must do all in their power to establish the lowest prices. However, a few days after the so-called gentleman's agreement entered into force, steel prices quoted by the pool jumped from $73.00 per ton to $86.00. According to Business Week (May 2, 1953) this price is still well below the internal German price of $98.00 a ton, "so the agreed export price can be expected to rise greatly to somewhere near that figure."

Confronted with these facts, the legal minds in the High Authority of the Schuman Plan declared that agreements of this kind, i.e., price discrimination between sellers and buyers, are illegal only if they apply to the members within the pool. Since the gentleman's agreement does not affect "free competition" within the common market itself, it is "legal."

It will be difficult for sincere supporters of free enterprise and the Schuman Plan to accept this strange type of reasoning. A rose is a rose and no legal hair splitting can justify this arrangement, especially when it is intended to hurt the American consumer and the country that did so much to rehabilitate the steel industries of the nations participating in the Plan. Basically it would be most dangerous to accept this principle since there is no guarantee that the next step will not result in cartel agreements aimed at the domestic agreements within the pool itself. A hint that this may be the next step on the agenda was reported in the prominent Belgian publication, Mercure Belgo-African:

"Perhaps there are other angles under which this reconstruction of the steel cartel could be envisaged.

"What has been decided by the steel makers constitutes the first step towards the return to practices which prevailed before World War II and which have been renounced, not because they were bad—they have given excellent results—but because they went counter to certain principles held dear by Americans. These principles, we regret to say, were often tainted with a certain hypocrisy; we have seen that on numerous occasions America took advantage of its hostility towards cartels, or what looked like a cartel, in order to buy raw materials which she badly needed, under most advantageous conditions for her. That happened with tin, rubber, etc. It was inevitable that the producers would be tired of such practices. Their stake is as important as that of the consumers."

Where do the Germans come in on these agreements? In the first place their Parliament has voted by a huge majority to double the turnover tax on coal and steel, thus cutting the very heart out of the Schuman Plan. By increasing the import tax of the products from other members of the Pool from 6 to 12 per cent, the Germans plan to crush French exports of finished and semi-finished steel products to Germany. In other words, the Germans who pose as the champions of European unity and of free enterprise, operate in a different way when they feel that public attention has been diverted elsewhere.

It is no coincidence that these developments come at a moment when the recartelization of Germany's coal and steel industry is taking place under conditions where Germany has become the foremost steel producer in Western Europe. Moreover, the very same elements who spearheaded the creation of the old steel cartel in Germany, have again resumed their former positions of power. Thus, the shadows which are growing over the Schuman Plan are but the reflection of the rising power of the old German steel trusts. The relation between the reconstitution of the German steel trusts and monopolies and Germany's willingness to participate in the Schuman Plan was analyzed by Walter Lippmann:

"It stands to reason that if there is to be a single free market in the six countries, then the German monopolies of the Ruhr must be broken up—in the language of the occupation statute they must be "deconcentrated." Otherwise, the free market will simply mean the complete and the unopposed domination of that market by the German monopolies.

"The occupation statute calls for the deconcentration of the German monopolies. As a matter of law, the three occupying powers could impose the deconcentration on the Ruhr monopolies. But such an imposed solution is no longer possible or desirable. The Germans would resent it and in their resentment they would certainly refuse to vote for the Schuman Plan, which cannot come into existence except by their free and equal consent. For these reasons the fulfillment of the deconcentration policy of the occupation statute has not been imposed but has been made a matter of negotiation at Dusseldorf—actually between Mr. McCloy and the Germans.

"The authors of the treaty for the Schuman Plan have acted on the hope that the Duesseldorf negotiations would succeed, that the Germans would be induced to agree voluntarily to a plan of deconcentration, and that then the Schuman treaty would perpetuate as the general law of European industry the principles of a free market.

"What has happened is that the German industrialists have felt themselves strong enough to reject deconcentration and the creation of an open market." (Walter Lippmann, Washington Post, March 5, 1951.)

It is not surprising that the Germans would consent to enter the Schuman Plan only after they had succeeded in scrapping the deconcentration and decartelization laws originally devised by the Allies. The German cartelists could never stomach the concept of free enterprise nor were they ever accustomed to "cooperate" with their neighbors on a fair and equal basis. Cooperation for them has always been synonymous with domination. Having now succeeded in rebuilding their former power in the Ruhr, it is not hard to figure out that they will utilize their new position of strength to dominate the Schuman Plan and to pervert its praiseworthy goals by re-establishing the international steel cartel.

These are the facts which should be considered by the American taxpayers despite all of the flowery phrases of the German politicians who appear before American audiences. These are the facts which must be pondered by our taxpayers, especially when it is no secret that the High Authority is anxious to obtain from us hundreds of millions of dollars for investment purposes.

According to the Plan, the High Authority possesses the power and responsibility to stop the re-emergence of the cartels, but promises are not sufficient. As we say it to the Russians, so must it be said to the Schuman Plan officials that deeds and not words count. Unless the High Authority puts an end to these maneuvers, which receive their real inspiration and direction from the Ruhr, it would be bad morals, bad economics and bad international politics to finance or support the makings of a super cartel.

A Twelve Million Dollar Investment

ON CHANCELLOR ADENAUER'S VISIT

It is not the intention of this piece to analyze all of the ramifications arising out of Chancellor Adenauer's recent visit to the United States. We know this much, however—the visit was prepared with meticulous care. Money was no object. The Bonn Government left nothing to chance in their effort to build up Herr Adenauer as the great knight of freedom whose sole desire was to defend Western ideals. In this connection it has been reported that the public relations job for this vast enterprise which consumed months of preparation, amounted to no less than 12 million dollars (Neue Woche, Sarrbrucken, April 16, 1953).

Since Adenauer remained in the United States for about two weeks, the cost for winning over the affections of the American people amounted to approximately one million dollars daily. How the Bonn Government was able to scrape together these funds is a question which should interest every U. S. taxpayer. Be it as it may, the fact of the matter is that Herr Adenauer was highly pleased with the outcome of his trip. Indeed, upon his return he boasted to German politicians that the United States had been most sympathetic to his cause. He did not specify what promises had been made to him but he hinted that great things were in the make. If such is the case, one could hardly tell from the formal communiqués which were issued after his talks with Washington officials. Indeed, Chancellor Adenauer told his political colleagues, *"only a few participated in the Washington talks so that even members of the American Cabinet have no knowledge."* How long this veil of secrecy will last we do not know, although it is our opinion that the American people are certainly entitled to know what commitments have been made to the Germans.

This much we do know—that from the first day he set foot on these shores, the Chancellor made sure that every statement he made would be of the kind which Americans would want to hear. He posed as the great champion of European unity and proclaimed to his audiences that his fellow country men would sacrifice to the limit in order to act as the effective bulwark against the Russians. These were things Americans were happy to hear. That Adenauer knew how to make friends and influence people in the United States is unquestionably true. We recall his statement to the Bonn Parliament of May 26, 1950, when he admonished his fellow politicians to behave. *"Let us be quite clear about it,"* the Chancellor said, *"if in such an important matter we were to oppose the efforts of the United States to bring about a united Europe, the United States would not maintain in the future her pro-German policy."*

This was the theme of Adenauer's speeches during his visit and by the time he was through he was even more convinced than ever that the United States would continue "her pro-German policy."

Adenauer and the Recent Nazi Plot

There are, however, certain aspects of the Adenauer visit which deserve comment. For example, in his speech before the National Press Club he told his audience that the German people *by an overwhelming majority have declared themselves for democratic principles. We are especially intent on maintaining internal stability and strengthening our democratic institutions."*

Apparently Adenauer was confident that none of his listeners would recall the fact that when the British seized a group of leading Nazis who were planning to restore Nazi power in Germany, "the Federal Government's immediate reaction has been surprise, chagrin and a lukewarm attempt to associate itself with the British action." (New York Times, January 16, 1953.) The New York Times (January 23, 1953) reported *"the reaction of the West German press and politicians to the seven arrests has been a mixture of mockery and anger."* Only when the British proved that they had overwhelming evidence dealing with the conspiracy, did Chancellor Adenauer come forward and endorse the British action. Does this episode support the Chancellor's allegation that the majority of the Germans are dedicated completely to the strengthening of democratic institutions?

The "Poor" War Criminals

While we are on the subject of democracy in Germany it is noteworthy that one of the Chancellor's first demands upon his arrival in the United States was to call for a re-examination of the sentences of 300 leading war criminals with the view towards their release from prison. The United Press (April 9, 1953) reported, *"the German leader emphasized the importance of such a review because of strong pressure at home."*

Is it not strange that a people who are allegedly infused with the spirit of democracy, should insist upon the pardon and release of some of the most dangerous enemies of democracy? Herr Adenauer was not at all troubled by this contradiction. As a matter of fact, he went still further at his Press Conference at the Waldorf-Astoria where he declared that the German people were of the opinion that if the War Crimes Trials had been held two or three years later, "the results would have been different."

Here is a direct attack on the principles which motivated the Allies to prosecute and punish those who had violated elementary norms of human decency and who had committed grave crimes against humanity. Does Dr. Adenauer imply that the German people do not believe that the men who were responsible for cremating millions of people, are not under all circumstances criminals regardless of time or place? Do the Germans believe that because the United States today is justly strengthening her security against the threats of Soviet totalitarianism, that it can by the same token forgive and forget the deeds perpetrated by criminal Germans?

In the same interview Herr Adenauer stressed that it was important for the

Germans "psychologically" to have these criminals released, "especially as regards the former soldiers." But should we not consider the effect of such action on the psychology of our Allies?

Substantially speaking, we doubt that there is any real difference between Adenauer's demands for the freeing of these criminals and those made by S.S. General Ramcke who led a German demonstration denouncing President Eisenhower as a "pigdog" and charged that the real war criminals were the Allies.

In our opinion it would be the height of naiveté to believe that the majority of "democratic" Germans do not stand squarely behind the campaign to whitewash these criminals. As a matter of fact, the Chancellor himself has encouraged this crusade by going so far as to deny the validity of the War Crimes Trials. The real attitude of Adenauer was very neatly expressed when he appeared on the radio program, Youth Wants to Know, April 12, 1953. When one youngster asked the Chancellor for the reason why there was increased activity of neo-Nazi groups in Germany today, he replied, "Well, they want to be active too." Does this need any further comment?

The "Democratic" Germans

If there are people who still defend Adenauer as a sincere exponent of democracy, we refer them to a full-page article in the Rheinischer Merkur, No. 14, Easter 1953, which is regarded as the Chancellor's own mouthpiece. The writer of this article, a Dr. von Heidte, begins his piece with the statement:

"Today it is fashionable in Germany to be a democrat. It is a matter of course that every German is a good democrat—if you want to 'belong' you have to be. But basically the Germans do not cherish democracy. They submit to it as perhaps people submit to a fashion although deep inside resenting their uncomfortable plight.

. . ."Twice when the Germans tried to rebuild their political life and social life (1918 *and* 1945) *on a democratic basis, the idea of democracy was brought to them by the victorious enemy together with the army of occupation. Therefore the Germans link democracy with collapse, defeat and foreign uniforms stalking German soil. Especially during the first few years the Western occupational forces, though they showed good will, were lacking in understanding, and in the name of democracy committed acts which in the eyes of Germans looked so much like Hitler's authoritarianism that one could not differentiate the one egg from the other."*

So much for the great wave of democracy which according to Adenauer is sweeping Germany.

Double Talk as Usual

Speaking in San Francisco, Chancellor Adenauer returned to the theme which he knew Americans would love to hear. "Germany," he said, "would not give up its role in the European Defense Community in the event of reunification of our country . . ." It should be pointed out that the former U. S. High Commissioner McCloy had told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in June, 1952, that the Germans "agree that a unified Germany should enjoy the rights and *be bound* by the obligations conferred and imposed upon the Federal Republic by the new agreements and treaties contributing to the creation of an integrated European community." One can easily gain the impression both from Chancellor Adenauer's assurance and those by Mr. McCloy that a unified Germany was duty bound to participate as a member of E. D. C. However, the facts show that there was no justified basis for the statements of Adenauer and McCloy.

A reading of Article 7 of the Contractual Agreement clearly stipulates that a unified Germany is *not bound* to the obligations assumed by the Bonn Republic. As a matter of fact, Chancellor Adenauer himself confirmed this fact. Knowing full well that the majority of Germans have always wanted to keep their hands free from any rigid obligations to the Allies, the Chancellor tried to prove to the Germans that the Contractual Agreement would not be binding on a unified Germany. Thus, in a radio interview, May 28, 1952, the Chancellor stated, "The final text of article 7 says that a reunited Germany *can claim* the rights under the convention *if she agrees* to submit to the duties." Subsequently, Chancellor Adenauer's Coalition Government presented a resolution to be approved by the parliament to the effect that *"the treaties are provisional and enforced only until Gemrany has been reunited."* (New York Times, December 5, 1952.) Therefore, all of the neatly phrased statements by the Chancellor, specially constructed for American ears, that a unified Germany would stand firmly within the European Defense Community, are meaningless and the Chancellor knows this very well, just as J. J. McCloy knew it.

German-Russian Tie-ups

The final point which deserves comment at this time, pertains to Chancellor Adenauer's references with regard to German-Soviet relations. The sensational book, Germany Plots With the Kremlin (reviewed on page   of this issue) appears to have had a profound impression upon the plotters in Bonn. Ever since the publication of this book they have been endeavoring to cover up their schemes by mountains of promises that the Germans were completely dedicated to Western ideals. Chancellor Adenauer, too, tried to dispel these suspicions during his sojourn in this country.

Addressing the Overseas Press Club in Washington, the Chancellor declared that the possibility of a German "arrangement" with Soviet Russia should be considered in the light of the fact that Germany today is relatively free of communists and fellow travellers. *"No other people in Western Europe,"* he boasted, *"are as immune to Communism as the Germans."* Adenauer forgot to tell his audience that the Germans under Hitler seemed also immune to Communism but that did not prevent the Nazis from making a deal with the Russians when it suited their purposes.

Adenauer went further and said that to Germany, "weakened as she is, a pact with Soviet Russia on the basis of partisanship and equality is an impossibility." Has the Chancellor really answered the question or has he merely implied that "an arrangement" with Russia is excluded—for the time being—at least until the moment when the Germans have sufficient power to treat with the Russians on a basis of equality?

Just before he left Germany for the United States, Adenauer discussed German-Soviet relations in a press conference. On that occasion he said that it was "ridiculous" to think of the Federal Republic as being able to play a decisive role alone. "How could this be without an alliance with Russia?" he asked. (New York Times, April 6, 1953.) Here again the Chancellor provides us with some tempting speculations. For example, if it were true, as the Chancellor states, that

West Germany could play a decisive role if it were allied with Russia, then what could prevent the Germans to grab this opportunity at the appropriate moment? What the Chancellor is saying as regards German-Soviet relations could easily be understood at follows: Germany must become still stronger with the help of American dollars before she can make a deal with the Kremlin. That would not only be beneficial to the Russians but would enable Germany to play a decisive role in the affairs of Europe and ultimately in the world.

The Independent Third Power Concept

As shown in Germany Plots With the Kremlin, Adenauer has been working on the establishment of a Third Power Bloc in Europe which would be subordinate to Germany's long-range plans. *"... A federated Europe will become a third force in the world, not as strong as Russia or the United States, but powerful enough to intervene successfully—in a decisive moment—to safeguard the peace ... Germany has again become a factor with whom others will have to reckon in international affairs."* (Article by Konrad Adenauer in the Rheinische Merkur, May 20, 1950.) The concept of a Third Power Bloc was mentioned by the Chancellor in his speech at the Waldorf-Astoria. *"Only through union can Europe achieve a political weight of its own ..."*

The Third Power concept which would exercise independent authority in international affairs has been expressed in the most important sections of the German press. For example, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, the mouthpiece of the German Foreign Office and of leading industrial circles, ran an editorial (June 5, 1952) which said:

"If we Germans would come to feel that the other powers, openly or tacitly, try to hinder German equality and reunification, the (Western) treaties would quickly turn out to have been built on quicksand ... The fact that we are tied up with the NATO pact does not make it impossible for Europe, as soon as it is strong enough and the international situation has changed, to become one day independent from every side ('nach allen Seiten unabhaengig')."

With reference to the Third Power Bloc and Adenauer's plans the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on April 3, 1952, stated in a front page editorial:

"The Chancellor follows a tremendous bold plan: First rearmament, followed later on by talks with the Russians in order to persuade them to remove their armies behind the Bug River. For this goal the Chancellor has been working tenaciously for some time. And because he sticks to his timetable, he is presently opposed to the Russian Note."

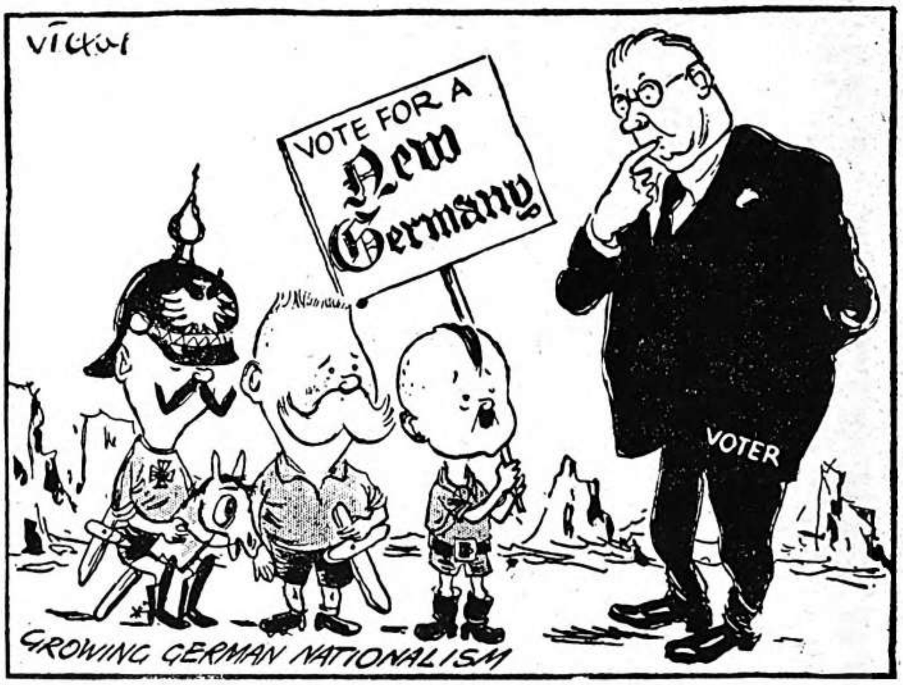
It is in this connection that one can understand the report of the New York Herald Tribune correspondent (April 5, 1953) which observed that the chief aim of Dr. Adenauer's visit was to smash any move that would bring East and West together for purposes of negotiating over the fate of Germany. According to this report, the vision of such negotiations is "a constant nightmare" for Dr. Adenauer.

We submit that the real reason why Dr. Adenauer opposes such negotiations, is not because he is anti-Communist which everyone knows, nor is it because he is opposed to negotiations with the Russians as a matter of principle or of distrust. We contend that he is opposed to such negotiations which would be undertaken between the Allies and Russia rather than between Germany and Russia, and this is the real key to his diplomacy.

Thus, when one examines the substance of Adenauer's talks in the United States it becomes clear that behind all of the diplomatic phraseology the Chancellor has not made any commitments whatsoever that are binding on the Germans. On the other hand, he appears to have obtained commitments from Uncle Sam which, as we mentioned above, should be made known to the American taxpayers. Though he hopes to discredit the possibility of Allied negotiations with Russians over Germany, it would not in any way prevent the Germans from making their own secret deals with the Kremlin.

To sum it up, it appears to us that, while the Chancellor talked and talked, Uncle Sam will continue to pay and pay.

"HAVEN'T I SEEN THESE FACES BEFORE?"



(*Courtesy London "News Chronicle"*)

Germany: Shadows of Tomorrow

How the Germans Like Their "Allies"

by

H. A. REINHOLD

"You Americans are fools and don't know the first thing about statesmanship," said the lady doctor acidly. We were sharing a bottle of refreshing Moselle on a hot and stuffy evening in Hamburg last August. "Why did you have to disturb Hitler in his effort to crush the Reds? And then your stupidity at Yalta and Potsdam! We *always* knew Russia. You should have kept out of things you know nothing about." She was a bitter-looking woman who had seen the terrible things that happened in her native Silesia in 1945, when Breslau surrendered and the Red Army swept over her homeland raping, looting and killing. Almost the same words rang in my ears in the Rhineland, in Bavaria and the small German enclave south of the Brenner pass in Italy.

There is a temptation to write off German griping and carping as no more than a natural psychological reaction to military occupation and the inevitable blunders made in the occupation. The Americans in Germany, consular personnel and occupation employees, I talk to brushed it off as fairly irrelevant. But this is more than "griping" —this is disaffection of such dangerous proportions that it may make the present rebirth of Germany something akin to the one in 1933 and her rearmament a threat to Europe, especially when it coincides, in this country, with a barrage of pro-German articles and anti-British and anti-French publicity. . . .

The first disheartening experience upon returning to your native land is that few take you seriously when you explain that your citizenship papers in the United States imply loyalty to your adopted country. Everyone seems to be convinced that a well-educated European can't possibly be serious about becoming a real American. At first they assume you are just pretending. This, of course, makes you angry and teaches you your first lesson: the average German today has a sovereign contempt for America. . . .

Morning, noon and night, sometimes openly, subtly or brutally, practically every citizen of the Federal Republic will let you know how abysmally inferior we are—the "stupid" British, the "sadistic" French, and the "coarse, untutored" Americans. A well-educated Benedictine tells you how American GI's "starved, froze to death and maltreated German prisoners of war in the compounds of Saffig and Marseilles." One army doctor tells you how his children's favorite pet dog was "stolen in open daylight by an American officer." . . .

Another favorite is the air raids,* above all those on lovely Dresden, which was supposedly destroyed from sheer whim and sadism by "Negroes" from American slums, with the "planes returning to machine gun the refugees on the meadows along the Elbe and in public parks"—or the Allied fighter swooping down "in fun" on a farmer tilling his field, machine-gunning him.

You never hear the end of their complaining about the case of that "noble gentleman," Marshal Kesselring, who "only retaliated" against the brutal assassination of thirty-two German soldiers driving along a highway near Rome. That he not only "retaliated," which, I am told, is permissible in occupied countries, but killed three hundred and fifty men and boys, more than ten times the number of German soldiers killed, is not mentioned. . . .

Most Germans despise all occupying powers, with fine distinctions in pejorative terms given to the Americans and British, but they become incoherent and almost obscene when they speak of the French. How can you enjoy your "homecoming" and seeing old friends again when you have to listen to this, day in and day out, from one end of the republic to the other? . . .

That such bitter criticism often coincides with Russian propaganda, as in the remark of a leading businessman who told me that "Wall Street engineered the Korean war to find an outlet for the glutted steel production of Gary and Pittsburgh"—I quote—seems of no concern to these people who by education and social position ought to be the leaders of their people.

When pressed hard, of course they express their deep abhorrence of Communism, or the Red Army and of Soviet methods. And I do not believe they are consciously repeating Russian-inspired propaganda. It is rather their fierce pride, the chauvinism and their ineradicable superiority feeling which make them carry on a propaganda line that is so consistent, so ubiquitous, so incessant that it almost seems to owe its crushing momentum to a mastermind like the late and unlamented Joseph Goebbels. This spontaneous outburst would delight his heart. It all seems to work without that mastermind, although to the naked eye of the observer it seems to be kept going by the encouraging pats coming from Moscow and certain gentlemen in Washington. . . .

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*Pope Pius XII offered to negotiate an agreement on air raids, similar to his Roman truce, and found attentive ears on the Allied side and rebuff from Nazi Germany. The reason for this callous rebuff was that the Nazis were preparing more destructive and more efficient air raids (V2) and were not going to be hamstrung by any agreement, when their turn came.

What is the meaning of this all-pervading complaining and criticizing? Let us try to reason this out. No German takes the responsibility for the past. Hitler and his chief lieutenants are dead and with them all sense of guilt. For the average middle-class German that chapter is closed. . . .

As long as the Soviet means what it was in 1944 and 1945 (rape, murder, looting and cruelty) and what it is now (terror, the police state and its diabolical methods) no real effort is needed to say that you disagree with it. But the Germans will not be identified with those who were right, who were wiser, more humane, more powerful and in many ways more civilized than they during the bitter war years. Therefore this frantic, bitter, spiteful looking for flaws, for frailty, for inefficiency and misjudgment. It is a refusal to be coordinated, to fit oneself into a position of equality, to accept the superiority of others in any field whatsoever. . . .

Yet how are you, a member of a nation famous for learning, for music, for cleanliness, for efficiency, for jolliness in beer gardens and at sing fests, a member of a nation that beat all of Europe into a pulp, twice in twenty-five years, and kept the world at bay two times for four years, who rose from ruins twice by craftiness, hard work and sheer collective gumption, who in defeat was praised for having the only good superweapons, like the V2—how are you going to sing second tenor in the chorus of nations, while by right you should not only have the solo part but be the conductor and really provide the score?

We Americans are apt to belittle this attitude as griping, just as we thought at first that Hitler was only an impossible paperhanger. But this carping criticism is a symptom of something far more serious. It shows the same disaffection and "divine vocation" that have been growing in Germany since Bismarck. It went through gradual stages. Then it became more virulent, and finally ended up by finding its symbol in Hitler. It now has become a neurosis common to a whole class or nation. The sense of humor needed to keep balanced, the subtle feeling for proportion, are gone. To forget the recent past helps.

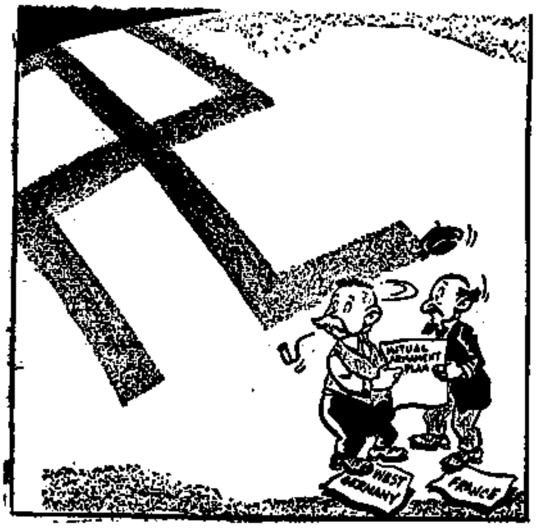
Does Adenauer himself have tongue in cheek? I don't think so, but the Germans I met certainly have. They have, like Hitler, gambled before—didn't they almost win? Adenauer has got out of the Allies, one by one, more than anybody could have dreamed of, and he will get more, conjuring up a paper army which is then whisked off the conference table, to get more. In their way the Germans are wiser than "the first time," after Versailles: they use Adenauer and his plodding consistency to get as much as they can, without disturbing him, assuming that he is playing a shrewd game. Bit by bit he has led the West to surrender, not only funds, but also the symbols of victory. Nobody doubts his patriotism. The West now has to admit that "the world situation has to be seen our (the German) way. Nothing can be done without us."

This is a triumph, not just national vanity. It is part of a determined course to change defeat into victory and to regain a position lost by the awkward Fuehrer who lost his head at the wrong time. It is no prophecy to predict that Germany will not join the Western defense unless it leads it, and the West makes an unmistakable gesture of surrender. Against the mood expressed by all with whom I came in contact, except a very small minority, the chances of seeing a chastened, cooperative and responsible Germany in a commonwealth of free nations are very slim indeed. It seems to me that either our officials over there don't hear what is being said, or we have another case of their intelligence's going un-evaluated.

With the Reds right in the Germans' backyard, and with our own grim experiences, with our horror of Communism and our firsthand knowledge of Russian aims and methods, American readers may say: How can anybody strike such an attitude? Why don't they see that, unless they join up on the side of freedom, they will themselves be the first victims? Are they mad—or is your interpretation mad?

The answer to this very rational question is not easy, because this situation has all the madness of a real gamble. In the first place I think it is clear what these people think of their would-be allies—the French, the Italians, the British and us. Their conception of an army able to resist the onslaught of the fanatic millions of the East simply differs from what they have seen and now see. . . .

Secondly they have been in similar tight spots before and they got out of them. Weren't they disarmed in 1932 and armed in 1938? Things are in flux, a little aid here and a little aid there can change situations beyond recognition—just remember Rapallo, Berchtesgaden 1938, the 1939 pact. Who knows what will develop and who will take up the reins when Adenauer, who is near eighty, is



(*Joes in The San Diego Tribune*)
"SHADOW OF DOUBT"

gone? The Hitler experience, the misery following it, the example of others, have taught them collectively that gambling isn't the worst risk you can take. This vindictive and spiteful attitude, this fierce determination to get back in the saddle, this contempt for the noble gestures of some victors and the fearful caution of another, betray that deep down in their souls they believe that World War II was an unfortunate, costly, yet somehow glorious interlude in the forward march to a German overlordship over Europe. Their own collapse may give them confidence that the same could happen any day to Russia—after all they saw her anxious and willing to be friends in 1939. . . .

Griping and carping don't take these extreme forms unless paranoia has become acute. When paranoid conditions reach a certain stage reason and moral inhibitions vanish. The symptoms are evident now and we had better take an account of them. No young German will collaborate in a cause which he resents as insincere, hypocritical and inferior to his own. Somehow we have not proved our superior ideals in a language the middle-class German understands. Above all we have failed to show him his own record, calmly and factually. We have failed to ask the guardians of his conscience either to abdicate or to demand an examination of conscience. We have forgotten to keep Germany reminded of her misdeeds, while we gave her ample occasion to chalk up petty complaints against us.

I think it is now time to ask the Germans whether they want to be delivered to the Russians or do their part. If they prefer to join the Reds, let them go—before we get more involved. But I know my Germans: when they hear the soft voice and see the big stick they will come around. While we hurt the feelings of the French and English by the tone of our advice, we seem to be more anxious to look the other way whenever the skeleton in the German closet appears. And all the time the Russians carry on their cunning propaganda and the middle- and upper-class German not only plays hard to get, but systematically builds up a mentality which desperately resembles the one that spawned Hitler—only this time it is even fiercer, more determined and far, far more cynical.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The Commonweal)

"Maj. Gen. Mohammed Naguib, Egypt's Premier, said that German military experts attached to the Egyptian Army had brought about improvements in the nation's armed forces that the British military mission had been unable, or unwilling, to accomplish in ten years. . . ."

(Robert C. Doty in the N. Y. Times 5-19-53)

AN EXPERT VIEW

"William L. Shirer, veteran correspondent, says that Nazism is making a 'frightening comeback.'

"He said there were 'more Nazis in the West German Foreign Office at Bonn today than there were in Berlin under Hitler.' . . ."

(U. P. 3-26-53)

ECHOES OF SIEGFRIED

by

ROBERT C. RUARK

I see some stuff about smiling Albert Kesselring, the former German field marshal who wasn't so able at his task in defending Italy against the inroads of democracy, and some more about ex-Field Marshal Erich von Manstein, who just got himself a permanent parole.

Interesting thing is that both gentlemen were sprung as war criminals and already they're beginning to be heroes with Wagnerian overtones and Siegfried himself all ready to work for them.

Von Manstein, sentenced to 18 years for the mass killing of Jews, Russians and hostages, has just been greeted joyously by 2000 villagers. He is a hero in his own home town.

Smiling Albert, that scarfaced old fraud, has just been made chief of Germany's biggest veterans association. He said, "Freedom is still threatened. To ward off this danger the Western world must become united." He also added that to insure German cooperation the West should release the remaining German war criminals.

* * *

Mr. Kesselring has been out of jail as a war criminal just seven months.

I don't know how this noble operatic heroism sounds to you, but it sounds sour to me.

I know we need to stand off the Russians, but I still remember Germans, and I wouldn't trust one as far as I could throw him if he had a little defeated weltschmertz going for him. There was World War I and out of it came some forgiven officers and generals. The names are hard to remember, but from the same standing start as Kesselring and Von Manstein, a bloke name of Hitler and another called Goering came up swift like the daisies. Or the poppies in the fields at Flanders.

And the approach is always the same. A hero released from prison, comes home to be decked with roses and to call a meeting of the young embittered at the nearest bierstube. They start out yelling "hoch." And conclude with "sieg heil." Hitler was only a corporal with a fanatic imagination and Goering was a fugitive from Richtofen's famed flying circus, but man what a mess they handed the world. I agree thoroughly with smiling Albert's statement that the Western world must be united but the way smiling A. and his friends have gone about uniting it in recent years leaves me just a touch cold.

* * *

You'll pardon my skepticism, I hope, but I do not cotton to ex-German officers who suddenly crawl out of holes and begin to make noble noises. It is a saber-rattling race, and one which rebuilds itself from adversity with fine sentiment. To me a German is still a German and if you will check this sentiment in England, France, and Alsace-Lorraine, you will find it echoed.

I can't fault a military man for working for his country unless he is too free with the baking ovens and the fat-rendering factories. But I am certain sure I will not revere him as a hero when they let him out of jails, nor as a moralist on what we must do to remake the world.

(Courtesy, N. Y. World-Telegram)

The Two Dangers

by

VISCOUNT NORWICH
(Alfred Duff Cooper)

Since Great Britain became a Power in Europe her consistent foreign policy has been to prevent the domination of the Continent by any one nation. . . .

It would seem therefore that the direction of British foreign policy should in practice prove simple. All that is required is to determine where lies the principal danger to European peace and freedom, and to co-ordinate our own forces with those of our friends in order to prevent that danger from materializing.

Nor, it will be agreed, can doubt exist as to where that danger lies today. Russia is the country that has profited most from the last war. What she lost in men and material counts for nothing with what she gained in territory, in power and in security. The two nations that Russia most feared, and by both of whom she had within this century been defeated in war—Germany in the West and Japan in the East—have suffered disaster. . . .

Russia is vaster and more powerful than she has ever been, and her empire, stretching from the Pacific Ocean into the center of Europe, is, on paper, the most formidable empire the modern world had to face. . . .

Every attempt that has been made by other nations since the war to improve international relations and to provide a basis for a better world community has been deliberately sabotaged by the representatives of Russia and the Communists. . . .

This, briefly stated, is the case against Russia, and it is overwhelming . . .

Yet it may be permissible to believe that of all things the invasion of Western Europe by Russia is the one that is least likely to happen. . . .

Let it not be thought that I undersestimate the magnitude of the Russian peril because I doubt its taking shape in so crude a manifestation as the invasion of Western Europe. The peril exists and we need armed force to withstand it. For two years we have been withstanding it with armed force in Korea, and had that force been stronger that war might now be ended. But the end of it would not mean peace. We know not how or where Russia would strike again, but we can assume it as probable that the soldiers she strikes with will not be Russian soldiers.

Now the most remarkable phenomenon in the modern world is that, seven years after the complete defeat of Germany in the second war which she declared against the civilized world within one-quarter of a century, those free nations, which twice narrowly escaped defeat at her hands, should not only be permitted but should be urging and imploring Germany to rearm as rapidly as possible.

There is one other phenomenon not less surprising. From the earliest times the German people were divided into many different States, and throughout those centuries they contributed their full share in art, literature, music and philosophy to European culture. Nor did they during that period present any particular problem to their neighbors. Eighty-two years ago they were united in one State. Ever since that time their culture had declined, and would hardly have survived if it had not until 1933 been kept alive by the Jewish elements in the population. Ever since that time they have indulged in one war of aggression after another and have twice nearly succeeded in subjugating the free world. In the face of these facts our statesmen appear to have resolved that it would be wise to reunite Germany as soon as possible. A reunited, rearmed Germany would seem to be now one of the principal planks in the platform of Anglo-American foreign policy.

How did it come about? Seven years ago, when Germany had been recently defeated, the main thought in the minds of all who had contributed towards that defeat was that she must never be allowed to do it again. The idealists urged that the German people, who were really just like anybody else but has been misguided, must be re-educated, while the more practical advocated the dismantling of the munition factories which had enabled them to make war.

It would be interesting to inquire how much public money was spent on the program of re-education, and at what date and by whose decision that program was finally abandoned. It might also be asked whether Parliamentary sanction was obtained. The dismantling of German munition factories continued until and possibly after their swift reconstruction had been approved. Although a diligent reader of the newspapers, I cannot remember this astonishing reversal of policy forming the subject of a debate in the House of Commons.

Where there is agreement between the two Front Benches a debate is unnecessary, and it needs a microscope to detect any difference in the foreign policies of the two principal Parties. The main consideration . . . was that the Russian menace was so terrible and so immedate that we must seize upon any weapon that was available to defend ourselves against it. Mr. Churchill is reported to have said, when Russia was forced into the war in 1941, that he would have welcomed the devil out of hell as an ally at that dire moment. And now that the devil has proved, as was ever his wont, an untrustworthy friend in the long run, he is doubtless glad to greet another devil out of a different hell to lend him aid against his former ally. The theme of the first volume of his great work on the last war was summed up by himself in one great lapidary sentence: "How the English-speaking peoples through their unwisdom, carelessness and good nature allowed the wicked to rearm." Will the history of the third world war be prefaced by an even less edifying introduction in which the attributed motives will be replaced by the one word "panic," and "compelled" be substituted for "allowed"?

Nobody will seriously maintain that the Germans of today, the majority of whom enthusiastically supported Adolf Hitler a few years ago, are less "wicked" than their fathers, a smaller majority of whom lent less enthusiastic support to the Hohenzollerns . . .

The only difference between the Germans of thirty years ago and those of today is that these latter have two defeats to avenge instead of one.

My contention is that this great decision of foreign policy, to re-create a powerful, united, armed Germany, has been drifted into rather than calmly arrived at in cold blood, and that the impulsion behind the drift has been fear. It is a decision fraught with consequences which I should like to feel certain has been given full consideration. When it has been implemented Germany will be again, as she was in 1939, the strongest Power on the continent of Europe. Have we any guarantee, have we any reason to suppose, that she will not then act as she acted in 1939? We may be told that there exists today violent animosity between the German and the Russian peoples. But love and hatred play no part in the policy of great nations . . .

Germany today has lost territory on her eastern frontier which she will wish to reconquer. So had she in 1939. It is possible that, when she considers herself strong enough, her first action will be to invade that territory—as it was in 1939. But having recovered it, why should she not then turn against the West as she did in 1939? It suited the Russians then to allow the Germans to do so by coming to terms with them. Will it not suit them equally well next time? As has been said already, Russia prefers to fight her wars with soldiers who are not Russian. Nor are the Germans likely twice to repeat the capital error of Napoleon. They will not invade Russia a second time.

There are those who believe that the character of the German people has undergone a profound change in the last few years, and that two defeats have taught them that war is not a profitable pursuit. . . .

If it be true that war has wrought this miracle, a few more wars may succeed in converting into angels the remainder of the human race. I remember the late Lord Tyrrell saying to me shortly before the outbreak of the last war: "There is going to be a debate in the House of Lords on the question whether there are any good Germans. If I speak I shall say that I don't know, but one thing I do know is that in all my long experience of Germany I have never heard of a good German stopping a bad German doing what he wanted to do."

Nobody but a fool would pretend that there are no good Germans. Doubtless Herr Adenauer is one of them . . .

Taking therefore their behavior in the past and their intrests in the present as our guides, we may endeavor to form some estimate of their conduct in the future. In 1914 they were stronger and more prosperous than they have ever been. They had the best army in the world and the second largest navy. They had a considerable colonial empire and their commerce was capturing the markets of the world. But they complained that they had no place in the sun and they went to war.

In 1939 they had made the most remarkable recovery from defeat that any country has ever accomplished. After twenty years they were in a stronger position than any of their victors. They had broken every treaty they had signed and had successfully ignored such feeble protests as had been provoked. They were assured that if they still had any grievances they had only to bring them to the council table, where they would be favorably considered. But they said they had no room to live (*Lebensraum*), although they were less densely populated than many other countries, and they went to war.

The false excuses that they gave before are true today. They have no place in the sun, and owing to their refugees their country is overcrowded. They had everything to lose by war in 1914. They had much to lose in 1939. Today they have little, if anything, to lose and everything to gain. And what they have to gain, after they have rectified their eastern frontier, lies in all the West—wealth, overseas trade, rich land and vast colonies. Can anybody believe that a rearmed, reunited Germany will not demand these advantages and will not go to war if they are denied to her?

"But you cannot hold down indefinitely a nation of sixty million," is an objection that is frequently encountered. If it were true, it was a pity that it did not occur to our statesmen before they launched their country into two wars in order to do this very thing. If we are now willing to hand to Germany on a golden plate the hegemony of Europe, then the Governments of Mr. Asquith and of Mr. Chamberlin would stand convicted of criminal incompetence and the young men who died at their behest would become their sorry dupes.

But of course Mr. Asquith and Mr. Chamberlin were right, and those who fell were heroes fighting for the cause of freedom. The argument is one of defeatism and despair . . .

". . . There are millions of people in Britain and the West who look with fear on this plan to build a great new German Army and Air Force in the heart of Europe.

"There are millions who do not believe that once the Germans have got this powerful military machine they will remain obedient and docile members of the European Community.

"The lesson of history is that when Germans like Speidel feel themselves strong enough they become once more the old arrogant bullies of Europe.

"Once the West German soldiers and industrialists have this powerful army they will soon be demanding the right to once more dictate the course of events in Europe . . ."

(By H. O. Ward in the Reynolds News 5-3-53)

". . . The three Western powers have created conditions under which a majority of the war criminals now in prison can obtain their release.

"They have done this because they will do almost anything to soothe and cajole German opinion into acceptance of the rearmament plans. . . .

"They have not, however, answered the question of whether the Germans thus brought into military cooperation with the West will, in fact, prove reliable allies in peace and war."

(By Drew Middleton in the N. Y. Times 2-24-53)

To raise the argument to a high level, why should we fight against the power of evil without hope of administering a complete and everlasting defeat?

But the problem is neither so grave nor so insoluble. There are many ways in which the re-emergence of Germany as a menace to world peace can be prevented.

The first and the simplest was the creation of a real union of Western Europe. Such a union could never have been a reality except under the leadership of Great Britain. After the war we had the great opportunity of uniting the western European world, which would have comprised practically the whole continent of Africa, under British leadership. In so powerful a confederation Germany could have played a useful and a subordinate part. That opportunity was missed. In a united Europe, without Great Britain, Germany must predominate, and we cannot blame our continental friends if their enthusiasm for it has evaporated since our withdrawal.

In a European army to which Great Britain contributed, and behind which the United States stood as guarantor, German units might have been welcomed. But a European army without Great Britain, an army based upon units counted in divisions, becomes simply an armed army from which any ally can withdraw at a moment's notice.

United Europe and the European army are lost causes and Great Britain is heavily to blame for their loss.

But if we accept this fact, as many people will be reluctant to do, just as they were reluctant to accept the bankruptcy of the League of Nations in the early 1930s, there still remains an easy way of protecting ourselves against a recrudescence of the German menace. We have only to put the production of the Ruhr and the Saar under strict international control. Germany would be represented on the board in order to protect the wages and conditions of the workers, but the distribution of the products would be decided upon by the western democracies. The prosperity of Germany would not suffer. The condition of her people would improve and her armed forces would receive the weapons with which, in the opinion of the peace-loving countries, they could be trusted.

It may be said that this is roughly what the Schuman plan is intended to do. But the Schuman plan, like the European army, has been robbed of reality by the refusal of Great Britain to participate. Without the powerful sanction of Great Britain behind it the plan becomes no more than a signed agreement between Germany and some of her neighbors. Can such an agreement bind a reunited and rearmed Germany? Neither Fredrick II, nor William II, nor Bismarck, nor Hitler, nor any other German has ever held himself bound by a treaty that it suited him to break. If we make it possible for the Germans to regain complete control of the Saar and of the Ruhr, there is no earthly power left at our disposal by which we can prevent them from doing it again.

I have entitled this article "The Two Dangers." The awful thought occurs that they may be only one. What interest divides the resurgent nationalist movement in Germany from the narrow nationalist imperialism of Russia? . . .

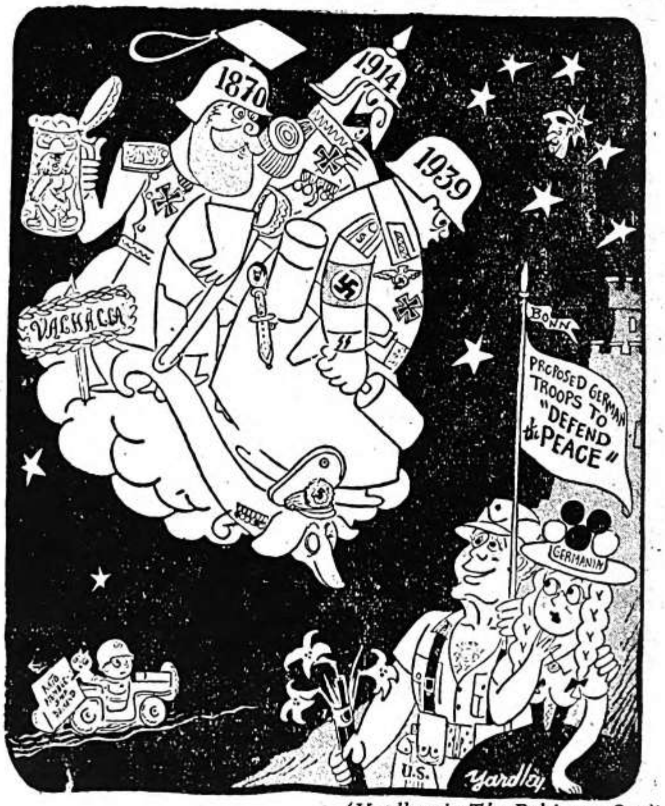
Anti-semitism, which seems to be growing in Communist countries and which has never died in Germany, might well furnish a background to a better understanding between the new Germany and the old Russia. Such an understanding, leading to alliance, would be true to the best tradition of German diplomacy. The Russian alliance formed the very backbone of Bismarck's foreign policy, and immediately after the First World War it was to Russia that the Weimar Republic first turned for an ally. Then Germany was divided from Russia by an independent Poland, upon whose new-won liberty both Germans and Russians cast covetous eyes. Now Poland lies moribund in the grip of Russia, but there is still enough flesh on the carcass to satisfy the appetite of the two hyenas should they come together on a policy of partition. Then Germany, her eastern territorial demands satisfied by Russia at the expense of Poland, her armed foces splendidly re-equipped at the expense of America, untrammelled by any entangling ideologies, would be once more in a position to challenge the world.

(*Condensed—Courtesy, The National and English Review*)

". . . Russian policy toward Germany will always be dangerous to the interests of the United States and a united Europe as long as the Germans recognize that Russia is the only country which can reunite Germany.

". . . German nationalism is a Russian ally. As long as its leaders toy with dreams of an independent, neutral and armed Germany created by Russian indulgence and see beyond that Germany the prospect of recovery of lost territories now under Polish rule, the natural and laudable desire of a patriotic people for reunification of their country will be played upon by Soviet political strategists to the detriment of European unity."

(Drew Middleton, The New York Times, 3-15-53)



(*Yardley, in The Baltimore Sun*)

"MY, HOW OUR FAMILY HAS CHANGED!"

Views on Germany

by

R. H. S. CROSSMAN

. . . Dr. Adenauer's unexpected strength is due to what observers in Bonn call "the Restoration." An astonishing economic recovery has been accompanied by a revival of reactionary and nationalistic forces which cannot be appreciated without a visit to the Federal Republic.

. . . In this capitalistic paradise, politics center on foreign affairs. As a Rhineland Catholic, Dr. Adenauer is ideally suited to negotiate with France those elaborate schemes of economic and military integration which within five years will enable fifty million Germans to dominate Western Europe. The Chancellor is sincerely anti-Nazi, sincerely in favor of European Federation, sincere even in his preference for a German contribution to E. D. C. as against a German Army as part of Nato. But behind him stand men who regard all these schemes as a cover for a renewed bid to dominate Europe. The neo-Nazis and nationalists are still in the penumbra of politics; they are content to let Dr. Adenauer and his dim, respectable lieutenants hold the limelights. Because the postures of democracy are still necessary to keep the Americans sweet and get the dollars, Adenauer is the man of the hour, just as Stresemann was the man of the hour in the1920s. But when German power has been built up and the twelve divisions created, these postures of democracy will be unnecessary. Then the Adenauer regime will give place to something a great deal tougher.

The one thing which could spoil, or at least interrupt, this second stage of "the Restoration" would be an outbreak of peace. If there were free elections in a united Germany, the Socialists would probably get a clear majority. Moreover, if Germany became a military vacuum, America would lose interest and the dollars cease to flow. Without the cold war, the Government in Bonn and the industrialists in Düsseldorf would be in a very poor way. They know this, and they have drawn the necessary conclusion: the cold war shall not be allowed to thaw out.

The Socialists see all the dangers of the Restoration. "The feeble beginnings of German democracy are withering," one of them said to me, "as the Right-wing politicians appeal more and more openly to the ex-Nazis and the last key positions in the Civil Services are stormed by the Old Guard." But what can Ollenhauer do? He would like to have a strong domestic programme, but the trade unions, which since the war have been non-political and include Catholics, are not in fighting mood. He still opposes German rearmament under E. D. C., but he has been forced to shift his ground until he is now prepared to accept it under Nato. Of course, the German Socialists would prefer a Four-Power agreement which made all this unnecessary. Indeed, most of them, I think, would still be prepared to accept some form of neutralization, as an interim stage, if this was the price the Russians demanded for free elections in the whole of Germany. But in the present atmosphere they dare not say so for fear of being denounced as appeasers. The one clear piece of advice I got from Socialist Headquarters was: "If the British Government really wants to test the sincerity of the Russian peace offensive, the one thing it should do is to shut its ears to Dr. Adenauer."

How wise this advice was I realized when I heard Dr. Brentano, who leads Dr. Adenauer's C. D. U. in the Bundestag, explain to the Anglo-German gathering at Königswinter his Government's attitude to the Russian peace overtures. Dr. Brentano is the kind of party politician who moves loyally with the times. His speeches, therefore, reflect with sensitive accuracy the growth of German nationalist egotism. On Sunday he was peremptory. The Western Powers must realize, he told us, that there can be no question of any sacrifice whatsoever by Germany for the sake of unity. Whatever the Russians propose, integration with the West *must* proceed; every form of neutralization *must* be excluded; and the claim to the lost provinces East of the Oder Line *must* be fully maintained.

Since Dr. Brentano spoke from a carefully prepared brief, and in the knowledge of what Dr. Adenauer and Mr. Eisenhower had agreed in Washington, his words cannot be dismissed as idle vaporing. The Bonn Government's minimum demand is the unconditional withdrawal of Russia from Eastern Germany; and it further gives notice that, if the Russians were mad enough to agree, the next demand would be for those parts of Prussia and Silesia now incorporated in Poland. By putting forward such claims, Dr. Adenauer is telling the world that Four-Power talks would be pure waste of time.

What is significant is that he now feels strong enough to behave in this way—to forbid a détente, even if Britain and France desire one. So much for the argument that West Germany would be easier to manage if she were integrated into the West! What this argument overlooks is that the Germans have a vested interest in cold war; and, as their industrial and military strength grows, so will their national ambitions and their bargaining power. They have convinced themselves that, if only a peace settlement can be prevented, rearmament will soon produce a situation where the Russians can be forced to withdraw, not only from the East Zone but from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, too. Once the Federal Republic is rearmed, they are confident that, with the help of Mr. Dulles, they will force the jittery French and British to accept a real Liberation policy.

Back in London reflecting on Dr. Brentano's words, I feel already that they have lost something of their force; and I can understand how those who have not been to Bonn recently console themselves with the thought that, after all, German politicians are often tactless and that, if the Bonn Government really tried to make serious trouble, we should be able to keep it in order. Today this may still be so. But what about 1956, when a stridently nationalist Germany will control the main land forces of the West and a huge arms industry? Will it be so easy *then* to prevent trouble? We are told that German divisions are essential to the defense of the West and that for this reason we cannot afford any agreement with the Russians which would postpone German rearmament. Let those who harbor this delusion make the pilgrimage to Bonn and survey the field where the dragon's teeth are being sown.

(Condensed, Courtesy The New Statesman and Nation)

Germany Plots with the Kremlin

by

T. H. TETENS

Reviewed by Albert Simard

To recognize a deadly disease is an important achievement, but still greater is the triumph when the disease is checked and eliminated.

Following the end of World War II we recognized in good time the malignancy of Soviet totalitarianism, but have we been able to devise a cure? The truth of the matter is that having evaluated correctly Russia's expansionist aims, we proceeded to set up the "German bulwark" against communism and then proudly proclaimed it as the "cure-all."

Our experts on Germany were sure of their ground—so sure that this fundamental revision in our German policy was treated as though it were of no affair ot the American people or their representatives in Congress. It was presented as a fait accompli—a sacred cow that was above public and congressional debate or investigation.

Thus, for 7 years or so, the American people have found themselves in the position of bystanders who are expected to sit it out until the final act of this tragedy unfolds to completion. Perhaps this will suit some of us, but the onrushing crisis in our German policies will not permit any of us to sit on the sideline. We are all involved.

We can meet the crisis—yes, and solve it—provided that we recognize the "cure-all" for what it is—a drug which has dulled our sense of realism and moral responsibility. "The bulwark against aggressive Communism must be the United States (and her proven friends)—and not a people who—'at the decisive moment'—will make common cause with our enemies."

These are the concluding words of the recently published book, *Germany Plots With The Kremlin,* by T. H. Tetens. We should be thankful that in this period when wishful thinking determines our policies towards Germany, this book has appeared. *Germany Plots With The Kremlin,* if carefully studied, can equip the people and their policy-makers with the kind of realism which is so necessary if we are to avoid a catastrophe in Europe on a scale that would resemble the emergence of Communist power in China. In this connection, the author quotes Senator Guy M. Gilette who, on April 19, 1950, in a speech at Town Hall in New York declared:

"A day of reckoning will come over Germany just as it came over China. I suspect that the resulting explosion in the U. S. will make the outcry on China seem like a pleasant afternoon tea.

"For in Germany it will be seen that we have not only lost the second world war—and that the Nazis, rather than we, were the victors—but that we have, unconsciously, prepared the way for us to lose a third world war if it comes."

Mr. Tetens is not a novice in German affairs. He is German born and lived a good part of his adult life in Germany. The author has written numerous newspaper articles, pamphlets and books dealing with the most fundamental aspects of the German problem. Because of his extensive knowledge in this field, he was employed for highly confidential assignments by the U. S. Government. In all of his works one can detect not only the talent and ability of a student of German geopolitics, but a courageous fighter for truth.

Germany Plots With The Kremlin is no ordinary book. On the contrary, it has the quality and indeed historic significance of the famous ride of Paul Revere. One of the unique aspects of this book lies in the fact that the author has devoted page after page to comments by the Germans themselves as to their real feelings towards the East and West. Mr. Tetens has indicted the German plotters through their own mouths. He has done so by the utilization of an unprecedented wealth of documentation ranging from statements made by Germany's key leaders, including Chancellor Adenauer, to the most authoritative newspapers and publications in Germany.

For the first time the American people are given an intimate glimpse of the workings of the German geopoliticians who were the inspirers and guides for the Nazis in their drive toward world conquest. One of their secret directives issued from Madrid is published for the first time and this 30 page document (translated from the German) provides a clear and concise blueprint for Germany's future plans to re-emerge as a dominating world power despite military defeat in World War II.

The sensational aspect of this document is the fact that, when it is compared with the statements of Germany's leading politicians and newspapers, it becomes clear that the geopolitical masters who blueprinted Hitler's drive for conquest, are once again secretly guiding the destinies of Adenauer's Germany.

The appendix of the book contains other authoritative documentation all attesting to the fact that German policy, past and present, has never veered from the age old Pan-German dream of "Deutschland über alles."

Mr. Tetens shows how our policy-makers in their haste to combat Soviet totalitarianism, adopted policies in Germany which ignored the basic forces that had molded Germany in the past and will determine Germany's actions in the not too distant future. Our policy-makers, according to Mr. Tetens, while grabbing the few straws which point toward a Western orientation in Germany, have ignored the fact that Germany, perhaps more than any other major power in Europe, has had close and intimate ties with the Russians for decades. By accepting the superficial evidence rather than the substance, we have built a policy in Germany based on the unfounded assumption that Germany would cooperate with the West as a trustworthy ally and serve as a bulwark against the Communist East.

Mr. Tetens shows how this optimism is divorced from reality and that the Germans are once again carefully building up their bridges in the East.

During the period when Hitler ruled the Reich, it was generally assumed by Western statesmen that a Nazi tie-up with the Soviets was unthinkable. This illusion, however, was shattered in 1939 only to be reborn after World War II. The fact of the matter is that regardless of our dreams, the Germans are steadily working toward a new tie-up with the Russians in the spirit of the Treaty of Rapallo which confronted the world in the 1920s with the menacing spectre of a Russo-German alliance. The spirit of Rapallo has risen again and Mr. Tetens has amassed extensive documentation to prove it. Thus, for example, one of Germany's leading newspapers and mouth piece of the German Foreign Office writes:

"What Can Russia Win If She Plays Her Trump Card? . . . In order to jump out from her present isolation she can, exactly as the Rapallo Treaty did 30 *years ago, place Germany as a protecting buffer between the East and the West. From the politico-economic point of view, she could repeat the old game for world power position by concluding longterm agreements with German industry and by renewing her trade with Germany. Thus, Russia might reopen the door to the world market."* Editorial in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, March 15, 1952.)

A similar allusion to Rapallo was carried in an editorial of another important German publication:

"Never before has the world political situation been so favorable for Germany as it is today . . . It is not for nothing that both power blocs concentrate their efforts on Germany in order to dominate it politically and economically. Therein lies our chance and our obligation. Our economy has to be kept independent from both sides . . . This is the way that leads towards sovereignty and equality which finally will eliminate all those clauses which were imposed upon us as a result of the lost war . . . While integration with the West restricts our industry to markets where we are subjected to a cut-throat competition, the Eastern bloc offers us markets where countless millions are hungry for our industrial goods. Here (in the East) is Germany's market . . . Thirty years ago, on April 16, 1922, *there were courageous men who, in Rapallo, through direct Russo-German negotiations brought a great turning point in Germany's post-war policy . . . The situation in present day Germany should exhort our leading statesmen to show courage . . . courage towards a Rapallo Policy."* (From the editorial "Courage Towards A Rapallo" of the weekly Der Fortschritt, Essen, May 16, 1952.)

On January 18, 1952, Der Fortschritt insisted that the strategy of the German Foreign Office must be:

THE GERMAN DEAL

"There appears to be a minor panic in Washington over the possibility that the new Soviet diplomatic offensive will wreck the drive for West German rearmament. If the strategy of freedom can be so fatally swept aside by a few fresh winds from Moscow, it is time we took a critical look at our strategy.

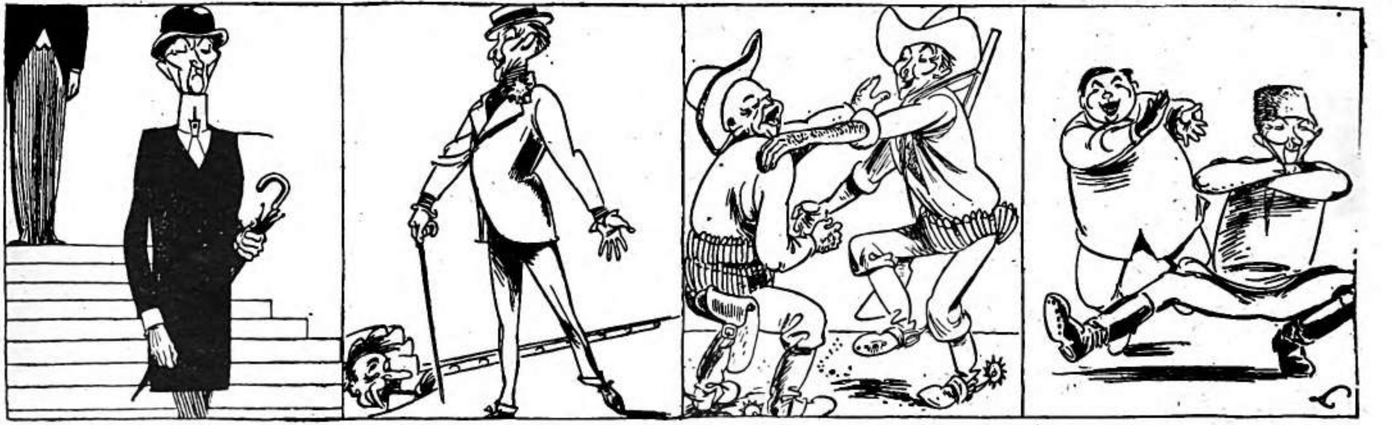
"The Post has long believed that it is unwise to treat Germany as Western Europe's indispensable military man. Millions on both sides of the Iron Curtain cannot lightly banish their gruesome remembrances of German aggression. Moscow knows all that and is shrewdly exploiting such emotions.

"It is easy for some Americans who have never endured German conquest to dismiss the fears as irrational; surely the immediate peril is the spectre of Soviet armed power. But Europeans may justly retort that it is equally irrational for Americans to forget so swiftly the terrors of German militarism and the occasion on which it suddenly joined hands with the Soviet despotism to set off World War II.

"When Dr. Adenauer was in Washington the other day, a band played 'Deutschland Uber Alles' in recognition of the new diplomatic way. Somebody hastily explained that the more bellicose words of this historic theme-song of conquest have been altered. But it still sounds like funeral music to free men . . ."

(From an editorial in the N. Y. Post 4-12-53)

ON POLITICAL TOURS (*Sueddeutche Zeitung: E. M. Lang*)



London 1952: His Lordship

Paris 1953: Mr. Conrad Chevalier

Washington 1953: Old Shakehand

Moskau 19—?: Comrade Konni Adenarov

"Never burn the bridges towards the East; gain time and keep on with diplomatic negotiations."

Recent events show how some of the most powerful forces in Germany are working towards that end. For example, Germany's leading industrialists and Hitler supporters are operating behind the scenes to prepare the groundwork for new economic ties with the Russians. History tells us that an economic entente of such a character usually foreshadows political alliances. Thus the industrial captains of the Ruhr, according to the Swiss journal Wochenzeitung (March 6, 1952), have admitted that they

"underestimated Russian strength when they looked at the East through the ideological glasses of Nazism."

Now these industrialists will follow their real interests by collaboration with the East. Mr. Tetens quotes the newspaper as stating that while Chancellor Adenauer

"has still to function as an ice breaker in order to remove the barrier that is blocking the road to full independence . . . the geopoliticians in the meantime have to study the problems and prepare the terrain for further diplomatic actions."

One of the leading magnates of the Ruhr told this Swiss newspaper:

"Indeed, Germany's prospects in the East are far more attractive than those which are offered us in the West."

This thought finds its echo in the leading newspaper of Western Germany, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung:

"The Chancellor is stubborn but he is a realist . . . It is obvious that he follows the correct thesis to do at the same time one thing, namely to increase our strength by cooperating with the West—and not to neglect the other, namely to come to an agreement with the East." (June 23, 1952.)

"Germany knows for sure that in a new war between the great power blocs it will suffer far more than all the others . . . Our foreign policy should assure the Russians that the West European potential will not be employed against the East, a suggestion that can be used as a trade-in for territorial concessions in the East . . . When Stresemann concluded his Locarno Treaty, he made it a condition that no foreign troops should be allowed to march through Germany. Thus Russia must feel sure that during peace time only German troops will be stationed in Germany." (July 10, 1952.)

In the sharp conflict between the opposing ideologies of democracy and Communist totalitarianism, our policy-makers appeared to have forgotten that nations are not permanently wedded to one another on ideological or sentimental grounds alone. Above all this holds true for the Germans, the masters of Realpolitik. Yet, we have ignored this simple truism and have been content to build the edifice of our German policy on supposedly common ideological grounds with the Germans. Mr. Tetens shows that the Russian Communists were never swayed by ideological differences in their estimation of Germany's intentions.

How do the Germans hope to regain their former position and from there launch a third try at world domination? They believe that this can be done by agreement with the Russians but only when they can prove to the men in the Kremlin that they are powerful in their own right and have the resources of Western Europe behind them. Mr. Tetens shows that this is Chancellor Adenauer's concept of the Third Power Bloc. Writing in his newspaper, the Rheinische Merkur on May 20, 1950, the Chancellor said:

"A federated Europe will become a Third Force in the world, not as strong as Russia or the United States, but powerful enough to intervene successfully—in a decisive moment—to safeguard the peace . . . Germany has again become a factor with whom others will have to reckon in international affairs . . . There is also a long-range economic goal: the colonization of Africa . . . If we Europeans colonize Africa, we create at the same time a supplier of raw materials for Europe which will be of the greatest importance."

In his speech at the Waldorf-Astoria during his visit to the United States, the Chancellor returned to this theme of the Third Power Bloc. This concept has been repeated time and again in leading periodicals and newspapers and by the geopoliticians. This Bloc must be strategically located and relatively safe from Soviet Russia and America. Thus, the German geopolitician Anton Zischka writes in his book "Africa":

"Our present position might be unpleasant but it has one advantage: The East is blocked to us and the process of Americanization has reached its dead-end. Thus, the only way open is to the South, to Africa."

The leading geopolitical newspaper of Western Germany, Christ und Welt, which is also close to Chancellor Adenauer, carried an editorial which said that a strong Germany dominating Western Europe will be able to make the following offer to the Kremlin:

"Continental Europe would break away from the Atlantic Pact if the Soviets agree to withdraw their forces behind the Pripet-Marshes and release not only the Eastern Zone of Germany, but the whole of Eastern Europe into the European Union. A Western Europe standing on its own feet and possessing its own powerful army . . . could afford to carry out such an independent policy because it will have the strength of a third power." (December 27, 1951.)

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung has also dealt with the setting up of the Third Power Bloc:

"We do not need to call the attention of the experienced men in the Kremlin to the fact that a strong and unified Western Europe can defend its independence against every side. Why should the Kremlin not be interested in such an independence? . . . If the world, which is split today in two parts, could be reshuffled into a number of independent power groups, it may prevent this horrible conflagration for mankind. A flexible and prudent Russian policy could, for instance, grant German unification in exchange for the independence of Europe which could be defended against every side. In such a case the reunification of Germany would become a guarantee for peace. The treaties which are presently signed will not prove to be a curb toward reunification if the Russians remain interested in such a solution." (May 30, 1952.)

The above are merely samples of the numerous quotations from the German press which clearly indicate that the Third Power Bloc is Germany's trump card by which she hopes to regain her mastery over Europe. When this is achieved, and at the appropriate time, this power bloc will then break away from the United States and make common cause with the Soviets.

The creation of a Third Power Bloc under German domination would in itself be a disaster to the American policy of trying to construct a United Europe as a defense against Communism. The fact that such a bloc would have a probable orientation toward the East would be an additional disaster. That the Germans hope to dominate Western Europe with the new power granted to them by the grace of the Allies is understood by all the peoples of Western Europe. Mr. Tetens reported a statement by Senator Hickenlooper during a Hearing in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in March, 1952:

"I was told . . . that Europeans were not so fearful of German military resurgence but that basically there was running through the minds of each of those countries, the French, the British, the Italians and so on, the thought that if they took Germany into a comparatively integrated Europe, in 10 *years' time, Germany would own all of Europe, that is, the German industry, the German organizing ability, . . . would completely dominate the economy of Europe, and the rest of them would be more or less economic satellites of Germany within about* 10 *years' time . . . Within* 10 *years, they will have obtained by peace what they could not obtain by two wars . . ."*

The Germans themselves make no bones about it. Jacob Kaiser, the Minister for Unification in the Adenauer government, declared:

"No real Europe can be formed until the German bloc is reconstituted. I remind you that this bloc includes, in addition to Germany, Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar of course, and Alsace-Lorraine. When I think of the Strasbourg Cathedral, my heart hurts."

In a similar vein, Dr. Hans Christian Seebohm, Minister of Commerce, addressed a mass meeting of Sudeten Germans on September 15, 1951, where he denounced

"the monstrous crime the victors had committed against Germany, Europe and the whole world."

As to the question whether Germany must join the West or the West be dependent on Germany, Herr Seebohm said:

"Does free Europe want to join Germany? Germany is the heart of Europe, and the limbs must adjust themselves to the heart, not the heart to the limbs."

The idea of a German dominated Europe is not something new. It is as old as Pan-Germanism itself. One of Dr. Adenauer's friends, the I. G. Farben tycoon Dr. Duisberg wrote the following in a book by the father of German geopolitics, General Haushofer:

"Only an integrated trading-bloc, stretching out from Bordeaux to Sofia, will enable Europe to gain that innermost economic strength which is necessary to uphold her leading position in the world . . . the longing for a thousand year Reich cries for a new approach. For such a purpose we can use the mirage of a Pan-Europe."

Thus, under the guise of posing as the crusaders for European unity, the Germans are rapidly marshalling their forces to sink their claws into Europe as the "prelude for their "big day" with the Russians.

After World War II it was generally accepted by our policy makers that a weak Germany would be dominated by Russia as the first step towards her communization. On that assumption our experts on Germany devised the policy of "rehabilitating Germany" which meant in essence a policy of enabling Germany to regain her former economic power. The line that Russia wanted a weak Germany was never supported by the facts. On the contrary, both Stalin and Molotov repeatedly emphasized the permanence of the German State and the necessity of allowing full freedom for the development of Germany's economic potential. The Soviet proposals of last year underline the fact that the Russians were never wedded to a policy of whittling down Germany's industrial war potential. The Kremlin has now made it perfectly clear that they will support a strong powerful Germany based on an unlimited industrial war potential which could support a national German Army.

Under these circumstances one can rightly ask the question whether our present policies towards Germany are actually playing into the hands of Russian calculations. It is unquestionably true that the Russians would like to foist Communism upon the Germans but they may not be in a hurry to do that job. What they are more interested in at the present time is to create such a Germany that would possess the material wherewithall to launch its own independent actions and to be able to pursue an independent policy in all directions. This would open up great possibilities for the Russian bloc because it would offer the Germans the great opportunities of the vast markets in the East and consequently, it would offer military and political guarantees of a nature which would enable the Germans to wield their power against the West. As Mr. Tetens points out, this thought was expressed in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on September 4, 1952:

"Western Germany should follow a policy of cooperation with the Western powers. But this must never lead to a situation in which Germany becomes the battlefield and the Germans the cannon fodder . . . When, however, against all expectations and reasons, the Americans should start an aggression against the East, disregarding our determination and probably those of other Europeans to stay out of the war, then we should not be forced into participation in a war just for the reason the Americans had helped us in our rearmament. In such a case, the superior strength of Europe should then be automatically directed against any disturbance of the peace that comes from the West.

Can it therefore be that the Russians have in a subtle way egged us on to increase Germany's war potential, hoping that its ultimate use would be against the West?

The imposing evidence of the plot which Germany is hatching must not be ignored. We would repeat the statement of the Los Angeles News in its review of *Germany Plots With The Kremlin*:

"In the light of what has happened to us in connection with Germany we believe we should be well advised to heed Mr. Teten's warning. At least we should read his book. We hope the President reads it. We hope Secretary of State John Foster Dulles reads it, too, for that matter. It's something that needs telling and the least we can do is listen."

". . . In Spain, Schacht spoke out against 'Bolshevism and Dollarism.' Asked how he felt about the Allied occupation of West Germany, he replied, 'The same way Spain felt towards Napoleon when he attacked you.'. . ."

(Gaston Coblentz in the N. Y. Herald Tribune 5-17-53)

Inside Germany

THEIR HEROES

". . . The Chancellor has been Washington's white hope in Germany during his four years in office; he has been one of the leading champions of everything the United States has sought to achieve in Europe; accordingly, he has the right to feel that the American government will want to help him.

"One matter on which this kind of assistance is being sought is the burning issue of German war criminals. About 800 war criminals and other military criminals and other military prisoners are still held by the three Western Allies, one-third of them by the United States. Almost all these prisoners are regarded as innocent, and even as heroes, by a large part of the German public.

"Dr. Adenauer would like to get a bilateral American-German board into operation immediately to grant a series of clemencies before the elections. This would undoubtedly be of importance at the polls . . ."

(Gaston Coblentz to the N. Y. Herald Tribune 6/11/53)

★

GERMAN DIPLOMATS

"Accusations were leveled against secretary of State Dr. Hallstein for his personnel policy. One of his proteges is Ernst Ostermann von Roth who at present is embassy counselor in Santiago de Chile. Not only was Ostermann von Roth an SS man, he also was honored by Himmler with an SS dagger. He is expected to be recalled to Bonn shortly and the development is watched with interest."

(From a Special Correspondent, 5/53)

★

EASTWARD HO!

"West Germany's drive to become a major economic power in the post-war Middle East is accelerating again after a temporary slowdown. The large German firms re-entering the Arab markets were reported this week to include the Krupp interests . . .

"The extent to which West Germany is active in the Middle East, long a favorite field for German ambitions, is indicated by three current developments.

"The first of these concerns Egypt, where competitive bids are being made by foreign firms to provide machinery for exploitation of the untapped iron ore resources of the Aswan region. Four of the six leading bidders are German . . .

"In another development, Iraq—one of the Arab League states most annoyed by the German-Israeli deal—is reported this week to be dickering with German firms on a development project in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley . . .

"Prof. Ernst Heinkel, one of Germany's leading aircraft builders, returned recently from Cairo where he was feted by the Egypt Air Force and government."

(By Gaston Coblentz—N. Y. Herald Tribune 4/15/53)

★

GERMANY'S ACE SALESMAN

". . . Dr. Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht, once Hitler's highly publicized financial adviser, now is sitting behind the president's desk of a new Duesseldorf Bank, Schacht & Co., explicitly established to organize German-Arab trade.

"Fit and active at 76, and appropriately 'de-Nazified,' Herr Schacht recently visited every Arab country. In Cairo, he talked about barter deals involving Egyptian cotton and German machinery, in Damascus about the development of new iron mines, and in Teheran, about the advantages of an Iranian oil mission's being based on Bonn.

"Herr Schacht's objective is to bring West Germany's trade with the Middle East up to its profitable pre-war level—to Germany's 1938 10 per cent of all Egypt's foreign trade and 25 per cent of all Iran's import trade."

(From a dispatch to the N. Y. Times 5/22/53)

★

GROWING CHAUVINISM

"German nationalism, the kind that flourished long before Hitler, is coming back fast in Western Germany. The Nazi troublemakers get the headlines, but reviving nationalism is more important. it will probably be the dominant force in West Germany before long . . .

"The nationalistic spirit has already reached the point where Germans who have worked for the Allies during the occupation are viewed with suspicion. Germans who have visited America for educational training are likewise suspect. Newspapers that wrangled permits from the Allies so they could publish early in the post-war period are derided as the 'licensed press.'

"And, in court, if a German lawyer wants to get a light sentence for his client, he need only remark in passing that the defendant once suffered in an Allied prisoner-of-war camp . . ."

(From a Report to U. S. News & World Report 3/27/53)

★

BLUEPRINT

". . . The blueprint for Germany's comeback as a power in the aviation field was disclosed by Herman Kastner, associate director of the 'Association for the Development of Air Transport' . . .

"In an interview, Kastner said: 'First, we shall build sports and training planes. Then we hope we can build transport planes under foreign license. We've already discussed this possibility with the Douglas, Lockheed and Consolidated companies in America.

" 'Once our aviation industry gets going, we'll be a tough competitor. After all, a German will work for two marks (46 cents) an hour while an American wants at least two dollars. So we can undercut American plane producers in the world markets.' "

(Brack Curry to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch 6/7/53)

★

GERMAN BANKERS

"The CDU banker and deputy Pferdmenges of Cologne has taken over again the directorship of the Oppenheim Bank following the death of Baron Oppenheim. Baron Pferdmenges is in very close contact with the new Schacht Bank in Dusseldorf. It was the expressed desire of Schacht that Pferdmenges got in touch with the Arabic States. The late Baron Oppenheim was against this move. Now Pferdmenges is free to do as he wants to do. Pferdmenges is also an opponent of the ratification of the reparation agreement with Israel. However, he cannot succeed since the majority of the Socialist Party is in favor of the agreement. By the way, the connection of the Oppenheim Bank, i.e. Pferdmenges, with the Schacht Bank is not official."

(From a Special Correspondent, 5/53)

* * *

A GERMAN OPERATOR

"Symptomatic of West Germany's powerful economic resurgence on world markets is the announcement by Dr. Herrmann von Siemens, chairman of the board of Siemens & Halske, that his company and a Swiss associate have been awarded a contract by Venezuela to install a modern telephone system in Caracas. . . .

"Herr von Siemens said in his annual company report the contract was valued at 100,000,000 Deutsche marks ($23,800,000). New telephone installations, he said, would service 85,000 subscribers and would incorporate the new Siemens motor dialing system.

"Siemens & Halske and its affiliate, Siemens-Schuckert, are leading manufacturers of electrical equipment and machines in Europe. Their turnover last year was in excess of 1,200,000,000 Deutsche marks ($2,857,000,000). Their combined exports last year were 20 per cent higher than in 1951 . . ."

(By M. S. Handler to the N. Y. Times 5/14/53)

* * *

LIBERATION

On March 22, 1953, the Bonn government announced the liberation of the war criminal Peters, former director of the DeGesch Company. This company furnished poison gas—Zyklon B—used at Auschwitz to exterminate the Jews. Peters is slated to resume his activities at the Bayer Company (I. F. Farben, Leverkrusen).

(From Droit et Liberte, Paris, 4/53)

* * *

BACK IN THE BALKANS

"Negotiations are under way in Bonn for an eight-year $80,000,000 capital investment loan to Yugoslavia . . .

"West Germany is today the leading power in commercial trade with Yugoslavia. This result was achieved with liberal loans and credits to finance exports . . ."

(From a dispatch to the N. Y. Times 4/15/53)

* * *

THE NAZI UNDERGROUND

"The German Nazi underground whose branches operate throughout Europe and South America was responsible for the liberation of the 7 Dutch war criminals from the prison at Breda. The headquarters of this organization is located in the Rhineland and has the means and the connections to carry out its plans. The organization possesses a complete archive of files, passports and papers of soldiers who died in the war. This organization is also in touch with members of the French Foreign Legion in order to facilitate the admission of war criminals into the Foreign Legion. A large part of its underground work consists of helping war criminals of various nationalities."

(From Trouw, Holland, 1/53)

* * *

NAZIS AT WORK

"The B D J (Bund Deutsche Jugend), the terrorist organization, the unmasking of which a few months ago caused a general indignation in all the countries, has just held its Congress to elect a new leadership. It appears that 67 industrial firms in West Germany have supported this gang, the purpose of which, among others, was to assassinate the leaders of the democratic movements and to destroy all monuments erected to the victims of Nazism. According to the Swiss publication, 'Die Tat,' the members of this organization received a monthly subsidy of 50,000 marks per month from the American High Commissioner.

"According to the German weekly, 'Der Spiegel,' this gang was slated to become the backbone of the new German army.

"Another gang of Nazi killers operates under the camouflage of 'Shock Brigade Against Bolshevik Decay.' In a secretly circulated brochure to its members, the organization begs its members not to reveal the true name of the organization which is a 'protection of the German Fatherland,' the purpose no doubt, being to conceal the para-military character of this organization which has secret military organizations in various regions, the structure of which corresponds exactly to the Chief of Staff of the Wehrmacht."

(From Voix Ouvriere, Geneva, 2/53)

* * *

WORKING BOTH SIDES

"The German industrialists indeed want to rearm Germany in order to do business with both the West and the East. Western markets cannot satisfy the Germans; they would like to be able to sell in both central and eastern Europe. It is known that they have already established contacts with the Iron Curtain countries. Recently a Duesseldorf paper reported that a very important firm ostensibly delivered a large order of cranes for Norway. However, this order was transshipped in mid-ocean to a Polish ship and delivered at a Polish port. This story was never denied."

(From Nation Belge—Brussels, 2/53)

DREAMS?

"Germany's 200 out-of-work generals are on the warpath again. Make no mistake about that. With dizzy dreams of conquest, undeterred by defeat, these ambitious, clever and relentless men are back on the job of arousing the latent militarism in 50,000,000 West German hearts.

"In rooms draped with nationalist flags, the generals talk of 'military honors,' of the need to free every war criminal before German soldiers side with the west . . .

"There is little disagreement among the members of the generals' club on what it is they want—only about the means to achieve it.

"The wiser heads remember the slow-but-sure methods used by their predecessors to get round the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty after World War I.

"Others form a more dangerous group which is for coming to terms with Russia at a pinch.

"All believe that a German-NATO contingent is just a stop-gap to keep Britain and America happy until the day of German militarism dawns again."

(From Antony Terry to the Cleveland Plain Dealer)

★

THE SENTENCE

"For killing 21 Jewish prisoners in the Buchenwald concentration camp in one day in November, 1939, a former Master Sergeant in the SS has been sentenced to nine years in jail by a German court at the nearby town of Waldshut."

(From J. T. A., 6/15/53)

"... Most Saarland political leaders realize that the Saar's coal and steel is so important to France as a counterweight against the German Ruhr, that European peace would be difficult if not impossible if the Saar were restored to Germany. France, gravely weakened, would be a bitter and resentful partner in the European team at best.

"Saarlanders also remember unhappily what happened when they voted overwhelmingly to return to Germany under Hitler. He promised them 1,000 years of well-being and predicted they would not recognize the Saarland in ten years. The prediction proved correct, for the Saar, as one of the main targets of World War II, was smashed . . ."

(By Barrett McGurn in the N. Y. Herald Tribune 5-12-53)

(The High Authority of the Schuman Plan) "has power to fix prices, control wages, and to decide what if any new capital investment may be made in steel and coal industries. If it chooses to exercise those powers it can make a private cartel seem as generous as the Salvation Army. For the Coal and Steel Community has the power of government compulsion and thus can become the giant of all cartels if it chooses . . ."

(From an editorial in the Wall Street Journal 5-4-53)

LENDING A HELPING HAND

"West German industry so far has contributed to the FDP some 34 million marks to help the party in the forthcoming election in September. There is a plan to raise additional funds from the West German heavy industry and August Heinrichsbauer in Bonn is considered to be in charge of this project."

(From a Special Correspondent, 5/53)

★

FACTS AND FIGURES

"Since 1944, according to the statistics published by the Military Justice, 18,755 war criminals have been called before the military tribunals; 12,539 accusations were dismissed; 320 were acquitted; 430 were sentenced; 443 were sentenced for major crimes; 493 were condemned to death (400 in absentia); only 55 of those convicted were executed.

(From Le Monde, Paris, 1/53)

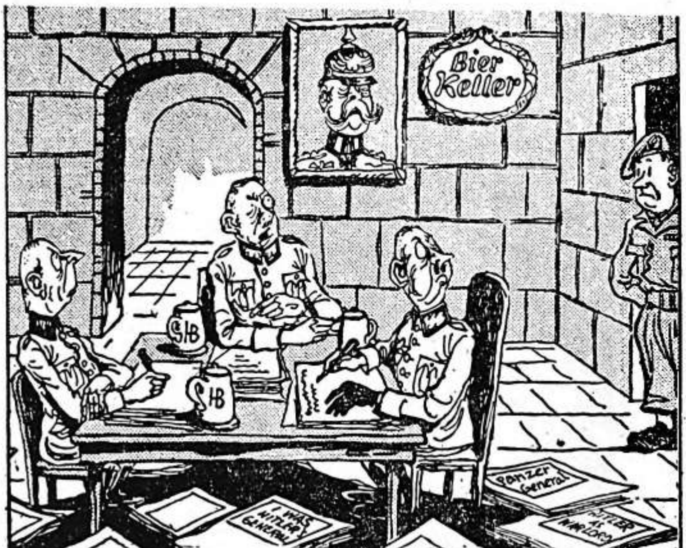
★

THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS

"Thirteen years of Nazi domination and six years of total war have had almost no effect on the 'essential' character of the German people, it was reported yesterday by Dr. Henry J. Meyer Jr., professor of Sociology at New York University.

"Dr. Meyer was one of the American consultants to a group of German students who conducted a three-year study of Darmstadt, which suffered heavily from bombing raids during World War II. From this survey, and his own personal observations while living in Darmstadt, Dr. Meyer found the Germans are still fond of authority and the old way—German style—of doing things . . ."

(From the N. Y. Herald Tribune 3/8/53)



(*Vicky in The London News Chronicle*)

"We're not plotting, we're writing our memoirs for the Allies."

SHADES OF HITLER

Regarding the arrest of the leaders of the Neo-Nazi Free Corps—"The program of this association, in general, takes up to 25 principal points of the Nazi Party. It declares war on the Jesuits, Jews and Free Masons. Its essential aim is to obtain through force—if that be necessary—all the power in Germany in order to introduce democracy.

"After the installation of this new regime, Germany will be led by a secret cabinet of 10 members and these members would carry out its work through the executive groups of the Free Corps which are located in various provinces of Germany.

"The members of the directing committee calculated that Germany would be ready for a coup d'etat in 1957. The persons arrested are all former officers under the Nazi regime who profited from it and who were disappointed that they didn't enjoy the same privileges under the new regime. These members staked out for themselves advantageous positions. Hawranke was Gauleiter at Hamburg. Frauenfeld had the same post at Bremen. Lamp was the chief of the Third Section which carried the name of Marshal Petain. Dr. Scheel (who had been previously arrested by the British as a member of the Naumann Circle) was also chief of a section.

"A man with a very questionable past and who was arrested was Beck-Broichsitter, former head of the Bruderschaft."

(From Le Parisien Libre, Paris, 2/53)

* * *

THE NAME IS FAMILIAR

"Bethold Krupp von Bohlen, an executive of the German steel industry centered in Essen, Germany, arrived in Greece to study the potential worth of the nickel mines in North Attica controlled by Bodosaki Athanasiades, Greece's leading industralist . . ."

(From a dispatch to the N. Y. Times 5/15/53)

* * *

A GOEBBELS' MAN

"The former ministerial councellor of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry Werner Stephan who cooperated with Goebbels under the Nazi regime to the very end, i.e. until Goebbels let him out two months before his own demise, now holds an important position with a German scientific institution in Bad Godesberg (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft). From 1925-1930 Stephan was the administrator of the German Democratic Party and then became one of the founders of the Staatspartei (Liberal Party). In 1932 he followed von Papen very closely and in March 1933 he welcomed loudly the Nazis and shortly thereafter enjoyed the special confidence of Goebbels. Today he has at his disposal one million marks for the publication of books."

(From a Special Correspondent, 5/53)

* * *

INFORMATION PLEASE

"'When Europe is ready, we Germans are ready.'

"So says Adolf Heusinger, the man who is all prepared to put a new West German army into uniform, train it, and, if necessary, send it into battle on the side of the West. Once he was Chief of Operations Planning for Hitler's Wehrmacht. Today ex-General Heusinger has a similar job in a tiny corner office at No. 27 Emerkill Strasse.

"That's headquarters for West Germany's embryo defense department, known here as the Bureau Blank . . .

"The Bureau Blank has also developed a widespread intelligence network. The agency had the full text of the now-famous French protocols before any other country got it. Bureau Blank officials are also receiving information from West German businessmen who travel abroad. 'We have to keep informed on international affairs if we are to be efficient,' says one official."

(From Edward Hughes, Wall Street Journal, 3/19/53)

* * *

PUBLIC OPINION

"The Germans don't like the Allies. Hatred is growing. That includes Americans, though we are less unpopular than the British . . .

"A minority are pro-Ally . . .

"French occupation has been particularly objectionable to the Germans . . .

"Americans come in for less bitter dislike, but also less respect. Our 'crimes' include: requisitioning their scarce housing, telling them how to run their country, prating about democracy which we don't practice, 'sending Negro troops to occupy the country and ex-German Jews to rule it,' and 'protecting Jewish black marketeers,' putting chlorine in good German water."

(From Ludwell Denny in the N. Y. World Telegram 3/13/53)

* * *

"The Federal Republic's gold and foreign currency holdings on March 31 reached a postwar high of 5,235,300,000 Deutsche marks ($1,246,-500,000).

"The Bank Deutscher Laender reported that of this amount 774,900,000 Deutsche marks ($184,-500,000) was in gold.

"Despite this and much other evidence of West Germany's growing prosperity, industrialists are urging Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's coalition government for more concessions that would give them a free hand to increase their monopolistic power.

"The industrialists are making three principal demands: (1) the elimination of tax free government securities from the money market; (2) the sale of huge state-owned heavy industries to private interests, and (3) a law permitting the recartelization of West German industry and business under certain conditions . . ."

(By M. S. Handler to the N. Y. Times 6-4-53)

The Re-Nazification of Germany

THE NAUMANN CIRCLE MENACE

When Werner Naumann, former Secretary of State in the Himmler Ministry, was arrested by the British authorities last January 14, West Germany was greatly shocked. The event took place on the eve of the Bonn ratification of the peace treaties that was supposed to give Germany back her sovereignty. Was this another sinister attempt by "perfidious Albion" to discredit democratic and Western oriented Germany, most Germans asked? Many decent Germans were convinced that they detected another Machiavellian British plot—to torpedo the E. D. C. or at least to put a brake to the forward movement of the Western European community.

Official Germany was both shocked and surprised. Chancellor Adenuaer, his Minister of Interior, Dr. Lehr and Minister of Justice, Thomas Dehler, tried to minimize the significance of the Naumann conspiracy. The British were accused of unfairness, even of violating the occupation statute. The British were openly told that they had no business looking into a strictly domestic affair.

Less than four months later, on May 5, 1953, Minister of Justice Dehler suddenly discovered there was a threat to German democracy and unhesitatingly declared that *"the Naumann Circle represented one of the greatest dangers to Germany. Its aim was to seize power after the forthcoming elections which were supposed to be the last consultation of a free people."*

Dr. Dehler also discovered that the intelligence work performed by the Naumann group was superb and diabolical, and Naumann's ability to make friends in high government and industrial circles unsurpassed and his cunning unmatched. The Minister of Justice agreed that the democratic world was justified in its apprehensions about the activities of the Naumann Circle.

The Record

What made Dr. Dehier change his mind so drastically in a few months? Did High Commissioner Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick show him the 200 reports on the activities of the Naumann Circle prepared by the British Intelligence Service? At any rate, it is no secret now that the activities of the Naumann Circle ranged far and wide and its members enjoyed the confidence and cooperation of the most prominent politicians of the *F. D. P.* (Free German Party) and *D. P.* (the German Party), the backbone of the Adenauer regime, and were in close touch with some of the most prominent German industrialists such as Otto Stinnes and Flick, and the representation of the chemical industry at Leverkusen and other industries.

Numerous files captured by the British clearly show that the heart of the movement was located in Dusseldorf, the industrial center of Western Germany. The anti-democratic forces of that region have done a magnificent job in undermining the conservative parties by infiltrating them with a host of unregenerate Nazis. This work was performed with the financial help of some prominent German politicians, especially Friedrich Middelhauve.

Middelhauve is the leader of the Right Wing of the F. D. P. At the Conference of the Party at Bad Ems, November 1952, the Middelhauve program succeeded in defeating the left or liberal wing of the party. Middelhauve won again this Spring at the local Congress of the F. D. P. Party at Dusseldorf. He is the undisputed boss of the land Rhineland-Westphalia which contributes at least 73 per cent of the total income of the F. D. P. He has been a long-term advocate of admitting all former Nazis to the F. D. P. Today, he is openly advocating an alliance with the Rightist D. P. Party as well as all and sundry smaller extremist parties that have infested Germany recently.

Astute observers of Germany's political scene claim that Middelhauve is now playing the role of the late Alfred Huggenberg, who, in the 20s, financed Germany's extreme rightist movements and worked closely with Hitler, Von Papen, Dusterberg (the former chief of the Stahlhelm) and Schacht, to defeat the Communist menace. This movement was known as the Harzburg Front. Although the Communist Party is no menace in West Germany today, Middelhauve has set himself up as the champion fighter against radicalism.

Middelhauve of course disavows any Nazi tendencies. By a strange coincidence Middelhauve, like the pre-war magnate Huggenberg, is mostly interested in the publishing business and like Huggenberg is closely linked with the German heavy industry in the Ruhr. Middelhauve's publishing house has received large orders during the past year from the Stinnes firm. The latter is also subsidizing heavily Middelhauve's printing plants. His sole aim, Middelhauve says, is fighting against Marxism under any form. He also claims to be a friend of the new German government by trying to do away with splinter parties which have done so much harm to the Weimar Republic. Although Middelhauve claims that he has never engaged in conspiracies, he played a prominent role in setting up the pro-Nazi government in Schleswig-Holstein, whose chief, the former S.S. W. Kraft is a close friend of his, as is former S. A. Fuhrer Stuckert, Himmler's collaborator. He is now making an open bid to all extreme Rightists to organize a united front in the September elections.

The Role of Achenbach

The real brains behind the Naumann Circle and Middelhauve is Mr. Ernst Achenbach (his attorney and friend). During World War II, Achenbach was one of the closest collaborators of Otto Abetz in France. After the war he distinguished himself as an attorney for some of the most important Nazi criminals at Nurenberg. He also helped to denazify some of the most important Nazi industrialists. Achenbach rendered great service to Otto Stinnes during his de-Nazification trial and later became his close friend and confidante. Not long ago Achenbach succeeded in whitewashing a Thyssen company which was caught selling iron and steel and other strategic goods to the Iron Curtain countries. In fact, there is hardly an important denazification case before the West German courts that Achenbach would not be asked to defend.

Achenbach became a close friend of Werner Naumann during the Nazi occupation of Paris. Naumann was a member of the Abetz propaganda office where he also met a certain Herbert Lucht. Another person who played a prominent role in the Abetz propaganda office was a young Belgian woman, Lea Van Dievoets, whose family was very close to the Belgian Rexist Leader, Leon Degrelle. This young lady who married Herbert Lucht later is known as "Sliccy." Achenbach, Naumann, Lucht and "Sliccy" comprised a most intimate circle, extremely active in carrying out the Nazi ideas in France. Their friendship continued after the Nazi defeat, and in 1949 this group founded an import and export house in Dusseldorf under the name of H. S. Lucht. The firm has grown tremendously since then and seems to dispose of large resources. Its capitalization amounts to 17 million marks and the chief administrator of the firm is Werner Naumann while Achenbach represents its legal interests. "Sliccy" Lucht is also active in the firm, and she finds time to act as liaison between the Naumann Circle and the Rexist leader, Leon Degrelle, now living in Argentina.

The Naumann Web

W. Naumann, the chief plotter arrested by the British, has succeeded in establishing a network of political and economic collaborators within and without Germany. His friends are operating in South Africa, Spain, Argentina and Egypt. Financially, Naumann's firm's successes have been truly phenomenal. Not long ago the firm succeeded in obtaining an order to construct the railroad linking Egypt with Sudan. Recently the project was extended to South Africa.

One of Naumann's chief aids in Germany is Paul Zimmerman (one of the eight accused plotters). Zimmerman is the former chief of the Economic Ministry of the Hitler government. Zimmerman in turn is an intimate friend of Wilhelm Voss who, jointly with former S. S. Herzel, constitute Egypt's present economic braintrust.

In 1952 Paul Zimmerman paid an extended visit to Cairo and Alexandria. In turn, Wilhelm Voss came to see Zimmerman in Germany shortly thereafter to discuss various business deals with Ruhr industrialists. As a result of these visits, numerous agreements have been concluded between Egypt and Germany and German firms have re-entered the Middle East. In the last six months alone, four German firms have succeeded in outbidding foreign firms with their plans to develop the untapped iron ore resources of the Aswan region. Among these firms is the Krupp Stahlbau Rheinhausen, maker of heavy industrial equipment. It appears that most of the economic successes in the Middle East were due to the excellent work performed by Naumann's close friend Wilhelm Voss. Thus, the German industrialists are making excellent use of the political and military connections of prominent Nazis living abroad in order to regain their former position in the Middle East.

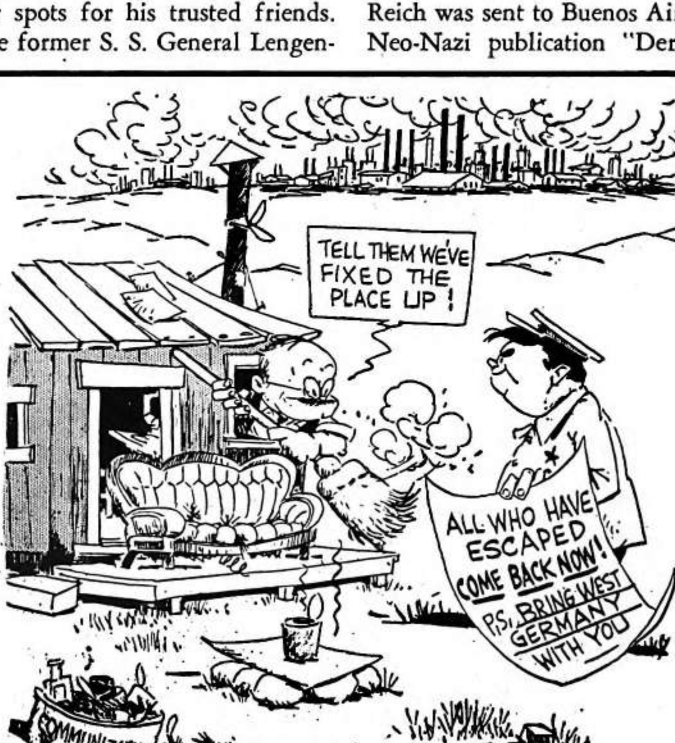
Naumann is a wealthy man now. His friend and boss Lucht having died in the meantime, Naumann became the head of the Lucht import and export house in 1951. His intimate connections with the German industrialists were most profitable; he took advantage of them to place his friends in positions of importance in the German economy. His friend and lawyer Achenbach, the paymaster of the Ruhr industrialists, helped him to select the proper spots for his trusted friends.

Thus the former S. S. General Lengenfeldt of the Central Secret Services of Germany under Hitler was made Legal Adviser to the Stinnes concern. M. Diewerge, former chief of the Nazi propaganda office in Danzig, was introduced to Deputy Middelhauve and became one of his closest collaborators.

The famous Hitler radio propagandist, Hans Fritzsche, who was acquitted at Nurenberg, was helped to become an agent for a French lipstick firm. However, it is known that he has placed his ability as a radio propagandist at the service of the Naumann Circle and is trying to evolve a program which is very close to that of Hitler for the Rightist parties. This program is known as the "German program" and envisages the dissolution of both houses in the election of a president by popular vote. Wilhelm Zogelmann, a Hitler Youth Leader and "close collaborator of Conrad Henlein, the Sudeten quisling who destroyed Czechoslovakia, has become the editor-in-chief of the D. P. Right Wing publication "German Future."

F. R. Salat, former director of Hitler's publishing house "Eherverlag" has taken over a publishing house "Edeka."

J. Von Leers, the well known propagandist and theoretician of the Third Reich was sent to Buenos Aires to run the Neo-Nazi publication "Der Weg." Al-


TELL THEM WE'VE FIXED THE PLACE UP!
ALL WHO HAVE ESCAPED COME BACK NOW! P.S. BRING WEST GERMANY WITH YOU
COMMUNIZATION

(Courtesy, N. Y. Herald Tribune, Inc., Copyright 1953)
OLD HOME WEEK IN EAST GERMANY

though the circulation of the magazine in Germany is prohibited by the Bonn government, it is widely circulated by the Vohwinkel house at Heidelberg. When Von Leers left Germany he went under the name of Hans Euler. His litrerary name now is K. Neubert. Von Leer's activities in Argentine Nazi circles were uncovered by anti-Nazis and made public.

The former gauleiter of Hamburg, Karl Kaufmann, and Dr. Gustav Scheel, former fuhrer of the German students, were entrusted with the task of directing the activities of S. S. associations.

Another prominent Nazi, Dr. Heinrich Haselmayer, who was singled out by Hitler for his work in sterilization of ill people, is active practicing medicine again.

Rogues Gallery

The five most important members of the Naumann Circle arrested in January 1953 were: Naumann, Zimmerman, Scheel, Haselmayer and Kaufmann. Two others who were arrested but who played a less prominent role were: H. Scharping and Dr. H. Siepen. The latter is a member of the Rhineland-Westphalia Diet and reported to have a financial interest in the plant of Punkdal at Solingen.

Although Dr. Achenbach is the brains behind the Naumann Circle, he was not arrested and he has thus been able to play a most influential role in the F. D. P. In addition to his legal and political activities, he is also directing an office at Essen, the purpose of which is to agitate for a general amnesty for the war criminals. Among the very prominent Nazis Achenbach employed in this office were former Nazi Commissioner to Denmark, Dr. Best and S. S. General Prof. Alfred Six. Dr. Best was the author of the Nazi Terror Plans and a close collaborator of the Gestapo Chief Himmler.

Other prominent Nazis who have emerged recently on the political scene, thanks to the efforts of the Naumann Circle, were former Nazi Mayor of Frankfurt, Dr. H. Krebs, and Mr. Schranz, former Mayor of Offenbach. Dr. Krebs is again municipal counselor in Frankfurt, having failed to become Mayor of the city, and Mr. Schranz is head of the Deutsche Partei in Hessen. The Vice-president of the D. P. in Hessen, Derichsweiler, former high official of the Nazi regime, is one of the guiding lights of the "German Union," an extreme rightist party. In the ranks of the Naumann Circle we also find gauleiters Grohe and Florian.

Dr. H. Schacht is also reported to be very close to the Naumann Circle. He has recently founded a new bank in Dusseldorf, having failed to accomplish his aims at Hamburg. When he was looking around for a place to establish his new bank, a prominent member of the Christian Democratic Union (Adenauer's Party), Dr. Vomfelde, used his political influence to enable the financial wizard to establish his bank in Dusseldorf. Dr. Schacht's bank has been very helpful to Dr. Naumann. In recent years, Schacht has made many trips to South America, the Middle East, India, Egypt, Spain and other places. While in Spain he was the guest of the famous S. S. Colonel Otto Skorzeny, a close collaborator of the Naumann Circle. Otto Skorzeny, the liberator of Mussolini and one of the most prominent S. S. officials, has been living in Madrid in recent years and has been active in both political and economic fields

Skorzeny has been very busy of late; he is active as representative of Germany's machine-tool interests. He is also directing the Nazi propaganda there. Recently he went to Egypt at the suggestion of Dr. Schacht. Due to the fact that he is closely connected with the Lucht house in Dusseldorf, his business ventures with Egypt have proved very successful.

In Spain, Skorzeny is known under the name of Steinburger. His success there is due to the excellent work done in his behalf by the German Countess Finkenstein, a longtime resident in that country.

Skorzeny also has excellent connections with the Duchess of Valencia, who is not on very good terms with Gen. Franco. This notwithstanding, the Duchess has been very helpful in introducing him to some of the most important personalities of the Franco regime as well as those opposed to the Caudillo. Col. Skorzeny does not seem to have any difficulties in travelling in Spanish Morocco and Tangiers. The S. S. Colonel seems to be particularly interested in Africa and recently he almost succeeded in wresting a large order for cement for the Canary Islands from the British.

Although the Naumann Circle believes that the former Nazi Stuka ace, Col. Hans Rudel is not discreet enough, nevertheless they have established a close working relationship with him in Argentina.

Col. Rudel is a member of a very powerful Nazi group known as "Das Reich" which in reality is directed by Skorzeny. The Nazi air ace is also a member of a very militant Nazi group known as the German Bloc, along with the fiery Nazi General, Paul Ramcke, who, ever since his liberation from the French prison, has been one of the most rabid Nazi agitators in German veteran circles.

The Notorious Mufti

Dr. Gustav Scheel deserves special mention. He is a very close friend of the former Mufti of Jerusalem and was instrumental in introducing him to Hitler. He acted as the liaison between the two for a number of years. As gauleiter of Salzburg, Dr. Scheel was in a position to give asylum to the Mufti after the Nazi debacle. There is conclusive evidence that Dr. Scheel smuggled the Mufti into Switzerland.

The wartime friendship proved beneficial to both conspirators. A few years ago when the Germans began casting their eyes on the Middle East, Dr. Scheel turned to the Mufti for help. The latter was only too glad to introduce the German businessman to his friends in the Arab League. Conclusive evidence shows that both the Mufti and Dr. Scheel did all they could to bring about the Arab intransigent attitude toward the Israeli-German Reparations Pact.

It has been frequently reported that Dr. Scheel has contributed funds to the Grand Mufti. There is also evidence that the Naumann Circle has been receiving money from foreign sources. The truth of these reports no doubt will be revealed at the forthcoming trial of the Naumann Circle leaders.

At any rate, it is certain that the Mufti's pro-German propaganda has found a fertile field in Egypt. In the course of a recent interview Gen. Naguib gave to a foreign correspondent, the general flatly expressed his great admiration for the Germans. This is what he said about them: *"I want you to believe me when I say that I have not changed the great admiration I have for the Germans. Their efficiency, their extraordinary gifts as scientists and technicians and their loyalty are quite unique. I have been seeing all these qualities in recent times, watching the work of the German officers and experts in my army. . . . At present we are working very hard on the great Aswan project. This is a Five Year Plan and it offers tremendous possibilities to the Germans."*

The Growth of Nazi Elements

Meantime, while the most prominent leaders of the Naumann Circle are awaiting trial, the slow infiltration of the Nazi elements into the German public life is continuing. All over Germany, small and large groups of Nazis or Nazi sympathizers have become very active. Invariably these Nazi groups have been found linked to the Naumann Circle. Some of the most prominent of the smaller groups is the BDJ (Federation of German Youth), the "Free Corps Germany," "Das Reich," and more recently "The German Community."

It is definitely established that these semi-secret organizations have had close links with the Naumann Circle. It was Naumann who financed and nurtured the Union of Former Soldiers. Naumann's close collaborators, Kaufmann, Salat, Scheel, Alfred Frauenfeld, former Austrian gauleiter, have been most active recently organizing former S. S. members. Thus we find that Gustav Scheel is a member of the "Free Corps Germany"; Rudel and Ramcke are members of the German bloc; Skorzeny and Rudel are members of "Das Reich"; Fritzsche and Achenbach are members of the German Union and Haselmayer and Naumann belong to the mysterious Bruderschaft whom "Prevent World War III" exposed a couple of years ago.

Col. Rudel is the brains behind "Free Corps Germany." This group is organized along military lines with a Fuhrer, General Staff, membership cards and rigid military discipline. Its members swear allegiance to Admiral Karl Doenitz now serving a 10-year prison term at Spandau. The political views of the group are a revised version of the Nazi 25 Point Program. Its philosophy is anti-Semitic, anti-Jesuit and anti-Freemason. Its aim is to seize power by force and then have it legalized.

Nazi-Communist Flirtations

Through the Bruderschaft, the Naumann Circle and the extreme Rightist Parties have been in contact with the Communists. The two leaders of the Bruderschaft, Beck-Broichsitter and Franke-Grieksch have fallen out and the organization is not what it used to be. Nevertheless, they have been able to cooperate through F. K. Bornemann who is director of a publication in Dusseldorf. Bornemann was also the link between the Naumann Circle and the two leaders of the Bruderschaft. He was cultural director under the Nazis and in recent years his house has served as a meeting place for former Nazi big-wigs such as Dietrich, former chief of the Nazi Press, Axmann, former Fuhrer of the German Youth and the above-mentioned gauleiters Florian and Grohe.

It is definitely established that Beck-Broichsitter collaborated closely with Kaufmann and Scheel. On the other hand, Franke-Grieksch who has friends among the Soviet leaders in Eastern Germany, was charged by the Naumann Circle to negotiate for the delivery of Ruhr steel products to the iron curtain countries.

Franke-Grieksch also had extensive contacts with two pro-Soviet former officers of the German Wehrmacht, Col. Lehwess-Litzmann and Col. Boldt. The latter two are definitely known to be working on the closest terms with the Soviet military authorities in Eastern Germany. Franke-Grieksch has been living recently in the Eastern part of Berlin and has not returned to Western Germany.

Whether the disappearance of Franke-Grieksch eliminated the danger of collusion between the Nazis and the Communists is problematical. However, the Bonn government has indicated strongly that collusion still exists. At any rate, it is certain that Col. Lehwess-Litzmann has definitely allied himself with the Communist cause. The Colonel has many friends among the West German military leaders and was known to be a great admirer of Stalin. He has been in Russia recently and, since his return to Western Germany, has spent his time recruiting officers for Soviet East Germany.

Nor was the Bruderschaft alone in its flirtations with Communism. The famous group "Das Reich" as well as the "Sammlung zur Tat" are also known to be in close contact with Communist elements in Eastern Germany.

The International Fascists

There is also in Germany a small group of most fanatical Nazis known as "International Fascists." Its leader in Germany is K. H. Priester who lives in Wiesbaden and who openly says that he is a National-Socialist. The Party was founded in 1949 as an ultra-Nationalist group strongly opposed to the "Western tendencies" of Adenauer. Fr. Bornemann is the link between Priester and the Naumann Circle. Priester is a close friend of the S. S. Generals Gille and Hauser. Priester's organization held various meetings last year at Hanover at which were present many prominent German Nazis, formerly members of the "Condor." Skorzeny was also present.

The first meeting of the International Fascist Movement took place at Malmoe, Sweden, May 1, 1951. Karl Priester represented Germany; Per Engdahl represented Sweden; M. Bardeche represented France, and Italy was represented by Marsanich and Gen. Graziani. This International Fascist group has also close links with Sir Oswald Mosely of Great Britain. All these representatives are very active in their respective countries, trying to create a Social European Movement. Their aim is to remake Europe according to the Hitler principles, with Germany as the master. These leaders have been able to enroll the support of elements in Norway, Denmark, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Argentina and India.

This International Fascist Movement publishes a prominent periodical called "Nation Europa" at Cobourg. Arthur Ehardt is its editor. In addition, the International Movement has been publishing various periodicals in several countries. The International Fascist Movement seems to be prospering most in Argentina. There we find Leon Degrelle, Col. Rudel, Gen. Galland, Ante Pavelitch, the fuhrer of Croatia, the Italian Fascist T. Abelli and F. di Giglio who are publishing the Fascist Manifesto.

As mentioned above, the most prominent German publication is "Der Weg" which, through Von Leer, constantly interchange articles and ideas with "Nation Europa."

Mention must also be made of "Natintern" or International Nazism led by the Nazi Wolfgang Sarg. Its headquarters are in England and the movement has supporters all over the world. One of its most important collaborators is the Mufti of Jerusalem. The slogan of Natintern is "Nationalists of all countries, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your Jews." One of its publications is entitled "World Dictatorship by 1955." Gen. Ramcke who is tied to the Naumann Circle is also a member of "Natintern." Gen. Ramcke is now trying to enroll the leaders of the Stahlhelm into the movement.

"Natintern" numbers among its members, Dr. Voss, the adviser to Gen. Naguib, mentioned above, Col. Skorzeny and

Col. Rudel.

To return to Rudel, it is definitely established that in December of 1952 Rudel came to Berchtesgaden to discuss with the members of the Nazi movement "Das Reich" the liberation of the war criminals now detained at Werl. The attempt to imitate Skorzeny by freeing the war criminals by plane was discovered in time and the plot was foiled.

Mention must also be made of an inactive German leader known as Hek Rau. His real name is Heinz Erich Krause. He is connected with Col. Rudel and his movement "Das Reich." Rau is very active spreading Julius Streicher's ideas. Rau believes that the West Germans are not sufficiently compensated for going with the West. Therefore, the Germans should go with the Russians. Rau is also active among the Veterans.

The Mysterious General Gehlen

One of the most mysterious characters in Germany today is Gen. Gehlen, the invisible and ever-present organizer of the "Abwehr." He was a close collaborator of the murdered Admiral Canaris, head of the German Secret Service. During World War II, Gen. Gehlen was in charge if Eastern European affairs. He was chief of that section in the German General Staff known as "Foreign Armies-East," which had to learn all about Russia and their Eastern armies, their size, armaments, training, fighting tactics, etc. He was arrested by the Americans in 1945 but was released shortly thereafter. "Gehlen's vast network has been reorganized and built up during the past two years and is now more or less integrated into American military intelligence, which largely finances it." (K. von Wiegand, New York Journal American, 1-27-52.)

During the last few years Gen. Gehlen has been active recruiting the most prominent members of the former German Secret Service and has seen to it that they be placed in important positions in the Bonn government, such as ministries, courts, police, border patrol, etc. Thus, Gehlen's men are in an important position to carry out his ideas. It is widely reported in Germany that Gehlen's men fully exert their power.

Although Gehlen and his men are known to be anti-Communist, they are also known for their anti-Resistance philosophy and they are closely related to the Nazi ideology. Once they decide to eliminate someone, they do not hesitate to smear him immediately with the label of anti-Communism. At any rate, Gen. Gehlen seems to have a special predilection for former S. S. men whom he conveniently placed in various economic enterprises in Germany.

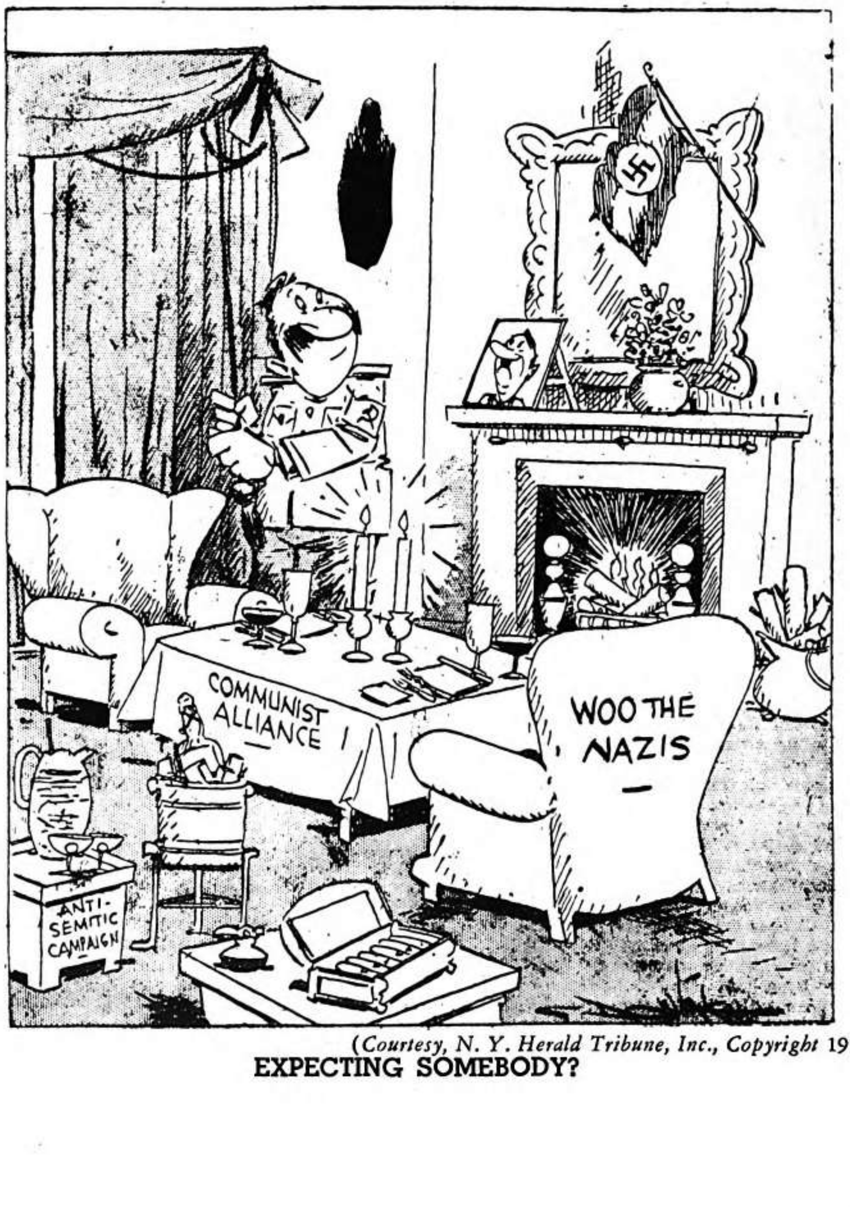
Gen. Gehlen has had a hand in denouncing the League of German Youth in Hessen as Communist, although it is known that the organization is Fascist. The whole movement was denounced in the Bonn Parliament Oct. 8, 1952, by Socialist Deputy Zinn. The "error" was quickly acknowledged by Gen. Gehlen, but the denunciation served its purpose since Gehlen and this "Youth League" are now cooperating fully. The organization of the German Youth is a para-military one and its main purpose was to liquidate its enemies, especially Social Democrats.

It is strongly rumored the German Youth Organization was financed by Americans.

In recent times two terrorist organizations have been uncovered: one called the New National Socialist Youth is led by K. J. Arnim, a former high official of the S. S. and a close follower of Otto Strasser. Another movement is led by H. K. Anders of Brunswick. The latter had a list of all those to be liquidated in case of attack by the Soviets.

Anders was known to have had close relations with the B. D. J. mentioned above. Anders claims that Bonn knew about his activities and that he was doing intelligence work for NATO. At any rate, the B. D. J. and the Anders movement are closely related.

There are, to be sure, other circles and more Nazis to be found in Germany, but on the basis of what is said above it is clear that all of them are inter-related, directly or indirectly, with the personalities involved in the Naumann Circle plot.



(*Courtesy, N. Y. Herald Tribune, Inc., Copyright* 1953)
EXPECTING SOMEBODY?

Trafficking With the East

"An essential part of the new German policy will be to foster its trade with Eastern Europe and China. It is constantly asserted that Germany must buy from countries to which it can sell in increasing quantities and on a long-term basis, even though prices in the Soviet bloc may be above the American level. German-American trade was not important in prewar times, and many Germans are convinced that it never will be again once the natural links with the Eastern bloc are re-established. An effort to overcome the political handicaps to this trade will certainly be made during the new phase on which Federal Germany is now entering."

(*The Economist*, 4-11-53)

* * *

". . . Business men in West Germany . . . are also eager to benefit from increased trade with China and are concerned that their old rival, Britain, may get a headstart. West Germany is being tempted by offers from the Soviet Union promising substantial profit if trade is expanded, and these offers may give the Germans a bargaining point in negotiations with the Western allies regarding trade with China . . ."

(*By Harry Schwartz in the N. Y. Times*, 6-14-53)

* * *

"The Chinese Communist Government is planning to use the Trans-Siberian Railroad to move machinery and precision instruments purchased in West Germany and presumably in other European countries, in an effort to circumvent a United States sponsored international shipping ban. . . .

"It is the consensus here that the Eastern and Far Eastern markets constitute one of the great unknowns in the political thinking of the West German industrialists and business men."

(*By M. S. Handler to the N. Y. Times*, 4-5-53)

* * *

"Surprisingly little notice was given to the announcement in mid-May that the Federal German Republic had opened direct trade negotiations with the Soviet Union.

"The announcement was made in the official Federal Government publication in Bonn, the 'Bulletin'...

"In government quarters there is a growing feeling that the embargo on strategic exports is too rigorous. Various leading Germans, including the Federal Government's representative in Berlin, Dr. Vockel, and a state secretary in Bonn, have protested against the provisions. They believe that sooner or later Russia will make a major 'peace offer' and that Federal Germany will benefit from it only if she shows a readiness to keep her trade connections with the Eastern bloc working in the meantime.

"Another German argument is that there is now a 'D-mark gap'—in fact, Germany is producing and selling so fast that debtor nations are unable to pay for German imports. The phrase 'D-mark gap' has been adopted by the important Ruhr trade journal, the 'Handelsblatt,' and has led the organ of German big business, the Duesseldorf 'Mittag,' to state: 'Our existence depends now on trade with the East'..."

(*By Terence Prittie to ONA*, 5-29-53)

* * *

"The customers are queueing up for the new Russian International Emporium for Peaceful East-West Trade, otherwise known in the trade as Uncle Joe's Bargain Basement . . .

"A few days ago a group of leading German industrialists of the Ruhr got together to form a combine, a company if you wish, to trade with Russia and her satellites, particularly China. They have applied for registration papers for their 'East-West' trading company in Bonn.

"Small business men? Fly-by-night operators, experts in perennial bankruptcy and fire sales? Not at all. The combine, according to the responsible Dusseldorf newspaper which announced formation of the company, includes some of the biggest names in West German industry. Nearly 250 German firms of repute have been approached by the 'East-West' company and have expressed what the newspaper described as a 'lively interest' in the prospects. A Communist operation? On the contrary, the president is the head of one of the leading machine-tool manufacturing concerns in the Ruhr.

"A mere propaganda stunt? Its spokesmen claim they already have firm, sounds orders and government import-export licenses (which is more important) for about $30,000,000 worth of trade with the Soviet satellites. A fair beginning for a new business . . ."

(*By William Richardson in the N. Y. Post*, 1-29-53)

* * *

"West Germany plans to resume trade relations with the Soviet Union and Communist Romania...

"After exporters here have finished studying the list of goods the two Communist countries want to buy from Germany, the 'East Committee' of the Association of German Industries will discuss a trade agreement with Russian representatives, German officials said.

"This 'East Committee' was organized in Cologne last December to promote German commercial exchanges with the Iron Curtain countries..."

(*From an A. P. Dispatch*, 5-18-53)

* * *

"The West German Statistical Bureau reported today a sharp increase in West German trade with Communist China, the Soviet Union and the satellite states in Eastern Europe...

"Trade with China showed the greatest increase. West German exports to China rose from 6,500,000 Deutsche marks in March to 18,600,000 in April. Imports increased from 9,000,000 marks in March to 15,600,000 in April . . .

"Commenting on the recent offer of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva meeting of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe to increase trade with West Germany, Handelsblatt, one of the principal West German economics newspapers, disclosed that the Russians had made 'stunning offers.'..."

(*From the N. Y. Times*, 6-3-53)

* * *

A Significant Chapter in Dr. Adenauer's Political Career

by

"RHENANUS"

The lack of realism shown by some of our policy makers as regards the post war treatment of Germany has baffled and indeed alarmed competent students of German affairs, both here and abroad. They are particularly concerned over the fact that our experts on Germany appear to be unable to recognize that the historical and national forces at work in Germany make it impossible to consider Chancellor Adenauer as anything else but an interim figure soon to be discarded in the name of "German unity and independence." If this should happen, it would be the second occasion in the life of Dr. Adenauer.

Perhaps a brief re-examination of Dr. Adenauer's past role in the political life of Germany will enable many of us, including our experts, to adopt a more realistic evaluation of the basic forces which will determine Germany's actions in the future. Serious students of the subject should consult the following reliable sources: Clémenceau, Grandeurs et Misères d'une Victoire (Grandeur and Misery of a Victory) (Paris, 1930), and Deutsches Zentrum-Deutscher Rhein (German Center Party-German Rhine) by the Center Party politician and diplomat A. Koehler (Trier, 1932, Paulinus Druckerei).

Dr. Adenauer and the Nazis

Dr. Adenauer was removed as Mayor of Cologne when the Nazis came to power in 1933. Following the attempted assassination of Hitler on July 20, 1944, Adenauer, like many other prominent non-Nazis, was arrested. Nevertheless, he was soon released and after the collapse of the Third Reich, Dr. Adenauer was "discovered" as "Heaven's gift to the occupation powers."

There is historical irony in the fact that Adenauer had been fired by the Nazis. Though he was not a Nazi, indeed a devout Catholic, Adenauer's political activities had turned out to be a boon to the Nazis and German nationalists. It should be emphasized that Adenauer did not intentionally desire to help the Hitlerites. He worked toward the perfection of his own schemes; yet in that process he helped in no small measure to contribute to the victory of the Nazis.

Shortly before the Nazis seized power, the chancellor of Germany was the notorious Franz von Papen, formerly a Reichstag representative of the Center Party of the Rhineland. Taking advantage of his position, von Papen endeavored to smash the only anti-Nazi stronghold remaining in Germany, namely the government of Prussia led by the Minister President of the State, Otto Braun. To achieve his objective, von Papen sought to apply emergency power granted to the Federal Government, supposedly derived from Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution. Blocked by the German Supreme Court which declared von Papen's attempt as partly unconstitutional, he proceeded to take measures to dissolve the Prussian diet. In this way he hoped that Braun's supporters would be swept out of office by new elections, thereby enabling the Nazis to grab power in Prussia.

According to the Prussian Constitution, the right to dissolve the diet rested with the "Council of Three," consisting of the Minister President, the Speaker of the House, and the President of the State Council. In view of the fact that the Speaker of the House was a Nazi as opposed to the Socialist Braun, the fate of the anti-Nazi Prussian Government rested in the lap of von Papen's friend Dr. Adenauer, who was at that time the President of the State Council. Von Papen requested his friend to vote with the Nazis for dissolution and Dr. Adenauer complied though he must have known, like everybody else, that in so doing he paved the way for Nazi power in Prussia and probably in the entire Reich.

The results were disastrous for all of Germany because the undermining of the anti-Nazi stronghold of Prussia swept away the last and perhaps the most important obstacle to the establishment of the Hitler regime.

Yet, why did the Nazis overlook Dr. Adenauer's merits and achievements and why did von Papen, who later became Hitler's Deputy Chancellor, fail to come to Dr. Adenauer's aid when his friend was in trouble with the Nazis. The answer is that Dr. Adenauer had become entrapped in Nazi propaganda against alleged "separatist" activities of the Center Party in the Rhineland in 1919 and the early 1920s. The Nazis employed this propaganda to destroy the Center Party in the Rhineland prior to 1933 and used it as a club to force the Party in 1933 to vote for the "Enabling Act" which legalized Hitler's dictatorship.

Dr. Adenauer's "Legal Separatism"

In November 1918 revolution had broken out in Berlin after the collapse of the Kaiser war machine. Bolshevism threatened. The Allied armies were poised to march into the Rhineland. There were rumors that the French intended to annex not only the Saar but also the Palatinate and the Rhineland. In this critical hour, 5,000 Rhinelanders assembled on December 4, 1918 in Cologne, Dr. Adenauer's bailiwick, to call for the establishment of a Republic of the Rhine which would serve as the nucleus for the future German Reich. The assembly's resolution stated that the setting-up of this republic was necessary "in view of the impossibility of obtaining an orderly government in Berlin and in view of the far reaching political changes to be expected in the German Reich" (cf. Koehler, p. 14).

Both Clemenceau and Koehler agreed that this move was intended to prevent the annexation of the Rhineland by France and to stem the tide of Bolshevism which might swamp the Rhineland (cf. Clemenceau, p. 174, and Koehler, pp. 14 and 16). Dr. Adenauer came to the fore of this movement shortly after it had been initiated in Cologne. On February 1, 1919, the mayors of the Rhineland, led by Dr. Adenauer, adopted a resolution calling for the foundation of a West German Republic within the framework of the German Reich (cf. Koehler, p. 21, and Clemenceau, p. 175). The latter phrase had also been used in the Cologne resolution of December 4, 1919.

The French, of course, did not like the phrase "within the framework of the German Reich" (cf. Clemenceau, p. 175). They encouraged the separatist movement led by the German politician Dr. Dorten aiming to create a buffer state in the Rhineland which would be forever separated from the rest of Germany and under the protection of the French. For a while some of the key leaders of the Center Party in the Rhineland had contact with this movement sponsored by the French but subsequently they broke with Dr. Dorten.

Nazi Propaganda

The above mentioned activities of the Center Party leaders were denounced by the Nazis and other political enemies of the Party. Hitler attacked the Catholics belonging to the Center Party as "poor Germans" willing to give up German unity in favor of special treatment for the Catholic Rhineland. The charge was "separatism" and the leaders of the Center Party were called "Versackungspolitiker"—meaning politicians willing to accept truncation and the bolshevization of the greater part of the Reich in order to obtain special treatment for certain provinces dominated by their Party.

In the 1920s the Center Party fought these charges in the courts which were influenced by judges favorable to it. In the celebrated decision of Limbourg v. Stadtanzeiger (Cologne 1928) the Cologne Court managed to squeeze in a statement to the effect that Dr. Dorten's separatism was treason whereas the separatism of the Center Party leaders was "legal separatism" within the framework of the German Reich—referring to the famous phrase in the above-mentioned resolutions.

The question of treason against the State of Prussia was never discussed. Leading members of the Party including Dr. Adenauer were called as witnesses but never heard. As a matter of fact these politicians went over to the offensive. Now it was their turn to hurl the charge "Versackungspolitiker" at their opponents and accuse them of trying to block all financial support to the Allied occupied Rhineland so as to create such a degree of chaos that the Allies would be driven from that area. Nevertheless, the Nazis continued their propaganda of "treasonous separation by the Catholics in the Rhineland" with unbelievable frenzy. Among their main targets in the 1930s was none other than Dr. Adenauer himself. Since by this time the courts were more and more coming under the influence of the Nazis and decisions were rendered implying that the Catholics were "bad Germans," it was a foregone conclusion that, when the Nazis assumed power in all of Germany, Dr. Adenauer would be promptly removed as Mayor of Cologne. Needless to say, other leaders of the Center Party also felt the wrath of the Hitlerites.

Dr. Adenauer's First West German Republic (1920)

What were Dr. Adenauer's aims when, on February 1, 1919, he called for the establishment of a West German Republic "within the framework of the German Reich." One explanation is that he desired a temporary separation of such a state from the German Reich as a means of checking the virus of Bolshevism which seemed to be infecting all of Germany. As we have seen, this was the aim of the Cologne resolution of December 4, 1918.

The other explanation is contained in a letter from Limbourg (a representative of the Rhineland in the Prussian Diet) to Dr. Dorten, dated November 1, 1923. The sudden discovery of this letter ended the case Limbourg v. Stadtenzeiger, a case where Limbourg had sued the newspaper for slander because he had been called a separatist. In this letter Limbourg wrote: "Herr Adenauer was entrusted by Herr Stresemann to proclaim the so-called legal (Rhineland) republic, i.e. a Bolshevist republic by the grace of Berlin" (cf. Koehler, p. 35). Limbourg implied that Adenauer's republic was influenced by and dependent on the Radicals called "Bolshevists" by him.

The implication of this statement points to the fact that Dr. Adenauer was acting in cahoots with the radical Federal Government in Berlin and the Ruhr industrialists whose trusted representative was Dr. Stresemann. Their aim was to prevent the setting up of a Rhineland buffer state under French domination and this seems to be Clemenceau's view (cf. p. 175).

The Lessons of History

The question whether Dr. Adenauer's first West German Republic was a sham or merely planned for the purpose of a temporary separation from the German Reich may never be answered. Yet, it is an important issue when one endeavors to judge whether the present German situation is a temporary one or a sham.

Beyond this question there is, however, an important historical lesson to be learned. The forces making for unity are so powerful in Germany that no important German politician, no matter how noble or justified his aims may be, will be spared from retribution by his fellow countrymen if he fails to act in a way that will show his realization that the unity of the German Reich is the paramount law of all Germans.

Against this supreme fact of German politics it becomes clear that Dr. Adenauer's present course of action is but an interim episode, a phenomenon of the passing hour. American policy in Germany will cease to be out of step and will return to reality when our statesmen accept this truth.

"An assiduous reader of the West German press frequently gets the idea that the Allied war-crimes prisons are bursting at the seams with thousands of men whose only offense was to have been patriotic German citizens and to have been on the losing side in the war. Actually, only a few hundred war criminals—almost without exception those found guilty of mass murder—are still confined in prisons. Not only have men like Naumann been at large (to hatch their patient and clever plots), but they are prospering mightily.

"The whole case suggests, in fact, that perhaps the war-crimes prisons were never filled as full as they might have been and that they are being emptied prematurely, not only for the security of the Western world, but for the stability of the West German Republic itself."

(From the United Nations World 3-53)

The Cartel Comeback—A U. S. Failure

According to the dictionary the word "reform" has two meanings; the first definition pertains to the abolition of abuses, the second meaning, however, could convey almost the opposite, namely the recreation of conditions which were considered to be wrong and pernicious. These two definitions immediately came to our mind when we read an Associated Press dispatch from Germany May 3, 1953, announcing that the reorganization of the German steel industry "under the Allied trust busting program was virtually completed." The title of the dispatch read "German Steel Trust Reformed." It may be that the person who applied the word "reformed" in the context referred to the first definition of the word, but on the basis of the facts which will be cited in this article we are forced to the conclusion that the second definition would convey the appropriate meaning.

Lobbyists At Work

In the summer issue of Prevent World War III (No. 42, 1952—see editorial "The Trickery of the Trust Busters) we noted that the Bonn Government had prepared laws which allegedly were aimed toward carrying out the original Allied program of deconcentration and decartellization. After 7 years of endeavoring to break up the German monopolies the Allied authorities decided that the task could be more effectively carried out if it were turned over to the Germans. However, the legislation prepared by the Bonn Government was full of loopholes which made it possible under certain conditions for German industry to "reform" their monopolies and cartels; yet even this anemic legislation was vigorously attacked by the lords of German heavy industry.

The New York Times (February 1, 1953) reported that a powerful West-German lobby was battling the Bonn proposals and insisting upon provisions that would permit the reconstitution of cartels. The lobby was determined to get a law *"that would establish penalties only for too much cartellization rather than for cartellization itself."* Of course, it does not take too much imagination to perceive that this proposal was merely a play on words and nothing more.

Because the Bonn Government itself had been lukewarm to the whole concept of deconcentration and decartelization, the West-German lobby of industrialists became bolder and bolder. Two months later (March 26, 1953) the New York Times reported that the lobby had succeeded in forcing the German Government to retreat still further by agreeing *"in principle to permit a recartelization of industry . . . ,"* under certain conditions. By accepting this proposal the Bonn Government has legalized the re-establishment of cartels and other types of monopolies in Germany.

When the lobbyists became active, they pretended that their opposition stemmed from the fact that they merely wanted German industry to be protected in the event of economic difficulties. However, the New York Times in commenting on the legislation which appears to be accepted by the government states that by its terms it *"would appear to reopen the door to the recartelization of the industry, even in advance of an economic recession and depression . . ."*

Latest reports indicate that the so-called anti-cartel legislation will be shelved until after the election. However, important political forces within the Adenauer coalition, such as the Free Democratic Party, are planning to make up for the lost time once the elections are over. *"Then they will concentrate on a program to cheapen all production, to rationalize (divide up) marketing for internal consumption and to build export cartels to secure a 'united German front' in the export markets of the world."* (Overseas News Agency, June 2, 1953.)

The Role of Allied Trust-busters

How can one explain the defiance of these industrialists to some of the most basic policies which have governed our occupation of Germany? The answer to this question, we regret to say, may be found in the way the Allies themselves have handled the deconcentration and decartelization of German industry.

If the Allied authorities had shown determination and independence to implement the original decartelization laws, the present brazen attitude of the West-German industrialists would have been impossible. While the Allied program started off with a "bang" it fizzled out to such an extent that we asked the guilty parties, namely the German cartelists, to prepare plans for the liquidation of their cartels and trusts. One does not trust hardened gangsters to guard a bank. By the same principle it was short sighted in the extreme to expect the German cartelists to be accommodating. Of course, they took full advantage of our generous offer and they devised plans which not only preserved their own position but also the strength of the most powerful monopolies and cartels in West Germany. In reality, therefore, the actual deconcentration and decartelization plans for Germany were devised for the most part by the cartelists themselves.

At this point we think that a few examples of how the trusts have been "reformed" would be appreciated.

The Case of Alfred Krupp

Among the most notorious Nazis and Hitler supporters was Alfred Krupp, the munitions king. For his war crimes, Krupp had been sentenced for 12 years and deprived of his properties. The former U. S. military governor of Germany, General Clay, watered down the original verdict with regard to the confiscation of these properties and his successor, former U. S. High Commissioner McCloy rescinded it in its entirety. This did not mean that the properties involved legally belonged to Alfred Krupp. In November 1943 the Krupp family's title to these properties was withdrawn by Adolf Hitler by virtue of a special law (lex Krupp). Under this law Hitler's favorite, Alfred Krupp, became the sole beneficiary and administrator of the properties although the Nazi Party reserved the right for itself to appoint Alfred Krupp's successor. All of the property of the defunct Nazi Party is at present vested in the German Federal Republic but the properties controlled by Krupp, valued at approximately 140 million dollars, were presented to Krupp as a present for his misdeeds. Disregarding the fact that the legal title to these properties had not been established, the U. S. High Commissioner asked Krupp to prepare a plan for the "reorganization" of these properties.

The Krupp plan, which has received the blessings of the Allied authorities, stipulates that Alfred Krupp should sell his holdings in the coal, iron and steel industry by 1960 and in return the Allies would lift all remaining controls over his other industrial enterprises.

In our Open Letter to Secretary Dulles (on Moral Principles, January-February 1953, Prevent World War III) we cited statements from reliable sources indicating that there were no guarantees that the coal and steel properties would ever be sold. More recently the Manchester Guardian (February 9, 1953) came to the same conclusion. The Guardian further points out that, while Krupp signed a statement to the effect that he would never re-enter the coal and steel industry, the Bonn Government has rejected an Allied request that it make sure that this promise is kept. Indeed the legal advisors of the Bonn Government pointed out that the Federal Constitution guarantees the right for every German citizen "freely to choose his own trade or profession." The Guardian also noted that the agreement made by a private individual (Krupp) with the three occupying powers may produce some strange situations in the future. In this connection this British publication declares, *"It must be very doubtful whether such an agreement is binding under international law."* Since Krupp originally devised the plan it was to be expected that he would take good care of himself. Thus, the London Economist, March 7, 1953, observes that the net result of the deconcentration of the Krupp industry enables the war criminal Krupp to remain "one of the richest men in the world."

But this is not all. During the transition period of the so-called reorganization of the Krupp properties, trustees have been appointed who are responsible for the disposal of the coal and steel properties. Scanning the names of those who were appointed to this post, we find among them some of the most notorious enemies of democracy and of the United States. For example, one of the Krupp trustees is *Geheimrat Heinrich S. Albert.* Who is Herr Albert? Albert was a very close friend of Franz von Papen, one of Germany's master spies who had been indicted for war crimes at Nuremberg in 1946. Albert came to the United States under the guise of a German commercial attache before World War I. Actually he raised over 30 million dollars from pro-German elements in the United States to finance the espionage and sabotage activities which von Papen directed in this country during World War I.

Albert's partner, Dr. Westrick, was a close collaborator of Baron Kurt von Schroeder, the German banker, who has been called the midwife of Nazism.

Another trustee for Krupp is ***Dr. Hermann Puender,*** who served as a lieutenant colonel in the Counter Propaganda Service of the German High Command. He was stationed in Division III-H, the Division concerned with preserving morale and correct Nazi ideology in the military forces. It was Herr Puender who was responsible for selecting a galaxy of leading Nazi industrialists and Hitler supporters to act as German trustees for the German steel industry in 1949. Truly

". . . The original French plan to go into partnership with Germany seems to the present leaders the best way of avoiding a resurrection of a nationalist and war-minded German Reich. As Prime Minister Churchill phrased it, France was to 'lead Germany by the hand back into the Western community.' But this involved a strong France and a weak and defeated Germany. Now that the economic and political balance is reversed, France is less certain about who will lead whom. . . ."

(By Nora Beloff in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch 5-20-53)

NOW IT IS OFFICIAL

"Western European steel producers are operating an export cartel system, a Schuman Plan Assembly group disclosed today.

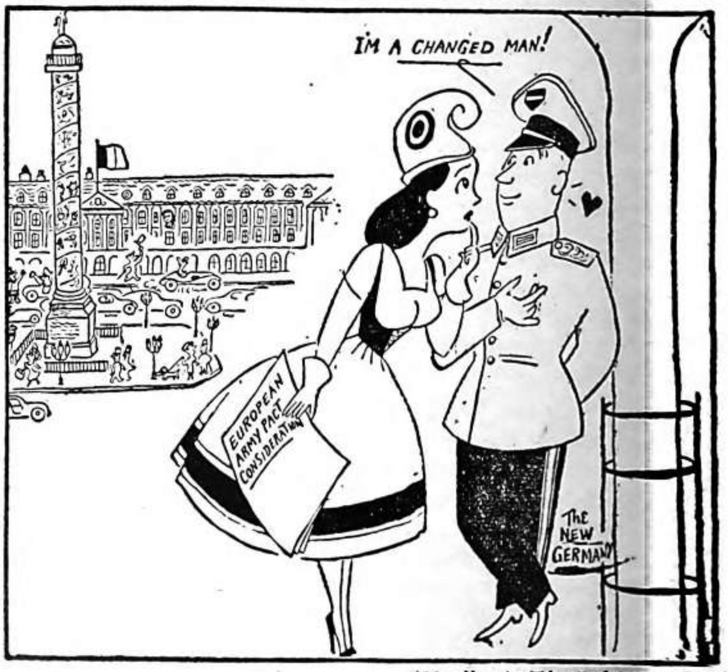
"The assembly's common market committee, in a report drafted by Victor-Emmanuel Preusker, of West Germany, said the existence of such a sales agreement had been confirmed by the steel and coal community's executive branch, the nine-man high authority.

"The report said the high authority had studied the agreement thoroughly and had authorized its continuation on the ground that the export cartel would not influence the six-nation common market nor interfere with the free play of business competition within the six-nation area."

(From an A. P. dispatch, 6-21-53)

"The convention of the German party, the right wing of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's coalition Government, ended tonight after the delegates adopted a resolution declaring they would never renounce the Saar territory controlled by France and the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line controlled by Poland . . .

(From a dispatch to the N. Y. Times 5-31-53)



(Yardley in The Baltimore Sun)

"SPRINGTIME IN PARIS"

Herr Krupp has placed his properties in safe hands.

The Mannesmann Steel Trust

While the Krupp case has received much publicity, it is by no means the only instance where the powerful forces of German heavy industry have regained their former influence. For example, the Mannesmann Steel Trust was also to be deconcentrated. The criminal record of the Mannesmann interest is well known to Allied authorities. This huge steel combine was a reliable supporter of Hitler's aggressive plans. In this connection we dealt at length with the Mannesmann combine and its nefarious activities (Prevent World War III, No. 19, February-March 1947). We showed that leading officials of the Mannesmann combine including *Dr. H. Rasch,* had been playing an important role in preserving the close collaboration among the leading steel trusts and monopolies of the Ruhr. It was Dr. Rasch who convened a secret meeting of the representatives of the German iron and steel industry in November 1946 to deal with the Allied policy which aimed at the elimination of trusts and cartels. In discussing the benefits that the Mannesmann combine obtained under the Nazi regime it was pointed out that their profits had increased enormously and that their production tripled between 1926 and 1943. "*By virtue of its international position and its importance in the German domestic economy Mannesmann became perhaps the most significant instrumentality in the Nazi government. The company contributed millions of marks to the Nazy Party and to its affiliated organizations. As a reward for these generous contributions Mannesmann shared liberally in the spoils of war.*" In discussing other aspects of Mannesmann's activities we mentioned the fact that during the war this steel combine had employed more than 10,000 slave laborers.

Though the Mannesmann combine was slated for liquidation under Allied policy, somehow or other the implementation of this policy met with many obstacles. Needless to say these delays played into the hands of the Mannesmann interests and they were asked to write their own ticket with regard to "reorganization." Of course, on paper the Mannesmann Steel Trust appears to be deconcentrated but on closer look we found that there is more shadow than substance. Here is what the official British publication Background Letter (August 15, 1952) reports on the Mannesmann reorganization plan: "*Because there were no unduly large shareholdings in the Mannesmann Steel Works, it has been possible to distribute the shares in the new companies to former Mannesmann shareholders on a simple pro-rata basis. This means that a person who held shares of old Mannesmann stock will receive shares of stock in each of the three successor companies, giving him the same proportionate interests.*" Background Letter also discloses that every shareholder "will receive shares amounting to double the face value of his old shares."

One cannot say that the shareholders of Mannesmann have suffered or sacrificed. Indeed, one cannot expect them to assume any significant burdens in view of the fact that the Allies gave them every opportunity to work out a plan which will safeguard their interests in this huge enterprise.

Other Cases

Approximately the same kind of procedures were applied to other German steel monopolies. For example, representatives of the *Haniel family* who controlled important steel plants including the *Gute Hoffnungs Huette,* were also asked to submit "reorganization" plans. According to Allied High Commission, the plan was accepted by the Occupation Authorities because there are so many members of the family who have interests in the company that after reorganization it will be difficult for any one of them to obtain control of the new successor companies. Whether Allied optimism will be born out by future events remains to be seen.

A similar procedure was applied in the case of the properties of *Friedrich Flick,* another prominent steel monopolist who was one of the most powerful and enthusiastic backers of the Nazi regime. Reuters (December 30, 1952) describes the reorganization of the Flick properties in these words, "*The Allies today put Friedrich Flick, multimillionaire industrial leader under Hitler, back into business action.*" Flick had been sent to prison as a war criminal in 1947 but within 3 years he walked out of jail in an elegant suit and drove off in a big red Mercedes after shouting to reporters, "*get out of here, I don't want to have anything to do with you.*"

On the basis of this brief survey of the state of deconcentration in German heavy industry it is doubtful, to say the least, that much has changed substantially. The London Economist (February 28, 1953) stated that the Allied deconcentration law has so far not "*affected the efficiency or profits of the Ruhr . . . on the contrary, the fact that steel production has risen to a figure exceeding pre-war output (considering the reduced area of population) indicates that the steps taken have not hindered—and in some ways have aided — the first stage of the reconstruction in the Ruhr.*"

I. G. Farben

A special case in the "reform" of the German trusts is that of I. G. Farben, the great chemical empire. We do not believe that it is necessary for us to go into details with regard to the notoriety of Farben. It was fully exposed in the Allied War Crime Trials and was subsequently written up by the prosecutor of the I. G. Farben war criminals Josiah Du Bois in his recent book, The Devil's Chemists.

The fact is that I. G. Farben was the main bulwark of the Nazis in their predatory plans. The voluminous evidence attesting to the criminality of the leaders of this outfit is now a matter of public record. Indeed, because of the unique importance of I. G. Farben a special law was passed by the Allies which was designed to break up this all-embracing combine. Year after year since the beginning of the occupation news would come out of Germany to the effect that Farben had been liquidated; in reality, however, Farben managed to survive. Now, in the year 1953, a final plan for its liquidation has been put into effect.

This plan, however, is a strange one from many angles. In the first place, many of the leading Farben industrialists who were responsible for the criminal policies of this outfit, are back in positions of power. One of these individuals, Wilhelm Menne, speaking before the Society of Chemical Industries in October 1952, demanded the "complete rehabilitation" of the German industrial leaders condemned in the trial of the I. G. Herr Menne told his audience that the "self respect" of the whole German chemical industry required that the "*men who had been condemned unjustly in the I. G. Farben trial*" be defended by the industry. Herr Menne declared further that none of the *"bad accusations against these honorable men, well known in the whole world, could stand up to objective proof."* Apparently Menne is under the impression that humanity has forgotten the crematoria at Auschwitz. We know that he is mistaken in that regard but it is tragic that some Allied officials have preferred to forget and thus condone. Menne has no cause for complaint because he knows very well that many of his criminal colleagues have returned to or are in the process of regaining their old posts.

Just as many of these criminals are reasserting their power so has the so-called reorganization of Farban itself turned into a rationalization of the chemical trust which will make it more efficient—yes, and more deadly. The London Times, March 21, 1953, in announcing the reorganization of Farben, noted that the plan *"will give much satisfaction to shareholders . . . for the terms are generous."* The New York Times (April 26, 1953) reported that the comments in the West-German press on the deconcentration of Farben and the reorganization of the trust's assets in three major and two minor successor corporations *"would indicate that West German industry did not receive a 'bad deal' from the three Western governments."*

Thus, in spite of the new reorganization of the Farben properties, the same gang who ruled the roost under Hitler, are back in business with a vengeance. "Despite war damage and loss of plants in East Germany I. G. Farben is still the third largest chemical company in the world." (New York Times, March 29, 1953.)

In this connection Business Week (May 16, 1953) reports that "a group of British, German, Swiss, Danish and French pharmaceutical firms is said to have tied up the European market for a wide range of basic products. Their agreement lays down strict rules for production, sales prices and export territories. Machinery has been created to impose sanctions on members who step out of line." Needless to say, this is just the kind of cartel set-up that has always attracted the men who ruled I. G. Farben.

Conclusion

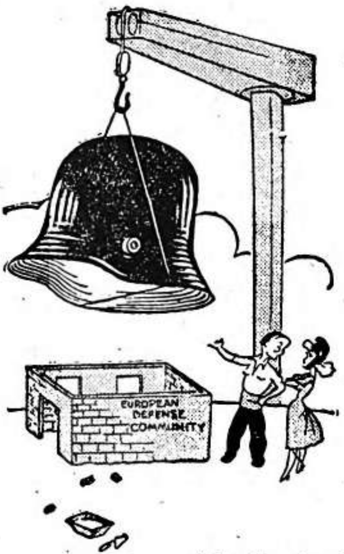
The meaning of the "reform" of the heavy industry of the Ruhr now seems clearer. It is but the re-emergence of the same powerful interests with the same criminal leadership which brought so much ruin and misery to the world.

The counter-attack of German heavy industry against free enterprise is spreading through all segments of the economy. Thus, the Handicraft Guilds which in the past had a stranglehold on small enterprise, have been reborn with the official sanction of the Bonn Government. Their re-emergence is now regarded as *"one of the most serious and humiliating defeats suffered by the U. S. policy makers since the Occupation Authority was established in* 1945" (Times, March 28, 1953). The Handicraft Guilds in Germany had always exercised strict control over hundreds of thousands of artisans who aspired to independent economic activity. All small enterprises, from the butcher to the baker, were under the control of this archaic institution which stifled all initiative on the part of the individual enterprise.

The guilds were abolished when the occupation began because they were an important seat of political reaction and prevented the development of democratic free enterprise. The economic importance of the enterprises which the Guild system had controlled is shown by the fact that the handicraft products had an estimated value of more than two billion dollars in 1952 and were exceeded only by agriculture and industry. But now, the German Parliament thumbs its nose at the Allies and officially sanctions its return. In defending the action to restore the monopolistic powers of the Guilds, Dr. Herrmann Veit, Minister of Economics in the State of Wuerttemberg and Baden, told the United States in effect to mind its own business (Christian Science Monitor, April 15, 1953).

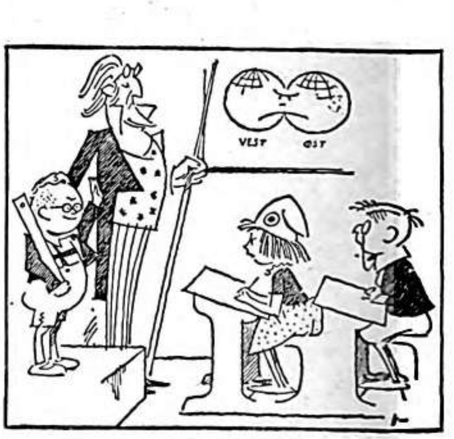
The United States Authorities who are disappointed over this body blow against free enterprise in Germany really have no cause to complain in view of their sorry record insofar as deconcentrating German heavy industry is concerned. A cynic could well say that if the "big boys" can get away with it why cannot the "little boys"? It is worthwhile noting that while the Bonn Government has refused to guarantee that Krupp would not repurchase his properties on the grounds that every German citizen has the right "freely to choose his own trade or profession," it does not hesitate to give its blessings to an institution which will destroy whatever individual initiative has developed in Germany since the end of the war.

It is clear that when the Allies defaulted on their own obligations to deconcentrate and decartelize German industry it became possible for the Germans to fully exploit this failure by devising plans that not only helped to "reform" the trusts and cartels but to give them respectability under German law. The poison of the recartelization and trustification of German industry has not stopped at the borders of West Germany. It is spreading beyond the confines of Germany and has begun to eat into the very vitals of the European Coal and Steel Community, better known as the Schuman Plan Organization. The significance of this development is discussed in the editorial on page 11.



(*Aux Ecoutes, Paris*)

"You see it's the roofing that worries us."



(*Politiken, Copenhagen*)

The teacher's pet: Fritz

Toward the End of a Free Press?

Following the end of World War II the Allies were confronted with the necessity of preventing powerful pro-Hitler forces from retaining their grip on the German press. Under the Nazi regime, a complete transformation had taken place with regard to the control and ownership of the German press. For all practical purposes the press had been converted into a powerful propaganda arm of the Nazi state. Publishers who resisted the Nazis, were quickly disposed of so that all other printing facilities were owned and/or controlled by the Hitlerites and their henchmen.

Under Allied law No. 2 and subsequent Allied regulations it became possible to break the Nazi stranglehold over the press. In the first place the Allies set up a licencing procedure which was designed to thwart the efforts of former Nazi publishers to resume operations. Thus licences were issued only to those who had anti-Nazi and democratic records. In addition to this measure, the Allies made available to the newly licenced press the printing facilities and equipment belonging to the pro-Nazi publishers, for a specified period of time.

Unfortunately the Allies failed to confiscate the printing equipment which would have been fully justified under law No. 2 and other Allied regulations. Thus the future existence of the licenced democratic free press became hazardous because of the fact that, when the leases expire, the former publisher who served Hitler, could reclaim the printing facilities.

Yet, even before the leases began to expire, powerful pro-Nazi industrialists began to conspire against the licensed press. In the vanguard of this plot was the notorious Bosch cartel which had cooperated with the German general staff and whose properties in the United States were seized by the Government on security grounds and on the basis that the Bosch subsidiaries owed their first allegiance to Germany.

The Bosch interests instituted legal action to regain control over their former press. It was alleged that the Bosch interests had actually been opponents of the Nazis and had been forced to turn over their printing facilities and newspapers to the Nazis. The fraudulent claims of Bosch were exposed in detail in the November/December 1950 issue of Prevent World War III (Nazi Industrialists Regain Hold on German Press).

Bosch was highly successful thanks to the German judges who turned out to be tools of the Bosch interests —two of them had been judges under the Nazi regime. The victory of Bosch was not challenged as it could have been by an appeal to the American Court of Restitution. As a result it served as an opening wedge for other groups to seize important sections of the German press.

It is now a fact that many of the old pro-Nazi publishers backed up by powerful military and industrial interests are quickly regaining their former influence in the field of German journalism. They have been aided and abetted by the German banks and by leading officials in the Adenauer government. The degree of their resurgence can be seen from the fact that by the fall of 1952 they had attained full respectability alongside those publishers who had sincerely opposed the Nazis. Not only are their papers gaining more and more readers but as the leases on the printing facilities used by democratic publishers expire, such facilities revert back to their former owners. The democratic publishers are left high and dry unless they are fortunate enough to obtain the funds that would enable them to purchase adequate printing equipment to remain in business.

In the early days, U. S. officials in Germany performed an admirable job by encouraging the development of an independent democratic press. This was not only done through the licencing and leasing procedures but also through financial help. Yet, our officials failed to understand that much more was required to guarantee the continuation of a truly democratic press, particularly when the old pro-Nazi publishers still owned a substantial portion of the printing facilities and had the backing of powerful financial groups.

If our officials had confiscated outright the printing facilities, the democratic free press would have received solid protection.

By the end of 1948 the U. S. military government abolished all licencing of the press on the grounds that a free press required free competition from all sides. In other words, under the guise of promoting a free press in Germany, the U. S. Military Government, in effect, enabled the old pro-Nazi crowd to re-enter the field. As for competition between the old and the new publishers this was really a meaningless concept in view of the fact that the financial resources that would ultimately decide the fate of the German press, were substantially behind the pro-Nazi publishers.

It is true that in present-day Germany some newspapers still manage to maintain their independence, but it is also a fact that changes are in the making that will have far-reaching adverse effects on the future of a democratic free press in Germany.

It is a truism that an independent free press is one of the most reliable bulwarks of democracy. The strength of our own democracy has in no small measure been due to a free press. On the other hand, we find that there is a definite correlation between the traditions of German authoritarianism and the lack of an independent German press. Even under the Weimar Republic important sections of the German press were controlled by powerful interests that were constantly planning the destruction of democracy.

The extent of the resurgence of these forces was reported recently to the Overseas News Agency by Terence Prittie. Because of the importance of this subject we are publishing on page 44 the full text of Mr. Prittie's report. His revelations and their implications deserve to be pondered by Americans who have been hoping that democracy in Germany will ultimately triumph over its opponents.

The German Press in the Coming Election

by

TERENCE PRITTIE

The post-war German press, which has already weathered plenty of storms, may be entering into a crucial period of its existence in the months preceding the Federal general election scheduled to take place between August 30 and September 6.

The immediate reason is a move by big business interests to use the press for the support of Dr. Konrad Adenauer's present coalition. The fundamental reasons are far more deeply rooted.

The great proportion of Western Germany's 900 newspapers are financially unstable and have little prospect of increasing their circulations. Lack of their own printing presses, shortage of equipment and trained staffs, and uncertain finances have all contributed to hamstring their development. They now face a direct attempt to buy their services for the coming election campaign.

This attempt, financed by circles supporting Federal Economics Minister Ludwig Erhard's policy of liberalizing trade and encouraging private initiative, has so far taken two forms.

The first has been the formation of an association called "Die Waage"—the "Scales"—which is buying up space in newspapers in order to print "advertisements" which are, in effect, favorable commentaries on the economic policies of the Adenauer Government. "Die Waage" pays 452 newspapers to print a series of ten such advertisements.

A paper with a large circulation, which in Germany means more than 100,000, is paid up to 120,000 marks, or $30,000, for printing the series. In Germany this is big money—so big that even some Social Democratic newspapers have agreed to print the ads.

The backers of "Die Waage" have announced that they also will soon launch a poster campaign on a grand scale and have bought up 41,000 big hoardings for it. They intend to distribute 140,000 free work satchels to the children of "readers" of their advertisements. All this under the aegis of a purportedly "neutral" body.

Working parallel with "Die Waage" is the "Association for Trade Marked Articles" which is also buying space in newspapers and assisting groups of businessmen who are determined to see a right-wing government in power.

The Social Democrats have pointed out that these groups have been demanding tax remissions on the grounds that their propaganda campaigns are for business purposes. Thus one group in Hamburg, headed by the "tobacco king" Philip Reemstma, has filed a claim for tax remission totalling about 100 million marks, or $25 million. To the Social Democrats this means that the national treasury is being defrauded to pay right-wing electioneering expenses.

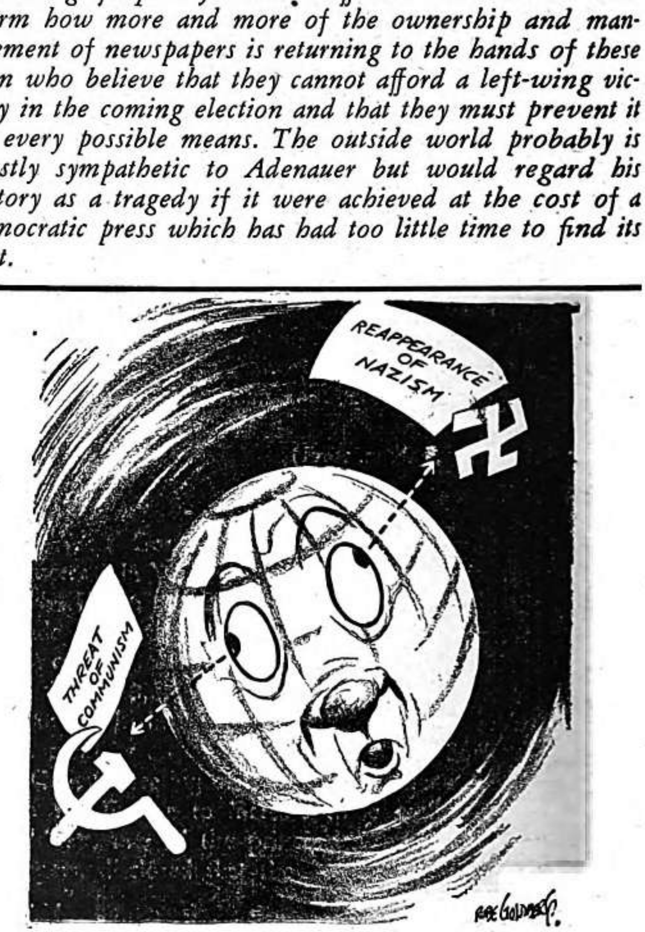
Moreover, for some time there has been a definite drive by industrial circles to knock out those papers which the Western Powers licenced after the war and have tacitly supported ever since. Thus the textile industry has financed a "Brunswick News" with the obvious purpose of putting the existing Socialist paper in Brunswick out of business.

In Hamburg the right-wing political parties have launched at least three big newspapers during the last year in order to recapture the city from the Social Democratic camp. One of these papers distributed 600,000 copies free—which would be a total impossibility for the struggling non-subsidized papers. None of the new Hamburg right-wing papers has a chance of paying its way.

Such outside interference is not confined to business circles. Even Government officials have sought to interfere with the existing official news agency, and the independent Northwest German Radio.

Members of the Bonn Government, including some at high level, have uttered threats against editors and reproved them for publishing criticism of the Government. Government officials have helped form independent associations, such as "Democratic Circles" and the "Federal Bureau for Local News Services," which are spending large sums on meetings, pro-Government propaganda and study groups.

Well known old names of tycoons of the Nazi and violently Nationalist press are cropping up again with increasing frequency. Allied officials have noted with alarm how more and more of the ownership and management of newspapers is returning to the hands of these men who believe that they cannot afford a left-wing victory in the coming election and that they must prevent it by every possible means. The outside world probably is mostly sympathetic to Adenauer but would regard his victory as a tragedy if it were achieved at the cost of a democratic press which has had too little time to find its feet.



(Courtesy N. Y. Journal-American)
COCKEYED WORLD

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

KRUPP IN SPAIN

From the Worldover Press 4/1/53:

"An event of great importance to Spain has received so little publicity, thanks to the government censorship, that it is known only to Spanish citizens who can read the French, British or American press. It is the arrival of the West German government's ambassador, Prince Adalbert of Bavaria, and his key role in building up a Spanish armament industry. Adalbert is busy helping the German firm of Krupp establish under Spanish names a number of arms factories to turn out, notably, not only small weapons but heavy artillery and tanks.

"Germany has already sent hundreds of technicians into Spain, and these are to be followed by high-precision machinery....

"The Spanish press insists that all this has solely to do with economic questions. The leading Paris daily, Le Monde, however, states flatly that the armament factories to be put up by Krupp are to be financed by the United States."

★

EGYPT'S LATEST GUEST

From the New York Times 4/8/53:

"Otto Ernst Remer, who helped foil the 1944 plot against Hitler and who later was one of the leaders of Federal Germany's strongest neo-Nazi party, is now in Egypt, the Government announced ...

"The Federal Government's consular representative in Cairo has informed the Government that General Remer arrived in Egypt without a visa. Vice Chancellor Franz Bluecher said the Government would like to know how he got there and who helped him escape a three months' prison term in the Federal Republic . . ."

★

ECHOES OF "DER FUHRER"

From the Washington Post 5/24/53:

"More than 300,000 Sudeten Germans, expelled from western Czechoslovakia after the war, clamored in a mass meeting for return of their homes and property....

"The Sudetens announced they were setting up a council to publicize their claims and plan for their realization. One speaker described a part of his speech as a direct appeal to United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"'Renounce publicly the mass expulsion of millions from their homeland' exhorted Father Emanuel Reichenberger, a former Sudenten now a naturalized American citizen. 'Use your personal influence and the power of America to give them back their homeland and their property.'"

★

STRASSER'S FRIENDS?

By Drew Middleton in the New York Times 4/29/53:

"A German state court awakened echoes of the tumultous early days of National Socialism today when it ordered the restoration of German citizenship to Dr. Otto Strasser ...

"In its ruling the court cited the fact that the Constitution in Article 16 said no German could be deprived of his or her citizenship.

"Alexander Welscher, appearing for Dr. Strasser, asserted that the former Nazi was still a German citizen since he never took foreign citizenship during his years of exile ...

"Dr. Strasser was described by his attorney as an 'upright and valuable character' and the possessor of friendly letters from former President Herbert Hoover, Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, chief of staff to Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, and John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State."

★

IT'S A HABIT

From an A. P. Dispatch 12/22/52:

"A German doctor accused of having used concentration camp prisoners for experiments with poison gas said he would do it again if necessary.

"Dr. Otto Bickenbach, former Heidelberg professor on trial before a French military tribunal, is accused of having poisoned prisoners of the Struthof internment camp in western France in an effort to find medical protection against poison gas ..."

★

A GET-TOGETHER

From a U. P. Dispatch 4/21/53:

"The United States Air Force played host today to thirty-six members of the famed German 'Richthofen Squadrons' who fought American airmen in two world wars ...

"The German pilots, thirty-four of whom served with Baron Manfred von Richthofen of World War I were invited to Landstuhl by Maj. Gen. Truman H. Landon, Deputy Commander of the U. S. Air Force in Europe..."

★

RUSSIA'S LATEST RECRUITS

From a dispatch to the Cleveland Plain Dealer 5/27/53:

"Russia is recruiting a German 'volunteer' army to fight alongside the Chinese Communists and Vietminh troops in Indochina.

". . . It is known that a force of regimental strength, picked from the East German army, already has been formed and is being supplemented with several hundred communications and transport technicians.

"The 'volunteers' will be shipped to Indochina via Moscow over the trans-China rail line . . ."

★

A SOCIALIST'S VIEW OF INTEGRATION

From Bulletin on German Questions 3/1/53:

"In Radio Munich Prof. Carlo Schmidt, SPD, Socialist Party, has criticized the arrests in Western Germany and asked for the integration of former leading Nazis. He even said that perhaps Naumann might have become a respectable democrat in the meantime . . ."

* * *

FOR OLD TIMES SAKE

From a dispatch to the N. Y. Herald Tribune 5/29/53:

"The question has arisen whether German officers and soldiers in the planned West European Army will wear the swastika-encrusted decorations they received for valor under the Hitler government.

"The viewpoint of the Adenauer associates is that German contingents in the projected European force should be permitted to wear decorations awarded for personal military distinction in World War II, but that the swastika, the prime symbol of Nazism, should be removed . . .

"This middle-of-the-road plan was sharply challenged by Col. Gen. Kurt Student, chairman of the Association of Former German Parachutists.

"Gen. Student, who led the Nazi airborne invasion of Crete in 1941, was loudly cheered by 7,000 members of the association at a rally in Kassel when he assailed current proposals to reissue decorations without the swastika emblem. He said he would either wear his medals as they were given to him, or not wear them at all.

"The parachutists' feelings are, according to most signs, shared by a great number of German veterans . . ."

* * *

IT RUNS IN THE FAMILY

From a U. P. Dispatch 5/28/53:

"A nephew of the late Nazi Field Marshal General Wilhelm Keitel and a former Messerschmitt airplane factory director appeared before a United States judge here today following their arrest on suspicion of illegally manufacturing German gun parts for export.

"Hans Helmut Kurt Keitel, 50-year-old nephew of the Field Marshall who was hanged in 1945, and Rakan Kokothaki, 51, former Messerschmitt executive, were arrested last night.

"Police raided one large factory and two sub-plants and seized parts for about 1,000 carbines of the German army '98-K' type. Officials said the weapons were destined for the Dominican Republic . . ."

* * *

GERMAN CLEMENCY

From a Reuters Dispatch 4/8/53:

"Wolfgang Hedler, extreme Rightist deputy sentenced to prison in November for slandering Jewry and the participants in the 1944 plot against Hitler, was released today after serving half his nine-month term. The release was an act of clemency by the Schleswig-Holstein State Government."

* * *

NOW IT'S THE ATOM

From a dispatch to the N. Y. Times 4/29/53:

"W. A. Menne, president of the Association of Chemical Industries, insisted at the opening of the Hanover Technical Fair that West Germany must delay no longer in applying the results of nuclear research to industry if it wished to remain a first class industrial power . . .

"He urged the construction of an atomic pile by the West German chemical industries in cooperation with the Bonn Government."

* * *

ANOTHER CASE OF LIBERATION

From an A. P. Dispatch 5/7/53:

"Fritz Erich von Mannstein, former Field Marshal General, who fought on both Eastern and Western fronts in World War II, was freed from a British war crimes sentence—four years early on a 12-year term.

"Herr von Mannstein, rated a brilliant general, was convicted in 1949 by a British military court of responsibility for atrocities committed by troops under his command in Russia. His original sentence of eighteen years was later cut to twelve . . .

"The British gave him credit for four years in prison awaiting trial, added the usual allowance for 'good conduct' and marked his sentence as served."

* * *

IS IT A RIDDLE?

Hamburger Abendblatt, 4/53:

"At Adolf Hitler's birthday, on April 20th, the city of Graz was drowned with thousands of pamphlets. The following hand-written texts was on them: 'Germans, remember today the birth of Adolf Hitler. Keep on fighting for a new Greater Germany! (Signed): FREIKORPS ALPENLAND "The police are unable to solve this riddle."

* * *

GERMAN MILITARISTS AT WORK

From a NANA Dispatch 5/22/53:

"Nearly 8,000 Germans, including ex-Gestapo officials, former Rommel troops and one-time Wehrmacht officers up to the rank of general are secretly training 40,000 Egyptians in the latest warfare technique in preparation for a sudden, crippling blow against British forces in the canal zone some time this summer.

"They are operating from closely guarded camps in the Emerald Mountains district of upper Egypt . . ."

* * *

A GERMAN JOURNALIST

(From a Special Correspondent, 5/53)

"Among the 12 newspaper men who accompanied Chancellor Adenauer to the United States, was Dr. Paul Steinfurth. Steinfurth formerly was active in the Hugenberg controlled Telegraphen Union and was also a Hugenberg stooge. During the Nazi regime he was the representative of the Nazi agency in Turkey. His "German News Service" had a very nationalistic and neofascist tendency."

I. G. FARBEN VS. AMERICAN G. I.s

Frank Edwards over MBS 5/28/53:

"WASHINGTON—Special—55,000 American G. I.s who were held prisoner by the enemy in World War II have not been paid . . . Additional funds to pay the ex-G. I.s must come from the sale of alien properties now held by the government... unless those properties are quietly returned to the former enemy interests.

"Here is the story which may cost the ex-G. I.s many millions of dollars: Early in World War II, we seized the giant General Aniline and Film Company, owned by German interests. Like all other alien properties it is supposed to be sold to American interests . . . with the veterans to get the money from the sale through the War Claims Commission.

"But an outfit called Interhandel, claiming to be a Swiss concern has been trying for years to get control of this General Aniline and Film Company property through court action, claiming that we had actually seized a Swiss property. The courts have ruled, however, that the Swiss have no claim to the property. Interhandel is apparently nothing more than a Swiss dummy for the German cartels . . . And the Swiss decline to produce the records which they say would prove their claim. The Washington, D. C. District Court has given them until June 15th to bring to court the documents of Sturnzegger Banking House, which is a dummy front for the I. G. Farben cartel. If the court throws out the Swiss claims, an outfit made up of New York and California interests is offering Interhandel $60 million for General Aniline Corp., evidently on the presumption that the Government will approve the deal —even though Interhandel cannot prove ownership. If that happens, it would mean that a $125 million property would be sold for half price, and the money would go to European financiers instead of to the American boys who were held prisoner by the enemy. June 15th is the deadline . . . watch the General Aniline deal."

★

OUR FUTURE "ALLIES"

From an A. P. Dispatch 5/18/53:

"The Rhineland-Palatinate State Parliament unanimously adopted a resolution protesting Allied confiscation of 1,200 acres of farmland near Moselsuerch to be turned into a North Atlantic Treaty Organization air base. Minister-President Peter Almeier told Parliament members that German authorities could not approve of 'the order given by SHAPE headquarters in Paris'."

★

THE MORE IT CHANGES...

Droit et Liberte, Paris, 1/53:

"Mr. Herbert Dittmann was removed from his post as chief of personnel from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn because of his past activities as a member of the Nazi Party. Since his activities were very well known, his presence in the Foreign Office was extremely embarrassing. He was replaced by Mr. Peter Pfeiffer... who was just as active in the Nazi Party as Mr. Dittmann."

★

GERMAN MILITARY STRATEGY

From U. S. News & World Report 3/27/53:

"The current trend is toward domination of German politics by the Army.

"It is not discussed in the German press, but there is plenty of discussion in private over what this new German Army will do in a crisis. The crisis most feared is an ultimatum, some day, from the commander of a Soviet Army on the borders of West Germany. It's assumed the Soviet commander will give the German general a choice of letting the Soviet forces walk in without resistance, or face the alternative of destruction of German cities overnight and deportation of all German residents.

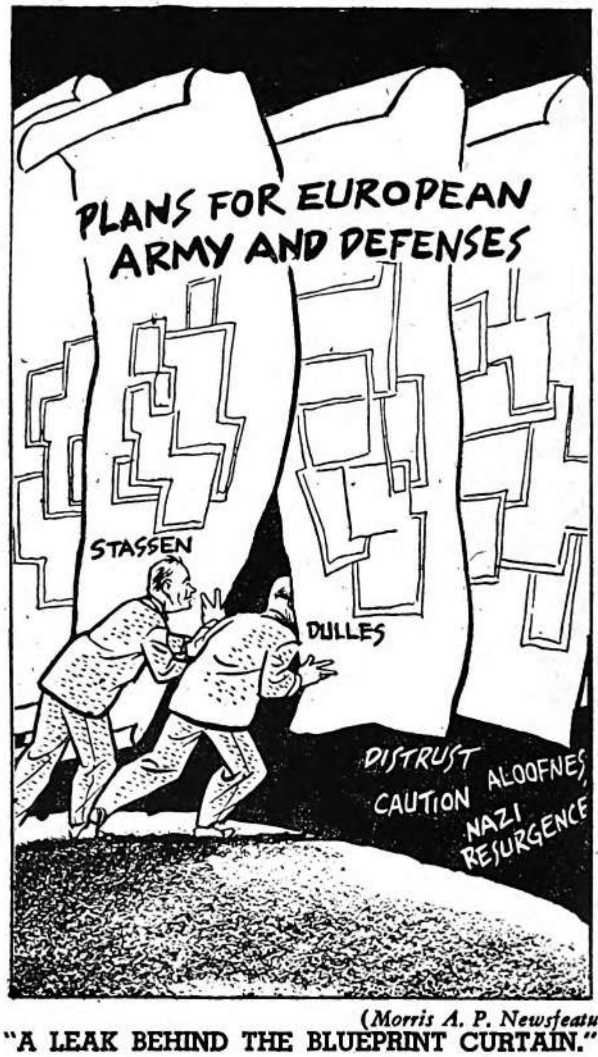
"In such a crisis, Germans ask under their breath, where will the German general's allegiance lie? . . ."

★

STRANGE ARITHMETIC

Parliamentarische Wochenschrift, Cologne, 1/53:

"According to a statement made by War Minister Theodore Blank to the Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung, the German army will have 40 generals, 250 colonels, 900 lieutenant colonels, 2,000 majors, 6,300 captains and 12,300 lieutenants. This means that the original plan for an army of 12 divisions consisting of 250,000 men has been increased to an army of 30 divisions and 600,000 men."



(*Morris A. P. Newsfeatures*)

"A LEAK BEHIND THE BLUEPRINT CURTAIN."

A GERMAN VOICE

From a dispatch to the Herald Tribune 6/8/53:

"The issue of the future borders of a reunited Germany was raised in its most explosive form this weekend by Waldemar Kraft, head of the All-German bloc, a party that represents many of the 8,000,000 expellees from Germany's lost territories in the East.

"Mr. Kraft, an increasingly important politician at Bonn, said the question of the German frontiers is becoming more and more acute in view of possible East-West talks on the German problem. He declared that restoration of the pre-war Reich's boundaries of 1937 would not be enough . . .

"The 1937 borders—that is, Germany's frontiers before Hitler began his conquests—would be no real solution, Mr. Kraft said. He advised Germans and friends of Germany in the West against regarding the 1937 frontiers as the obvious and proper ones."

★

LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS IN GERMANY

From a dispatch to the N. Y. Post 3/30/53:

"A lurid collection of anti-Semitic literature, found by police in homes of leaders of the German Rally Movement, was displayed here today by Lower Saxony state authorities.

"The state government banned the German Rally March 20 as a Nazi-style successor to the banned Socialist Reichs Party, which won 11 per cent of the 1951 vote . . .

"One pamphlet, from Sweden, contained such headlines as "Behind Communism Stands the Jew,' and 'For the Fatherland Against the World Jewry.' It said Jews intended to start another world war within five years . . .

"A cartoon showed West German Chancellor Adenauer standing amid bomb ruins while former U. S. Secretary of State Marshall decorated him with a Star of David. Behind Adenauer and Marshall were the grinning faces of a Jew and Stalin.

"The pamphlet claimed Jews who had once lived in Germany were 'the hyenas who want German ruin.'

"Other pamphlets came from South Africa."

★

THE HEROES RETURN

From an ONA Dispatch 3/30/53:

"The oldtime Hollywood movie villain, Sessue Hayakawa, has been chosen to play the title role in a new Japanese film about General Yamashita, the 'Tiger of Malaya' who was hanged as a war criminal at the end of World War II. But this time Hayakawa won't be playing a villain. His portrayal of Yamashita will be favorable—the first time since 1945 that the Japanese will have so portrayed on the screen any of their wartime leaders . . .

"The Japanese have come to regard Yamashita as one of their genuine martyrs. 'No more fitting subject could have been found for Japan's first postwar patriotic movie,' a Japanese film critic told me. 'I only wish the Americans would make a movie about General Yamashita, as they did about the German General Rommel.' "

★

RUSSIAN SOOTHES NIEMOELLER

From a U. P. Dispatch 5/9/53:

"Pavel F. Yudin, new political advisor to the Soviet Control Commission in Germany, conferred for two hours with Pastor Martin Niemoeller on the Communist persecution of the Evangelical Church in East Germany. 'My heart was relieved by the time we parted,' Pastor Niemoeller said before returning to West Germany. He refused to give details of the talk."

★

FOR "GOOD BEHAVIOR"

From an A. P. Dispatch 3/12/53:

"The British have freed another war criminal from their prison at Werl, reducing the number they hold to 102. Wilhelm Klos, 50, sentenced to death in Hamburg Jan. 22, 1948, for having been involved in the killing of thirty Russians was released today. The sentence had been commuted to life and then reduced to ten years. Time off for good conduct and pre-trial custody gave Klos his freedom."

★

GERMAN JUSTICE

From Reuters 3/4/53:

"The British Foreign Office today criticized the German denazification court that exonerated Gen. Alfred Jodl of the crimes for which the Allies hanged him at Nurenberg in 1946.

"A spokesman said the court had no right to reverse the judgment of the International War Crimes Tribunal, which sentenced General Jodl, Hitler's Chief of Staff and Operations, along with other top Nazi leaders.

"The German court exonerated General Jodl in deciding his property could not be confiscated by the state. It leads the way for other German courts to whitewash Nazis condemned by the Allies."

★

SO LITTLE AND SO LATE

From the Washington Post 3/3/53:

"Kurt Tesch, 42-year-old former noncommissioned officer in the SS elite guard was sentenced today to a year and a half in prison for slaying a captured American airman in 1944.

"Tesch was convicted of shooting the American pilot in the back of the neck after the flier parachuted from his plane near the village of Langenlonsheim. The American has never been identified."

★

THE "KNIFE IN THE BACK"

Le Monde, Paris, 2/53:

"Col. Rudel, the German flying ace, recently wrote: 'Of all the statesmen of our times, only Adolph Hitler, the chief of the German state, understood the world situation and acted accordingly. When Hitler said that he had reasons to believe that Bolshevism was ready to give a mortal blow to Europe and to Germany, the present situation proves to us that what Hitler said was no propaganda.'

"According to Rudel, 'Germany in 1945 was beaten the same as it was in 1918—by a knife in the back.' "

★

DECORATIONS FOR SALE

From the London News Chronicle, 5/21/53:

"Walk into a tobacconists in the Ruhr city of Essen. Ask to see what is in those cigar boxes labelled 'German Unity.'

"They hold swastikas, Iron Crosses and other decorations that used to glitter on Nazi tunics. Not partworn souvenirs but brand-new medals turned out by a big factory in defiance of the occupation laws.

"For this shop is one of the outlets for a booming underground trade in military insignia....

"A German M. P., Erich Mende, is now urging the Allies to lift the ban on the manufacture and wearing of military medals."

★

THE CRIME AND THE PUNISHMENT

From an AP Dispatch, 6/16/53:

"The West German Supreme Court released today two more of the seven Germans arrested last January on charges of plotting to revive a Nazi dictatorship. Only one remains in jail. He is Werner Naumann, an alleged ringleader.

"The men were held without bond after their arrest by British authorities, who turned the case over to the Germans....

"Released today were Gustav Scheel, former leader of the Nazi Students' League, and Paul Zimmermann, a former S. S. (Elite Guard) officer.

"In releasing them the court ruled that there was no danger of their fleeing the country or destroying evidence."

★

". . . Dr. Adenauer, hand-picked by Washington as the first Chancellor of the Bonn Republic, has been an enthusiastic supporter of the Truman-Acheson policy, precisely because he was shrewd enough to see that it would make West Germany the dominant West European power, placing it in a position to play off Russia against the West. Having with consummate skill finessed West Germany into an almost incredible position of power, it is not hard to see that the last thing Dr. Adenauer would now like to contemplate would be a uniting of the two Germanies on a basis of demilitarized neutrality.

"The choice confronting the Eisenhower Administration is, therefore, not only the basic choice between France and Germany, but also the choice between seeking peace through restoring the unity of Germany and, eventually, the unity of Europe—or seeking peace through a precarious balance of military power in a permanently divided Europe, with the balance depending upon the loyalty to the West of a restless, unnatural and as yet unregenerate West German state."

(James P. Warburg in Pamphlet, "France, Germany and Nato")

"UNTIL JUSTICE IS DONE"

From an ONA Report, 6/12/53:

"... Minister of Justice Thomas Dehler stated in Hamburg that he saw no reason why compensation should be paid to victims of Nazism 'until justice is done to the whole German People....' "

★

DISMANTLING—GERMAN STYLE!

From JTA 5/31/53:

"The State of Bavaria has closed down and dismantled an exhibit of Nazi methods and brutality at the site of the former Dachau concentration camp, without consulting any of the Jewish, German or international organizations interested in the memorial exhibition which was entitled 'Never Again.'

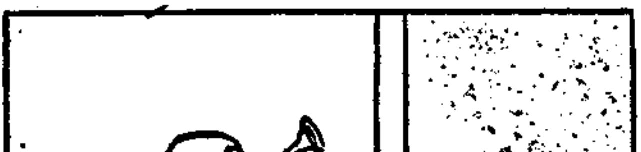
"Bavarian authorities told the JTA that the museum was being used for 'private ends' and that they could not tolerate such a state of affairs. However, they made no explantion of their failure to consult the organizations interested in the project before tearing it down...."

BACKWARD STEP IN GERMANY

"If there is one thing which nobody wants to see in Germany again it is a return to the days of political party uniforms....

"Despite the opposition of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the warnings of German moderates, the Bundestag at Bonn has just decided, 174 to 130, to lift the ban placed upon political party uniforms after the war. . . . As evidence that . . . certain elements there learned little from the last war, the Bundestag's action is discouraging. Hitler's uniformed party guards were his first army; one would think that the memory of this alone would be enough to make the Germans ponder seriously whether a return to this sort of thing is the way to reassure their neighbors of Germany's concept of her place in the new Europe. Uniforms and politics are as dangerous a combination today as they were twenty years ago."

(From editorial N. Y. Herald Tribune 5-22-53)



(L'Aurore, Paris)

MARIANNE: "WHAT WILL THEY DO WITH THEM?"

Germany - a reliable ally ?

Here is what the American press says about "Germany Plots With The Kremlin" by T. H. Tetens:

"Never before has United States policy in Europe been questioned so provocatively . . . Mr. Tetens presents incontrovertible proof of the activtities of these neo-Nazis who gloat about 'the helpless Americans who have lost the peace, the cold war and their entire future, but are not yet aware of it'."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"An extraordinary book . . . It would seem an elementary precaution to suggest that the entire German policy be re-examined."

BOSTON DAILY GLOBE (leading editorial)

"A scathing attack upon the German leaders whom our policy makers have chosen as allies . . . Mr. Tetens is surely right in holding that any optimism with regard to Germany's future loyalty is hardly a sufficient basis for policy . . . A disturbing book which deserves serious consideration by American citizens."

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Gordon A. Craig, Prof. of History, Princeton University

"This reviewer agrees with Mr. Tetens' main convictions that our German policy is hazardous and fundamentally ill-conceived; that a powerful Germany will almost certainly seek an alliance with the Soviet Union, or at least cynically play off the Kremlin against Washington, and vice versa."

NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. S. Padover, Dean of the School of Politics at the New School, N. Y.

"Sobering documentary evidence rather than geopolitical dramatics . . . these papers add up to a grim picture."

WASHINGTON POST

"A slashing attack on U. S. policy in Germany. Our policy toward the Bonn Government is dangerous and ill-conceived because . . . the Germans will inevitably seek an alliance with Russia."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

"Germany is not interested in defending the West; Germany is interested to make a deal with Moscow. This book contains documents which seem to support the author's belief all the way."

THE CLEVELAND PRESS

"A convincing array of documents to show that Germany regards the outcome of World War II as a temporary set-back rather than a defeat. . . . There should be a thorough congressional investigation of our policy toward Germany now, before we discover that we have created another Frankenstein."

WICHITA EAGLE

"The pungent comments Tetens makes about United States-German affairs carry some weight because the book appears well documented."

HOUSTON CHRONICLE

"The U. S. may well be building its own death trap in building up Germany . . . This book is a shocking eye-opener—it magnifies the eight-year-old question: Who won the war?"

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM, TEXAS

"A well-documented book—literally stuffed with quotations from authoritative German officials and newspapers, with equally many quotations by prominent Americans and the American press."

CHARLESTON, S. C. POST

"The American people should take the author's message to heart . . . One wonders why the press and radio commentators aren't pointing out the dangers that Tetens sees. What are American diplomats in Germany reporting about the situation?"

DURHAM, N. C. MORNING HERALD

"We should be well advised to heed Mr. Tetens' warning. At least we should read his book. We hope the President reads it. We hope Secretary of State John Foster Dulles reads it, too, for that matter. It's something that needs telling and the least we can do is listen."

LOS ENGELES DAILY NEWS (Editoirial)

"Here we go again . . . Germany still plans to dominate Europe, establish colonies in Africa and economic dependencies in South America. America is to finance Germany's revival, but the Fatherland will go over to the Russian side in the end."

THE CALL-BULLETIN, SAN FRANCISCO

"Convincing documentary proof that . . . Germany conveniently will forget the billions of dollars made available to her and enter into a new alliance with Red Russia."

ARIZONA REPUBLIC

"An exceedingly disturbing book . . . Every reader will hope that Congress and all in authority will consider this evidence carefully and either give us adequate proof that Mr. Tetens' conclusions are unwarranted or act to change our policy."

HARTFORD, CONN. TIMES

"Mr. Tetens knows whereof he speaks. He has conducted his own Gallup poll on Germany's attitude toward America and Russia. On the basis of his findings, Mr. Tetens arrives at the conclusion that the American people have been deceived about Germany's reliability as a bulwark against Russia."

NEW REPUBLIC

"This is no 'peace of mind' book. . . . Every American had better read or come to know the particulars the volume contains. On these pages are authentic documents revealing the secret plans of powerful German individuals and groups to betray the West, and specifically the United States. Also it is disquieting, to say the least, to read some of the directly quoted statements of Dr. Adenauer."

CHRISTIAN HERALD MAGAZINE

"The book raises questions which deserve to be answered. It lays bare the extremely difficult course the United States is taking in its present policy toward Germany. . . . The United States is banking on the fact that the Germany it is helping to rebuild under Dr. Adenauer, will be a state friendly to the West and content to take its proper place in a free Europe. The author presents some cogent analysis which shows that this kind of treatment did not work with Germany as recently as a generation ago and seems to be taking the same turn now that it took then, and designedly so, according to the author, because of the scheming of the Bonn Government."

Kenneth Herian, S.J., in the
CATHOLIC REVIEW SERVICE,
St. Mary's College, Kansas.

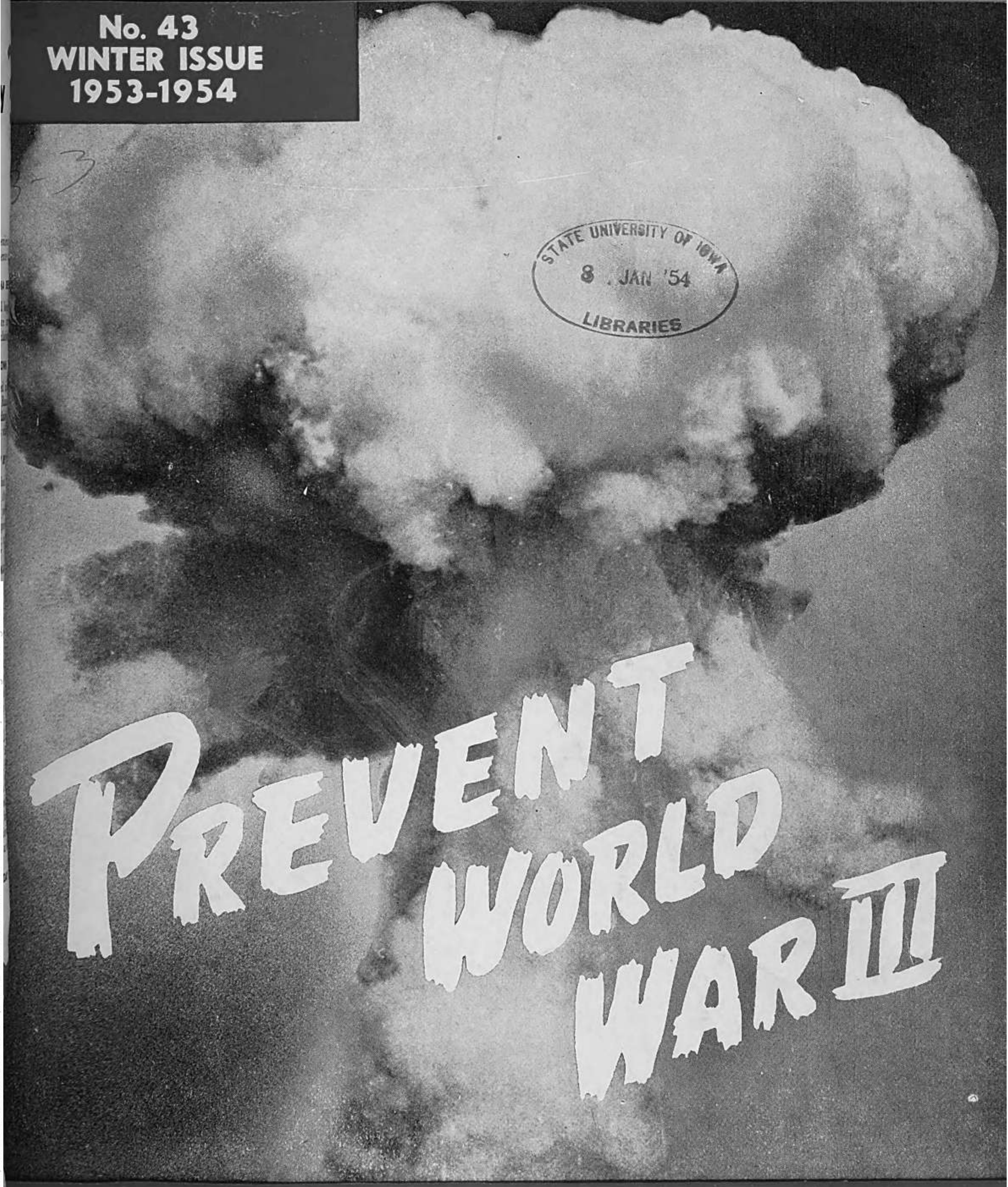
"An explosive book . . . Mr. Tetens is not the first American to state this thesis in print, but he is the first to adduce such a volume of circumstantial evidence of its validity. The German press, including that segment termed 'responsible,' has been full of editorials explaining and acclaiming the policies of Konrad Adenauer as designed to ditch the West and marry the East."

THE SATURDAY REVIEW

Germany Plots with the Kremlin
By T. H. Tetens

Buy your copy today!
$3.75 at your bookstore
You cannot afford to ignore this book
HENRY SCHUMAN, INC.
New York

No. 43
WINTER ISSUE
1953-1954



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Published by
ociety for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985

No. 43 Winter Issue, 1953-1954

Our Tenth Anniversary

1943–1953

This year marks the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc. In this connection Senator James E. Murray has commented: "Strange as it may seem the Society for the Prevention of World War III was founded during the latter part of World War II when the fortunes of the Allies were rising, and the future of the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin Axis was bleak. Yet its founders were far-sighted enough to stress the importance of preventing World War III. They were realists, and it was their firm conviction that unless the seeds of World War I which flowered into World War II was destroyed, then the United States and the rest of the world would be confronted with a greater and more devastating holocaust."

Since 1943 the Society for the Prevention of World War III has been working in the field of international relations. We have been particularly concerned with the German problem, feeling that its realistic solution would contribute decisively to world peace and security. Toward this end, the Society endeavored to advise the American people as to those principles which it believes could have contributed to a secure peace with Germany. We proposed:

1. That Germany's war potential be whittled down to genuine peacetime needs.
2. That encouragement be given to the development of German light industries.
3. That Germany compensate at least in part in reparations to those nations victimized by her aggressions.
4. That the huge German cartels and economic concentrations be eliminated so as to foster the development of genuine free enterprise, something which the Germans have never known.
5. That all the major war criminals who were responsible for the mass slaughter of millions of human beings be apprehended and prosecuted to the fullest extent of international law.
6. That a realistic and thorough-going denazification program be enforced so as to prevent the same forces which served the Kaiser and then Hitler from regaining positions of power.
7. That German political institutions be decentralized, thereby avoiding the re-creation of a new Reich.
8. That all German assets and loot salted away by the Nazis in neutral countries be vested in the Allies and allocated proportionately to all the victims of German aggression.
9. That a broad program of democratization be instituted as a first step toward eradicating the superman obsession of the German people.
10. That such institutions and organizations as churches, trade unions, business associations, be encouraged to partake in the development of a truly democratic Germany which could be accepted into the family of nations.

These recommendations were not out of step with America's national interests. On the contrary, they formed the core of United States policy in Germany in 1945. The failure to carry out this program has resulted in the reemergence of a powerful Germany. Is there a correlation between this fact and the growing tensions between the democratic West and the countries behind the Iron Curtain? In reply to this question we refer to the prophetic remarks of elder Statesman Bernard Baruch who warned the Senate in June, 1945, "What is done with Germany holds the key to whether Russia, Britain and the United States can continue to get along. . . ." Amplifying this statement he declared, "The occupation of Germany will be difficult enough at best. In the absence of a common policy as to the long-range fate of Germany, the Soviets are bound to question Allied moves as dictated by a desire to rebuild Germany into a buffer against Russia. In turn, the Western democracies will suspect Russia of seeking to communize Germany. The Germans can be expected to resort to every imaginable trick to foment discord among the four occupying nations. They will play one nation against the other, one zone against the next, hoping to break the common unity of the Allies, so controls will be permitted to lapse, giving her a chance to recoup, as after Versailles."

The emergence of a powerful Germany has not reduced world tensions but has heightened them. The emergence of a powerful Germany has not decreased the threat of

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Communist power and influence but has strengthened it. Last—but most ominous—the emergence of a powerful Germany raises the spectre of an alliance between German technology and Russian manpower.

The founders of the Society were aware of all these potential dangers in 1943. Today they no longer exist in the realm of mere speculation. This is not to say that the Society relishes the idea of being able to say "we told you so." Nevertheless, we have not taken the position that all is lost and that we must sit back and wait for the inevitable doom.

On this Tenth Anniversary we are more determined than ever to continue our program of education through our magazine PREVENT WORLD WAR III and other literature because we are convinced that a well-informed public opinion can check the trend which bodes ill for our security and peace.

We are proud to say that the Society's message is receiving wider and wider attention both here and abroad. This fact encourages us that perhaps the future may be more promising than the past.

On this occasion we express our gratitude to all persons near and far who have supported the Society's work and have encouraged us to continue the good fight. We also express our appreciation to all the members of the Advisory Council and the officers and staff who have remained steadfast to the principles upon which the Society was founded.

In view of this special occasion we have asked one of the founders, the world-renowned philosopher and scholar, Professor Frederick Wilhelm Foerster (born in Prussia) to express his views on this crucial problem. It is our pleasure and privilege to be able to print below the text of his statement.

Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
Board of Directors

On The German Problem

By

FREDERICK WILHELM FOERSTER

Once again the German problem has become the focal point of world tensions. It is the enigmatic uncertainty of all of Germany's intentions, the deep division prevailing in the nation, the unexplored areas between the different political tendencies, that becloud possible arrangements with regard to relations among the nations of Europe.

Even the great East-West world problem is dependent on its solution. Indeed, the two main spheres of power harbor opposite expectations as to Germany's reliability. Thus, what encourages the East discourages the West, what arouses distrust and suspicion in the Western world inspires hope and confidence in the world beyond the Elbe.

What is Germany? Wither Germany? How long will she proceed in a given direction and at the appropriate moment make a "volte-face"? The answer to the first question is: There are two Germanys. Therefore, the decisive question is: Which of the two Germanys will decide the fate of the nation and the fate of the world?

Let us examine this perplexing problem as it appears in the context of a most confusing situation. History may enter the discussion. Goethe was embarrassed by the question "What is Germany?" He answered, "I don't know. Where spiritual Germany ends, political Germany begins!" He believed that this political Germany was not the logical expression of spiritual Germany; rather was it an invasion from the East which penetrated and dominated that northern part of Germany which K. Lamprecht called "Colonial Germany."

By its organizing and state-building power, this Eastern force succeeded in taking over what Lamprecht called "Mother Germany." Prussia, the embodiment of this power, had been founded by the Teutonic Knights, disciples of Byzantine totalitarianism and despotism. (The right of the State against the right of man.) It can be said that Germany's modern tragedy has its origin in the fact that Asia and Europe met in the midst of Germany and exposed the German world to two invasions—one coming from despotic Asia — the other from liberal Western Europe, particularly from England.

The basic difference in the political dynamics of the Eastern and the Western orientations may be described in the following manner. The Eastern totalitarian influence emanated from a powerful type of man formed by long centuries of political organization and warfare, while liberal Germany thrived on ideas imported from England but separated from British history and the British character. Whoever ignores this fact will never understand the fundamental political weaknesses underlying the leftist movement in Germany.

It also explains the reactionary tendencies of the majority of German intellectuals. "They settled first," Nietzsche observed, "on the milky way, then preferred to exchange this silver-like, glittering idealism for political madness."

When Madame de Staël remarked that God gave the land to the French, the sea to the British and the clouds to the Germans, she did not foresee that the day would not be far when the German spirit would descend from the clouds and place its power in the service of reactionary nationalism. This strange union was described in October, 1914, by Professor Werner Sombart: "German militarism is the most complete union between Weimar and Potsdam. It is Beethoven in the trenches."

It is a great tragedy that the Allies have never been able to comprehend the meaning of the two Germanys on the basis of Sombart's incisive analysis. They always supposed that Weimar stood against Potsdam and that Weimar belonged to the Occident while Potsdam belonged to Asia. As a matter of fact, Weimar voted for Potsdam and backed Potsdam by ideological power and enthusiasm.

The Weimar Republic would never have been tolerated by the German rightists if that government had not been able to protect the international credit and standing of German Reaction. The Republic could not have survived had it not functioned as a democratic façade which gave succor to a defeated nationalism and permitted German militarism to restore its war-making power. In this sense the rightists tolerated and appreciated the Weimar statesman, Stresemann, because without his pacifistic game they could never have realized their secret rearmament plans. (In the same sense, the overwhelming success of Adenauer in the last German elections, is not at all convincing proof that the sympathies of the German majority are for his plans. The Adenauer victory merely showed that even the German reactionary regard him as the only possible German representative who is able to obtain American financial help and to reestablish the German army.)

The catastrophic and ever-repeated fault of the victors lies in this fact. They have always assumed that German armed forces would surely serve the defense of Western civilization, but they have failed to obtain real moral guarantees against the misuse of Germany's material and military reconstructed power.

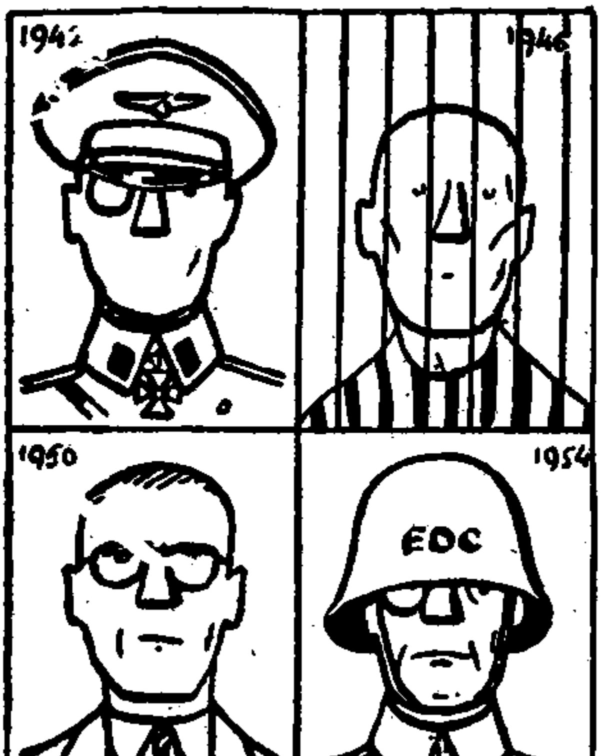
The reader might say: but is the guarantee not to be sought in the personality of Adenauer? It is true that during his long political career, Adenauer has, at times, displayed a firmness in the face of the rightist threat. But one man's strength and determination cannot be omnipotent in the face of the deeply rooted and wholly unconverted political and ideological power of rightist Germany.

It is this reactionary force which has at its disposal the Ruhr barons, the military veterans and their militaristic traditions, and last but not least, the many former Nazis who have regained positions of power in government and, indeed, in all walks of life. The dynamic power of this rightist force would be lacking were it not for the fact that it is led by an intellectual leadership which has already elaborated long-range plans, exploiting every opportunity to rebuild Germany's military establishment as the direct instrument for Germany's domination of Europe. In their plans, distributed among key personalities in Germany, these geopoliticians think it possible that with Europe as its base, this German power will proceed to Africa and with the combined resources of two continents realize the Pan-German dream of world conquest and reduce America to the status of a colonial satellite.

These far from idle dreams have been disclosed by students of German geopolitics over the years. For example, as early as 1925, the British author Worthley in his book "Europe versus America" referred to a series of publications emanating from the school of geopolitics headed by General Haushofer. These documents suggested that Germany must use its future rearmament for purposes of dominating Europe, and then Africa. With this accomplished, the European and African resources at Germany's command would isolate America economically and politically. More light on the subject may be found in the book by T. H. Tetens "Germany Plots with the Kremlin" published in the early part of 1953. Additional documents are published in this book which confirm the fact that the geopoliticians have not been asleep since the end of the war.

Persons who are uninformed about these facts may say —how can you insult "Deutschland" by imputing to her such diabolical plans? But we do not speak at all of "Deutschland" who is no less threatened by these "dreams" than the rest of the world. We only point to

FROM A GERMAN COLONEL'S ALBUM



Die Tat (Zurich)

these facts:

1. That these plans exist and are propagated with cunning and great knowledge of the present distribution of power in the world.

2. That the silent adherent sympathizers and propagandists of these plans have proved again and again that they can win over to their aspirations the greatest financial powers in Germany.

3. That they were always organically linked with military Germany.

4. That they are linked with the deep-rooted authoritarian traditions of centuries.

5. That the peace-loving spiritual democratic minority of the German people has always been disregarded when the great historical decisions of the German nation were made.

The most dangerous fact within the present world situation is that the Allies have never seemed to be able to face the German reality. After two catastrophies they could have drawn realistic conclusions. Unfortunately, what the Americans call "wishful thinking" seems to have completely blinded them. Animal learns from experience. Man does not . . . If a miracle fails to intervene, they will continue to be paralyzed by these incurable illusions about the power and capacity of the honest and democratic Germany to withstand the ever-renewed conspiracy of German reactionary nationalism. They will grant the new German army. But this army, as they will see, will serve Potsdam Germany.

The Allies naively suppose that the army they are going to present their former enemy, will deepen Germany's ties with Western civilization. One day they will regret this terrible error. They will see that just by submitting to his temptation, they will strengthen those very elements in the German nation which—when the situation seems ripe—will overthrow Adenauer in order to realize their "dream" of a German-dominated Europe which would confront America with overwhelming power.

A ray of hope may yet be found in the new German generation as well as in that generation which has undergone experiences of the last war. Yet it will depend on a great and systematic effort to give these generations a new moral and political orientation; immunizing them against any extremist agitation and opening their eyes, their intelligence and their conscience to the great chance now available to Germany. It is the opportunity that the country might again become the center of reconciliation of opposing principles and traditions and that it may abandon and reject all temptations to become the center of explosive destruction and final self-destruction.

"For most of humanity the elections did not solve the German problem. It will exist until we get far more solid assurance that Germany has turned its back on aggressive nationalism and militarism. Its apparent willingness to join a European army is unlikely to ease Europe's anxieties on that score. The risk that we may forfeit our oldest allies for Germany's uncertain partnership is still with us."

(From an editorial in the N. Y. Post, 9-8-53)

". . . In five years in Germany, at any rate, I saw very little mass support of democracy. . . .

"Too many American experts in Germany ignore the dangers of totalitarianism in that country because they have been connected with the crusade to denazify Germany. 'The Nazis are finished,' they report. A dangerous half-truth; the Nazis as Nazis are through. Fascism, the basic ethos of National socialism, is very much alive. . . ."

(Drew Middleton in N. Y. Times, 9-6-53)

"Over in Europe, (the Roman Catholic leader) Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, desperately fearful lest German rearmament fail to go through thus frustrating his desire for greater power, begged President Eisenhower not to enter into any direct negotiations with the Russians. Knowing rearmament is unpopular with millions of his countrymen, he wants to convince the world that German unity can't be had without German remilitarization. The truth is just the other way around. Adenauer and his friends would prefer a national army, but knowing they can't have it, they have stubbornly plugged for a big share in the European Defense Community—a share they would try to make bigger and bigger at every opportunity. Everything, even a possible settlement of the cold war, must be bent around to fit the Chancellor's internal program."

(Worldover Press 9-53)

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR EUROPE

"Dr. Adenauer, who is in his late seventies, will not be at Germany's helm indefinitely, of course. And Russia's soft talk may get unpredictably softer in the future. When and if these events take place, there is no guaranteeing that Germany's vigor will not be again applied in the wrong channels, as in the past.

"Democracy's tender roots here could be threatened. A strong Germany might leave Dr. Adenauer's course of conservative international cooperation and try to further build up its power by playing off the East and West against each other. It may be lured by its own self-confidence, by the promise of its old Eastern markets and by the promised return of Silesia and Pomerania into trying to make 'deals' with Moscow while retaining its own independence. . . ."

(Warren H. Phillips in the Wall Street Journal, 7-9-53)

Editorials

WE ARE FOR THE U. N.

Out of the ashes of World War II a new design for peace was born—the United Nations. It was not the utopian handiwork of diplomats remote from the realities of the day. On the contrary, the U. N. was the concrete expression of the irrepressible will of the peoples throughout the world. Nor was this worldwide movement for peace the result of despair. Rather did it reflect an overpowering optimism. The people wanted peace, not only because they were tired of war, but they had also come to the realization that a positive program for peace was the only way by which man could enjoy the things of the spirit as well as of the world.

Perhaps the greatest success achieved by the U. N. to date was in defense of the principle of collective security against aggression in Korea. Here the U. N., young as it is, beset with internal and external difficulties, treated with scorn and contempt by obscurantists and false prophets, was able to prove to the world that the collective will for peace can conquer aggression.

The United Nations has been charged with faltering at times. The accusers should examine the mote in their own eye. For the apparent failures of the U. N. are but the reflection of the shortcomings of its members. To the degree that the charter is upheld both in letter and spirit, will the United Nations march forward to greater victories over aggression, disease and poverty.

As conceived by the people, the United Nations is the instrument through which the nations of the world would act together in turning the swords of yesterday into the plowshares of tomorrow. This would not only be a victory in the negative sense of relieving the people of the burdens of armaments, but it would contribute mightily toward peace and concord among nations.

It is in this connection that we are reminded of the fact that the main Powers in the United Nations did agree to a program of disarmament for Germany. It is true that this agreement had not been arrived at through the United Nations. Yet, is it not feasible for the United Nations to utilize this agreement on the disarmament of Germany as the basis for a comprehensive and practical U. N. disarmament plan? We firmly believe that this is not only achievable but absolutely necessary if disarmament can ever be realized.

The Society's representatives accredited to the United Nations have participated in various phases of its work. We intend to continue our labors on behalf of the United Nations because the Society holds to the conviction that the United Nations can and must work.

Because the Society is dedicated to the strengthening of U. S. security, it is also dedicated to the great ideals and purposes of the U. N. In the last analysis, America's freedom and liberty must rest on the concept of collective peace and security through the United Nations.

The world is passing through many crises. The lust for conquest did not pass away with the destruction of the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin Axis. Totalitarian forces feeding on economic and political distress are rampant. But in the midst of these raging forces of evil we do possess a potent instrument for good. Let us all work toward strengthening the edifice of the United Nations and every word of its Charter a living reality!

GERMAN ROLE PONDERED

"Those concerned about possible German military dominance, however, wonder if the time may not come when, as Germany begins to contribute troops to the European Defence Community, the United States will not be tempted to withdraw its forces from Europe (in the name of economy), leaving Germany the dominant power. Here is expressed the long-term apprehension of all Frenchmen and many other Europeans—that any retreat of the United States would leave Germany paramount in Europe. . . ."

(William H. Stringer in The Christian Science Monitor, 10-17-53)

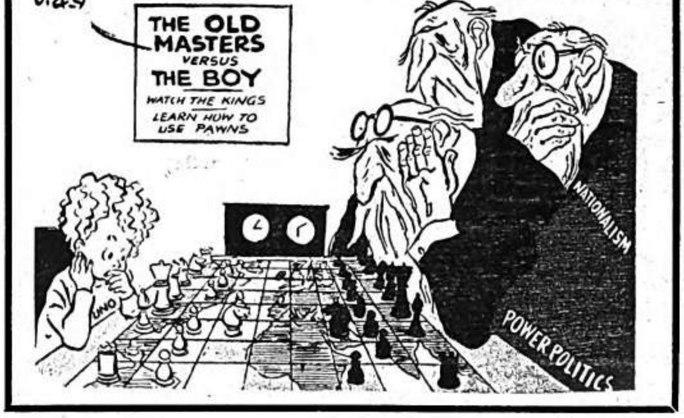
". . . In addition to the French attitude toward Germany, the thing that worries me most is our American attitude. It seems to me we may be in danger of blindly deciding that the Germans represent the only things good in Western Europe; that, since the French can't get themselves in order, we should say to hell with all the rest, now that we've got the Germans.

"No greater psychological mistake could be made. This is a mistake with respect to the other European nations. It is a mistake with respect to the Germans themselves, who would be the first to take advantage of such a situation. . . ."

(R. H. Shackford in N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun, 10-16-53)

THE OLD MASTER VERSUS BOY

Vicky, *London Daily News Chronicle*



AMERICAN POLICY—MADE IN GERMANY?

The latest Soviet rejection of the Allied proposal to negotiate on Germany was unquestionably a basic reason for the convening of the Bermuda Conference of the Big Three in December. In refusing to meet the Western powers at Lugano in November, the Soviet note alleged that German unification and the establishment of a European army containing West German units are incompatible concepts. On this point the Wall Street Journal (November 9, 1953) seems to concur. In this connection it states, "One must wonder just how, had that Conference taken place, the American negotiators propose to present a persuasive case for a German unification predicated on the existence of a European army. It couldn't be done and it is seriously to be doubted that anything can be done toward German unification as long as the U. S. remains inflexibly committed to the European army." Thus, the editorial declares that the U. S. stand is "illogical."

That the United States position appears to be "illogical" has been noted by serious students of Germany including James P. Warburg and Walter Lippmann. On the surface, it does appear that the U. S. approach is based on two premises which are irreconcilable. Then why, if this is true, do our policy makers continue to hold fast to this contradictory policy? Are they not aware of the fact that the EDC is based on a disunited Germany while a united Germany pre-supposes an independent Germany which will make alliances and commitments as it sees fit. Whether it is wise to meet with the Russians at this time is beside the point. What has intrigued so many people is the fact that our statesmen support a program whose basic elements are mutually antagonistic.

The answer to this riddle, we think, can be found not in Washington but in Bonn. It was Adenauer and it has been Adenauer all along who has insisted upon the creation of a European army and he has never retreated from this position. Months before M. Pleven proposed the establishment of a European Defense Community, Chancellor Adenauer declared that "a German military formation should be constructed as part of the European formation" (ONA, Nov. 28, 1949). The New York Times, Dec. 8, 1949, reported Adenauer as stating, *"if our people are forced to take a hand at some unforeseen time in the defense of Europe, then we could do so only on the basis of equal rights and within the framework of a European army."*

To those who accused the Chancellor of fostering a disunited Germany, the Chancellor vehemently denied the charge. More recently (U. P., Oct. 20, 1953), the Chancellor reiterated his belief that the integration of Western Germany with the European Defense Community "is in no way contradictory to a policy of re-unification of Germany."

We could cite other remarks made by the Chancellor along the same lines. Is his position illogical? It appears so but if one will take the trouble of carefully examining Chancellor Adenauer's public expressions and views, it will be found that there is a "method to his madness." What is that method?

On the eve of his trip to the United States in 1953, the Chancellor told a press conference that it was "ridiculous" to think of the Federal Republic as being able to play a decisive role alone. "How could this be without an alliance with Russia?" he asked. (N. Y. Times, April 6, 1953.) Since it is a fact that Adenauer's main aim is to enable Germany to play a decisive role in world affairs, his reference to a possible alliance with Russia must not be ignored.

Bearing this thought in mind, we proceed to another significant statement made in a speech at the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., April 8, 1953. Discussing what he called "the possibility of a German arrangement with Soviet Russia," Adenauer said: *"for Germany, weakened as it is, a pact with Soviet Russia on the basis of partnership and equality is an impossibility. The era of the Treaty of Rapallo has not come again. At that time Soviet Russia was weak. It sought and found as a partner a still powerful Germany. Should we attempt such a partnership we would soon find ourselves reduced to a satellite of Soviet Russia."* The basic thought in this statement infers that so long as Germany is weak there can be no "arrangement" with Soviet Russia.

The question then arises, i.e., how can Germany become strong, thereby creating the precondition for a possible "arrangement" with Russia? In a copyrighted interview published in the U. S. News & World Report, Nov. 13, 1953, Adenauer answered that question. He stated that if the EDC was finally established, then the possibility

ADENAUER'S FIFTH COLUMN

"Victor everywhere—in Bonn, in London, in Washington — Chancellor Adenauer presented his new Cabinet to the Bundestag in an address which was both confident and generous in tone. . . . And he claimed that the elections had brought the extremists of the right under control.

"In fact, the extremists have been brought under control through the simple process of being absorbed into the Chancellor's own following. One of the reasons the Nazis did not make a better showing was that they decided it would be absurd to fight as a separate party when they could work from within the ruling coalition. The Nazis are the real fifth column in the present West German regime, but a tolerated fifth column. The government is placing former Nazis in subaltern posts at an increasing rate: the cadres of the future army, now in preparation, are full of them, and they are reappearing in the press, radio, the publishing houses, and the theater. . . ."

(The Nation, 10-31-53)

of a pact with Russia would exist. In other words, given the formation of the EDC which, as is generally acknowledged, would be dominated by Germany, then the Chancellor would be in a position to talk turkey to the Russians. Here is the road to the reunification of Germany as envisioned by the Chancellor.

On the basis of the power created by the EDC, Adenauer hopes that the Russians will be willing to allow the unification of Germany. It may be asked what would the Russians hope to gain in return. We recollect that on May 20, 1950, Adenauer declared "A federated Europe will become a Third Force in the world not as strong as Russia or the U. S., but powerful enough to intervene successfully in a decisive moment to safeguard the peace." (*Rheinischer Merkur.*) What this actually means is that the establishment of a German dominated Western Europe isolate the U. S. if that became necessary. Who can deny that this would be a tempting offer to the Kremlin?

Thus, Adenauer's position is not illogical. It is cold-blooded Realpolitik. The irony of it all is that the Adenauer policy has been adopted by U. S. policy makers as though it conformed with our own national interests and security requirements.

It also appears that our policy makers consult with Dr. Adenauer before making any decisive moves with regard to the Allied policy vis-à-vis Russia. The recent exchange of notes between the Western Allies and the Kremlin shows how this works. Thus, on Sept. 4th the N. Y. Times reported, *"Dr. Adenauer said in a written statement that the Western notes were the result of the initiative he took in a letter to the U. S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, at the time of the Washington Conference of the Western Big Three foreign ministers."* In this connection, the Times further reported, *"Dr. Adenauer, in fact, had a hand in shaping the final form of the Allied invitation to Moscow. A draft of the notes was shown to him last week, and on Monday he made some suggestions for changes which were accepted by the three Allied capitals."* When the Western Allies were in the process of preparing a reply to a subsequent Soviet note, Adenauer was again consulted. *"Dr. Adenauer's opinions will be passed along to the three Western Governments and presumably will be taken into account by the Allied experts who are to meet at London this week to draft a reply to the Russians."* (Associated Press, Oct. 5th.) Indeed, the N. Y. Times of October 15th reported that Bonn had submitted a memorandum on the question of German unity to "be studied at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the U. S., Britain and France, opening in London." The last Allied note rejected by the Kremlin bore the marks of Adenauer's influence. Writing in the N. Y. Times, Oct. 20th, C. L. Sulzburger stated, "in fact it was Chancellor Adenauer who obtained a change in the Western Big Three notes to Moscow sent yesterday . . ." The following day, Mr. Sulzburger re-emphasized the Adenauer influence stating, "thus West Germany asserted its increasing strength."

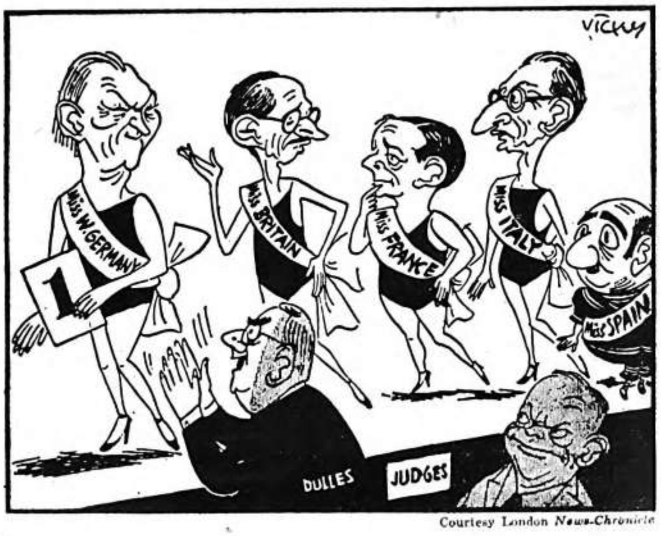
To bring the Adenauer influence up to date, we refer to Secretary of State Dulles' comments regarding possible action that the Allies would take in the face of the Soviets' latest rejection. According to the A. P. (Nov. 9th), Mr. Dulles said that Chancellor Adenauer "would have to be consulted first about steps to restore German sovereignty."

Is it not strange, to say the least, that the United States, a mighty power with problems of its own, should lean so heavily on a foreign politician for advice? The Adenauer policy, as we have seen, is not illogical in terms of Germany's perennial interests and ultimate objectives. But this policy must appear as incongruous when it is foisted upon the U. S. as though it corresponded to our own interests and objectives. As a result, a stalemate has been created with regard to a realistic solution of the German problem. Such an impasse provides Herr Adenauer with sufficient scope for maneuvering to further his own plans. This is the crux of the situation as we see it.

In the Summer 1953 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III we analyzed the Adenauer strategy and tactics and pointed out that Adenauer had not made any commitments whatsoever that are binding on Germany: *"On the other hand, he appears to have obtained commitments from Uncle Sam . . . Though he hopes to discredit the possibility of Allied negotiations with the Russians over Germany, it would not in any way prevent the Germans from making their own secret deals with the Kremlin."*

This is the method to Adenauer's "madness," but it ill becomes a mighty power such as the U. S. to permit itself to be manipulated like a marionette. When our leaders meet with the French and English, it would be wise for them to examine the German problem afresh—and to keep the door closed to the siren songs of wily Realpolitikers.

MISS EUROPE, 1953



Courtesy London *News-Chronicle*

ANOTHER MYTH

Many arguments have been adduced for purposes of justifying the rearmament of Germany. The more familiar ones relate to the allegation that Germany could serve as a reliable military bulwark against Soviet Communism. These arguments, however, have not made the impression on the peoples of Western Europe as had been hoped for by their advocates. Consequently, a "new" reason has been thought up which, it is hoped, will be more acceptable because it appears to be logical. We are now told that, unless Germany is rearmed, the other countries of Western Europe will be at a disadvantage competitively in the commercial field since they are burdened with huge armament expenditures while Germany is not. Presumably the statesmen of Western Europe who propound this new line, hope that it will be accepted as the lesser of two evils.

As early as March, 1950, Winston Churchill expounded this view in a debate in the House of Commons. He observed that the Germans were not saddled with huge taxes for defense and that therefore they could devote all of their energies to peace time commercial activities. Mr. Churchill stated further that the Germans "may also comfort themselves with the important advantages which this relief from taxation gives to German commercial competition in all the markets of the world, growing and spreading with every month that passes." His views have been repeated by other leaders in Britain, including Mr. Anthony Eden, and have also been publicized in leading British periodicals.

Particularly at this time when Western European countries as well as the United States are beginning to feel the impact of German competition, the thoughts expressed by Mr. Churchill recur over and over again as though they were a panacea for all of the troubles besetting the Western Allies.

There is no question that it is an argument which appears to be plausible in terms of economics. Yet, when one examines the record of Germany's economic activities prior to World War II, the soundness of Mr. Churchill's thesis is debatable. A sampling of Germany's export figures reveals the following:

In 1928 Germany produced 101,701 passenger cars of which 4,578 were exported, or 4.5 per cent of the total produced. In 1937, when German rearmament was in full swing, total passenger car production in Germany amounted to 264,441. Exports, however, soared to 57,164 or 21.6 per cent of the total passenger cars produced.

In 1928 Germany produced 36,366 motor trucks of which 3,413 were exported, or 9.4 per cent of the total production. In 1937 total motor truck production rose to 60,384 of which 12,411 trucks were exported, or 20.6 per cent of the total production.

In 1934 Germany exported 35.6 thousands of metric tons of textile machinery. In 1938 these exports rose to 37.8 thousands of metric tons.

In 1934 Germany exported 24.4 thousands of metric tons of agricultural machinery, but in 1938 exports of these machines more than doubled to the amount of 58.5 thousands of metric tons.

During 1934 Germany exported 66.7 thousands of metric tons of machine tools. In 1938 the export of machine tools reached a total of 99.4 thousands of metric tons, or 50 per cent more.

In 1934 Germany exported optical glass and technical and scientific instruments amounting to RM 44,451,000. By 1938 the export of these goods was valued at RM 78,571,000.

The export of rubber manufactures in Germany in 1937 increased by 70 per cent over the year of 1932.

Needless to say that the German chemical industry, led by I. G. Farben, also showed a remarkable increase in exports. Thus, the German export value of pharmaceuticals in 1933 amounted to RM 72,119,000. In 1937 German exports of pharmaceuticals soared to RM 139,800,000.

Not only did the export of the commodities cited above increase considerably but other German exports, in general, held their own. Yet, it was precisely during the period when German rearmament had accelerated that many of her most important exports increased significantly. The State Department, in discussing U. S. economic policy for Germany (publication 2630), noted that as early as 1936 the German economy "was heavily geared to war preparations."

It would appear from these facts that German rearmament, far from stymying exports, actually had a favorable effect on Germany's ability to export and to drive on for new markets. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that Germany's drive for markets also included efforts to penetrate regions where important raw materials were available for rearmament and export purposes at the expense of her competitors.

It is not true that the building up of Germany's heavy industry for war purposes crippled her endeavors to gain supremacy in the commercial world. Indeed, the very building up of her industrial war potential prodded Germany to expand her export possibilities. To achieve this goal Germany did not hesitate to employ the most ruthless trade practices. It is appropriate at this time to quote a passage from a report issued by the U. S. Foreign Economic Administration in 1946. Germany, according to the F.E.A. "has expanded its heavy industry beyond the level required for peace time domestic consumption or normal exports and dumped the excess on the world market for whatever price could be obtained. This practice, notably in the machine tool, machinery, aluminum and other heavy industries, upset established channels of trade and tended to increase the dependence of neighboring countries upon Germany for supplies in this field. A favorite device was the subsidizing of exports to enable the underselling of foreign competitors. For example, the export subsidies were so high on certain machine tools—25 per cent of the domestic sale price—that many producers hastened to increase their capacities and take advantage of the situation."

It is incredible how leading statesmen can forget the Germany of the 1930s. How can they ignore the fact that the very ruthlessness of Germany's trade practices during the 1930s is in itself proof that Germany, in spite of her huge armament preparations, left no stone unturned to conquer markets by hook or by crook? There is absolutely no ground for hoping that the building up of Germany's war potential today will develop to the economic advantage of their neighbors as well as the United States. Those who preach the doctrine that German rearmament would rescue the export industry of the Western Allies are indulging in wishful thinking.

AGRESSION'S PAY-OFF

"West Germany's economy has taken another swing upward in its fantastic rise. . .

"Output of industrial plants was the largest in history. In October the industrial production rate reached a new peak of 170 per cent of the 1936 level, the year that the Nazi rearmament boom began.

"West Germany moved into the position of No. 1 creditor in the European Payments Union, . . . and is now $691,000,000 in the black.

"Bonn also passed the U. S. to take second place after Britain in world shipbuilding. . . ."

(From A. P.,11-30-53.)

"But Germans know that Eastern Europe was always the steadiest source of profits and have already organized an 'Eastern Committee' for the purpose of increasing trade with the Soviet Union up to a minimum of $140,000,000 a year—last year's total was less than half a million dollars. The committee will also work for the resumption of trade relations with the satellite states. It wants to obtain oil, wheat, and basic minerals in exchange for the machinery and steel goods which Germany is finding more and more difficult to sell. The Eastern Committee is still only in its infancy, but it is destined to become a force in Central European politics, not because the Germans intend to 'go behind' the provisions of the American Battle act but because they are convinced that the markets of the Western world must be supplemented.

"Restoration of trade with Eastern Europe would cushion the effects of an economic recession. It would enable Germany to avoid the possible political consequences of competing too fiercely for traditional British or French export markets. It would further the delayed recovery of Berlin and after eventual reunification—in which every German believes—make it easier for the new Germany to recapture its old economic position in the heart of Europe."

(Terence Prittie—The Nation, 10-3-53.)

MORE NAZIS IN THE BONN GOVERNMENT

From time to time we have published information concerning the reappearance of Nazi and pro-Nazi elements in the Bonn Government. For example, in the No. 39 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III we proved that many Ribbentrop diplomats were back in key positions in the new German Foreign Office. In this connection we cited 20 specific cases of former Hitler diplomats who are re-employed by Chancellor Adenauer in his capacity as the German Foreign Minister. This exposé received wide comment in the press both here and abroad and was inserted in the Congressional Record by Congressman Arthur G. Klein on January 9, 1952.

The above-mentioned article did not exhaust the subject. On the contrary, there are many more similar cases, and they are not only confined to the Foreign Office. Therefore, the purpose of this piece is to keep our readers abreast of this situation as far as is possible.

Some weeks ago the German press carried a letter addressed to Chancellor Adenauer written by a German journalist, Michael Heinze-Mansfeld. It was Mr. Heinze-Mansfeld who did much of the spade-work in uncovering the Nazi-diplomats who have returned to the Bonn Foreign Office. In his letter to the Chancellor, Mr. Heinze-Mansgeld made additional disclosures.

Thus, the present head of the East European desk of the German Foreign Office, according to Heinze-Mansfeld, is *Dr. Otto Bräutigam*. During the war Herr Bräutigam served as Deputy Chief of the Political Department in Alfred Rosenberg's Reichs Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories. In this capacity he played a notorious role in arranging for the deportation and decimation of the Jews in the Baltic States, the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia. His infamous exploits were set down in his own diary and have also been recorded in the files of the International Military Tribunals at Nuremberg.

The Counsellor of the Bonn Ministry of Justice is *Dr. Franz Massfeller*. This character once wrote the official commentary to the Hitlerite law "for the protection of German blood and honor." Massfeller also composed the "expert legal opinion" which permitted the non-Jewish partners of mixed marriages to sue for divorce merely because of the Jewish antecedents of their spouses. He also participated in the infamous Wannsee Conference which was concerned, among other things, with the question of instituting compulsory sterilization. Incredible as it may seem, this same Massfeller is now in charge of drafting new marriage and family legislation.

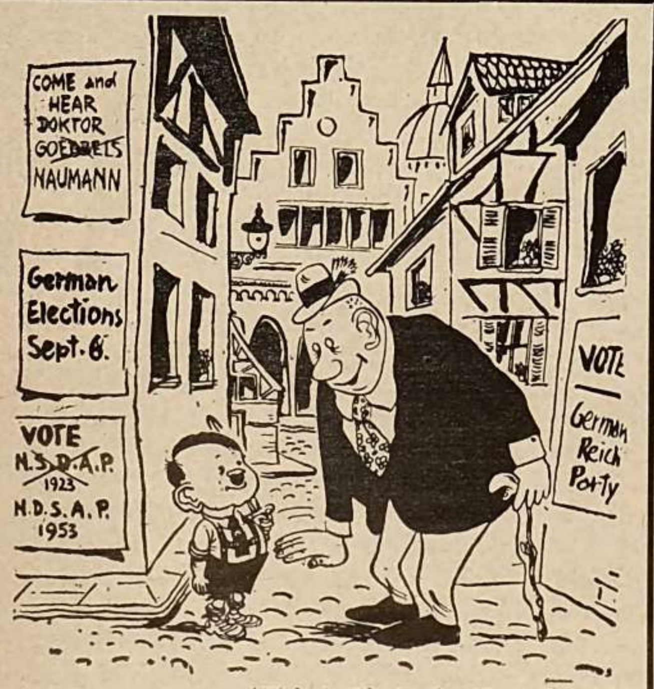
Among those employed in the German "Defense" Ministry is *Lt. Col. Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz*. Mr. Heinze-Mansfeld reminds Dr. Adenauer that Heinz was "a pioneer of bloody and murderous National Socialism and anti-Semitism" during the Weimar Republic. Moreover, Herr Heinz was an accessory to assassinations of political opponents including that of Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau.

So much for the basic facts contained in the Heinze-Mansfeld letter to Chancellor Adenauer. One would think that the Chancellor, when apprised of these facts, would react vigorously against these criminal characters. Yet, as far as we know, they have not been ousted from the Bonn Government. More than that, Adenauer recently announced the appointment of another notorious Nazi, *Herr Hans Globke,* as head of his Chancellery.

The record of Globke is a matter of public knowledge. As early as 1933 Globke was appointed as legal advisor to the Nazi bigwig Wilhelm Frick in the Ministry of the Interior of the Hitler Government. In collaboration with the Nazi Wilhelm Stuckhardt (as SS Obergruppenfuehrer) he wrote an official—and therefore approving—commentary on the Nuremberg race laws. Not only did Globke demand in his commentary the exclusion of "non-Aryans" from every field of German life, he also construed these statutes in a much harsher way than some well-meaning German courts had interpreted them. In his commentary on the German racial laws Dr. Globke affirmed that these laws *"mean a renunciation of the liberalistic idea of the equality of human beings . . . A nation can flourish only if the leadership is entrusted to the elite . . . Only those of German blood can be citizens."* For the unfortunate and unhappy victims of Nazi-Germany's barbaric racial legislation Dr. Globke has this comforting thought, *"they should have chosen their parents more carefully."*

Chancellor Adenauer's reorganized cabinet also contains individuals with Nazi background. *Theodor Oberländer,* who is now in charge of expellees, joined the Nazi Party in 1933. *Waldemar Kraft,* Minister without Portfolio, fought in the reactionary Free Corps, one of the forerunners of the Nazi Party itself. Subsequently he joined the Nazi Party and was a member of the Hitler SS.

We do not wish to give our readers the impression that these are the only current cases of Nazi infiltration in the Bonn Government. But we do think that they will help our readers to evaluate realistically the character of the Bonn Government. Of course, there are many officials who are free from the Nazi taint. They are the ones who are always placed on exhibit when it is necessary to convince the world that the Federal Republic is a shining example of democracy. However, real democracy is more than skin deep. Beneath the surface of the structure of the Bonn Government the pillars of pro-Nazism are intact to a frightening extent.


COME and HEAR DOKTOR ~~GOEBBELS~~ NAUMANN
German Elections Sept. 6.
VOTE N.S.D.A.P. 1923
N.D.S.A.P. 1953
VOTE German Reich Party

(*Vicky in The London News Chronicle*)

"My, my, I knew you when you were that high."

"'. . . We would be foolish not to recognize the survival in Dr. Adenauer's Germany of certain tendencies—the admiration of arbitrary power, nationalism, militarism, political arrogance, racial intolerance—which have with the exception of a few short years been pre-eminent in German life since the unification of 1871. . . .

"Fascist tendencies in Germany are encouraged by the refusal of the German people, as a people, to accept responsibility for the excesses of the Nazi regime or even to recognize that such crimes were committed. I feel strongly that the majority of Germans indict Hitler and the Nazis for failure rather than for Dachau or Rotterdam or Oradour or Malmedy. . . ."

(Drew Middleton in N. Y. Times, 9-6-53)

". . . Too many foreign observers have assumed that most Nazis were Nazis by conviction, and so jumped to the conclusion that the failure of the neo-Nazis in this election provides some evidence for a German change of heart. This is a crass delusion. . . . In the golden years of the Weimar Republic, from 1926 to 1929—when Germany could boast of an economic revival just as miraculous, and just as unstable, as Dr. Ehrhardt's—National Socialism was an addiction of a few cranks and fanatics. The salesmen, minor officials, shop-keepers and academics, who a few years later were to break up Jewish shops and shout for Danzig, were perfectly content during the boom to vote for respectable National parties and accept their share of capitalist prosperity. It was only when the boom collapsed that they began to worry about the Versailles Diktat.

"I fear that the same is true today. . . .

"The personal triumph of Dr. Adenauer means that, as long as he lives, he can make demands on Washington and London without fear of refusal. And after him?"

(R. H. S. Crossman in The New Statesman and Nation 9-12-53)

FACTS TO REPLACE FICTION

The hosannas which have been sung in praise of Dr. Adenauer's re-election have been most impressive. Particularly in the U. S., the Chancellor's victory was regarded as a stupendous triumph for U. S. policy. Few individuals in the U. S. have received such fulsome praise in our press as the Chancellor. Indeed, some columnists displayed more enthusiasm over Adenauer's triumph than they did when the Allies defeated Germany in 1945.

The American people have been bombarded with all kinds of assurances that with the Adenauer victory Germany has undergone a new birth of freedom. Of all the pieces which we have read on the Adenauer victory, one of the most striking, in terms of its exuberant optimism, was the editorial which appeared in BUSINESS WEEK September 19, 1953. Among the main points made in this editorial are the following:

A—"Chancellor Adenauer's triumphant election victory marks the beginning of a new era in Germany. For the first time, the German people have decisively aligned themselves with the West."

B—"The U. S. has played an important role in this triumph. Acting in the belief that Germany would serve as an imposing bulwark against Communism, we helped bring the country back from the debris of war to a healthy, thriving position. In fact, Germany is once again the dominant power in Europe."

C—"Chancellor Adenauer must be listened to as we listen to Churchill—as an independent and respected ally who shares the same basic principles but whose views are indubitably his own."

It is no exaggeration to say that these thoughts have been repeated over and over again by dozens of newspapers and periodicals throughout the country. Yet, in spite of this seemingly irrepressible wave of enthusiasm, these were some voices which expressed a note of caution. On page 21 we have reprinted a complete article on the subject of the Adenauer election by John Cordelli of the *Magazine of Wall Street.* While we do not share all of Mr. Cordelli's views, we regard his comments as among the most judicious and objective that we have seen on this subject.

There are other voices who have managed to maintain a sense of perspective despite the bandwagon psychology which has been drummed up for the Adenauer cause. These voices, too, deserve to be heard especially since they differ from the popular interpretation of the Adenauer victory as expressed in *Business Week.*

Point "A" of the *Business Week* editorial alleges that the German people have "decisively" teamed up with the West. *The Wall Street Journal* (Sept. 8, 1953) is by no means certain that this is a fact. *"Despite the claims of some of the post-election comments,* the *Wall Street Journal* writes, *"it is by no means clear that the German voters—as we would like to believe—were giving a vote of confidence to American foreign policy."*

The editorial continues in this vein, pointing out that the so-called pro-Western policies of Adenauer may not have had as much influence on the voters as the domestic issues. It continues, *"the voters enjoying prosperity and observing the effects of Socialism elsewhere in Europe, may have been more influenced by this than by questions of foreign policy."* Further on, the editorial states, *"so here as in most elections, snap judgments on why voters voted as they did are dubious. So too are predictions as to what the vote portends about the future running of German sentiment."* In conclusion, the editorial declares that the claim that the Adenauer victory *"is an endorsement of our own policy for Germany, must be tempered with caution until the causes of the victory are clearer. One election does not settle the future of Western Germany."*

Whether we can be proud of our role in making it possible for Germany to become the dominant power in Europe (Point B of the editorial), is certainly open to question. *Business Week* itself (September 12, 1953) observed, *"it's quite possible that a united Germany may some day aspire to play an independent role between the U. S. and Russia."* Such a perspective, we believe, would not be welcomed by our policy makers, yet it is inherent in the fact that Germany, through the help of American taxpayers, has been restored to the dominant position in Europe. Moreover, the specter of a German dominated Europe is not at all to the liking of the British and French who have been our tried and trusted Allies for generations.

Indeed, the Adenauer victory, according to this same issue of *Business Week,* may result in a greater split between the U. S. on the one hand and our Western Allies. This is not theory—it is a fact if the press of Western Europe is regarded as a true reflector of public opinion. More than that, if our policy makers are determined to boast about their responsibility for the resurgence of Germany, then the anger and fear expressed by the peoples of Europe towards Germany may very well turn towards the United States.

To put Adenauer on par with Winston Churchill (Point C of the editorial) is indeed a tall order. In effect, the people

LEST WE FORGET

[They knew the value of that for which they fought, and that the price was worth paying.—*The Queen, at the Cloister Memorial.*]

To these unburied dead give tribute due,
Let their memorial be magnificent;
Though all too soon their light and life were spent,
Destined to die, for what they died they knew.
These into everlasting darkness flew,
But laying down their lives were well content,
Streaming like the stars across the firmament,
To dive in flame down hissing gulfs of blue.

These, called to make the supreme sacrifice,
Thought they knew why; but had they lived to learn
For what indeed they so untimely died,
Would they have deemed it worthy of the price?
They died that Hitler's Generals might return,
And Krupp and Thyssen fatten side by side.

SAGITTARIUS

(Courtesy, The New Statesman and Nation)

of this country are asked to place their very future in the hands of an individual who is notorious for dictatorial tendencies and more important, who depends for support on powerful forces in Germany who would like nothing better than to restore an authoritarian regime in Germany. As regards the latter point Mr. Walter Lippmann in discussing the fate of Western defense on the basis of a rearmed Germany, reports that the British now realize *"that the nationalist and Nazi forces in Germany are stronger than they appear to be on the surface and that it is not safe to contemplate a military withdrawal"* (*New York Herald Tribune* October 27, 1953).

In an earlier report (October 20, 1953), Mr. Lippmann discussed the dangers of following a policy based on the goodwill of one man. We think it is worth-while to quote his warning in full:

"In almost every critical situation within the Western orbit there is now a man, a party, a government on which one or more of the three powers has staked everything—has staked, that is to say, much too much. These diplomatic darlings have been encouraged to see themselves as the indispensables, have quickly realized that the easiest way to get what they want when they want it, is to act like Dr. Rhee. They climb out on the windowsill or, like others who shall be nameless, they threaten to stick their indispensable heads into the Communist gas oven."

Mr. Lippmann did not identify the other "diplomatic darlings" but the whole world knows that Dr. Adenauer is the white haired boy of our State Department. Shall we, as *Business Week* advocates, place the very security of our country in the lap of the "diplomatic darling" of the West? To believe we can equate our common interests with Britain and France and the hidden aims of Germany is not only folly but will surely lead to disaster.

Incidentally, the cry for withdrawal is rising. The *U. S. News and World Report* (November 6, 1953) itemizes the potential strength of West Germany. It questions why American taxpayers continue to foot the bill to protect a country which has the power to defend itself and therefore the rest of Western Europe. It is strange indeed that this publication which seems to be so concerned for the American taxpayer, did not tell its readers how the American taxpayers were taken for a ride in the agreement on Germany's post-war debts. That agreement cost the American taxpayer two billion dollars. We believe that this new campaign for the withdrawal of troops from Germany has been encouraged by the Germans themselves but we doubt very much if Western Europe can truly afford to allow itself to be placed under the beneficent guardianship of a new Wehrmacht—even if it should be camouflaged within a European army.

In our judgment, the United States is approaching an important crossroad in its history. The choice, as we see it, is not between the Germany of Adenauer or the Britain of Churchill. It is rather a choice between consolidating a heritage which we share with our Western friends or walking a path which leads to our political, military and moral isolation. In this connection, Mr. Lippmann declares that he is sure that Great Britain "will do nothing which separates Britain from France in their relations with Germany." Let us hope that our statesmen will give up a policy which is separating Britain and France from the U. S. in their relations with Germany.

MEMO TO AMERICAN DIPLOMATS

". . . Mr. Grew's career mirrored two world wars and the stresses and strains that accompanied the emergence of the United States to world power. He was the First Secretary of the Embassy in Berlin when war broke out in 1914, and it is interesting to note how stubbornly pro-German his attitude was at the beginning. 'We all believe here that this war was carefully cooked up by Russia, England and France,' he wrote at the time. But later he said: 'It shocks me profoundly to remember that at the outbreak of the war in 1914 most of us in the embassy in Berlin accepted the German point of view, hook, bait and sinker, for in those dramatic days we were unused to war and war propaganda, and we were, for the time at least, cut off from all other points of view.' . . ."

(From Review of "Turbulent Era" by Joseph C. Grew. N. Y. Times, 11-16-52)

"Before the European Consultative Assembly on Friday, Mr. Alfred Robens, Britain's former Minister of Labour, made a sensible proposal for dealing with the problem of Germany.

"His plan is to keep Germany disarmed for five years while Russia and the West seek agreement on the German problem and on the wider issues of general disarmament. . . .

"It is equally certain that once Germany has this powerful army it will be used as a weapon to establish German dominance in Western Europe.

"France, in particular, will be more concerned with checking German ambitions than with contributing to a genuine collective defence of the West.

"Reynolds News has opposed German rearmament since the idea was first mooted precisely because we believe it will weaken and not strengthen the West.

"It is a dangerous plan which must be fought up to the last. For that reason we welcome Mr. Robens' proposal as one which even at this late hour can give us time to find some better solution to our problem than planting a Trojan horse in the heart of Europe."

(Reynolds News, 9-20-53)

". . . As to the broader international implications of Adenauer's landslide they can be summarized in one sentence uttered immediately after the official election return were in by one of the few 'trustworthy confidantes' of the Bonn Chancellor: 'For all practical purposes the Big Four conference is now dead for a long time.' In Western Europe the question asked these days is: Will Washington listen to Adenauer rather than to Churchill?"

(Michel Gordey in the Nation, 9-19-53)

The Indelible Record

By
R. H. S. CROSSMAN

Just twelve years ago—On October 25, 1941, to be precise—Dr. Hinrich Lohse, a small-town Nazi who had just been made Reichskommissar for the occupied Russian territories, under Alfred Rosenberg, received a letter from his Minister's office, which ran as follows:

> *Herr Viktor Brack*, Oberdienstleiter *in the Führer's Chancellery, is ready to collaborate in the installation of the necessary buildings and gas plants. He thinks it easier to construct the latter, of which we are short, on the spot. He would like to send his chemist, Kallmeyer, to Riga. . . . To judge from the actual situation, one need have no scruple in using Brack's method to liquidate Jews who are unsuitable for work. . . . On the other hand, Jews suitable for work will still be sent East to be attached to the Labor Service. Naturally, employable men and women must be separated from each other.*

Now that he is living in retirement on a monthly pension of 263 Marks awarded him by the German Federal Republic, Dr. Lohse has the leisure to reflect on the consequences which flowed from this letter. I recommend him to spend part of his pension on purchasing *The Final Solution* by Gerald Reit*linger. To those of us not so intimately acquainted with the complexities of Nazi bureaucracy, the story of the gas chambers makes very difficult reading. But Dr. Lohse should feel thoroughly at home in it. And, if he wishes to check Mr. Reitlinger's facts, he has only to consult with a few of his friends.

Has he forgotten about "Deutschland III," the department of the German Foreign Office, which co-ordinated genocide throughout Europe? He can drop a line to its chief, Dr. Rademacher, now living in the Argentine, or have a word with Herr von Grundherr, who twelve years ago was in charge of Scandinavian affairs during the Jewish deportations from Norway and Denmark and since then has served Dr. Adenauer as Ambassador in Athens.

Is he in doubt about the precise role of the Ministry of the Interior? He can visit Franz Stuckart, the Secretary of State (released from prison in 1949). Has the helpfulness of the Reich Chancellery slipped his mind, when it transferred its Euthanasia experts to Dr. Lohse's territory for use in the extermination camps? Hans Lammers, its chief, is now out of prison and can refresh his memory. Is the issue the connection between his own Ministry and the S.S.? Lt.-Gen. Juettner, personal adjutant to Himmler, has just been denazified. Finally, what about "IVA 4b" (the bureaucratic hieroglyph which stood for the Jewish sub-section of the Religious Section of the Internal Division of the Gestapo)? True, Colonel Eichmann, who issued the orders for extermination, has gone underground, along with his No. 2, Captain Guenther. But Dr. Lohse can do without them; Dr. Gerhardt Peters, manager of the I.G. Farben affiliate which supplied the Zyklon B gas, is a free man and in business once again.

One of the most striking facts that Mr. Reitlinger has elicited by his years of scrupulous research is that nearly all the men engaged on the "Final Solution" are alive and free. Of those who actually committed murder or controlled the campus, a handful were tried and executed; the rest disappeared.

But the Civil Servants and Army officers, who arranged the transport facilities, initialled minutes and passed them from one department to another, and the diplomats who delivered the instructions to the satellite Governments, are either back at their desks in Bonn or, like Dr. Lohse, in pensioned retirement.

One of the conveniences of a totalitarian State is that no one, except the Leader himself, need feel personally responsible for any paper which crosses his desk. At Nuremberg, even Freiherr von Weizsaecker, Ribbentrop's Secretary of State, could claim that he was "merely acting as a postman" when he was shown his signature on the damning papers.

To collect three million human beings, scattered all over Europe, into ghettoes; to transport them from these ghettoes hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles; to sort them out and index them; and, after gassing them, to dispose of the corpses—all this demanded not only a gigantic organization of its own, but the co-operation of every branch of the Army and the Civil Service. Yet, when it was over and the elaborately concealed facts had been revealed at Nuremberg and in the other trials, it became more and more difficult to nominate the real criminals. As Mr. Reitlinger observes, there is a nightmare quality about this picture of hundreds of respectable Germans, with their in-trays and out-trays all neat and tidy, each fixing his eyes on his own paper work and discreetly refusing to visualize what the end result of that paper work was:

> *In each crematorium there were five three-door furnaces with mechanical stokers, ash tips, and corpse lifts, but in the two larger crematoria the gas chambers were on the same level as the furnaces to which the corpses were run on the rail-wagon. The underground gas chambers of the smaller crematoria were approached by a subway, gently graded, down which fathers of families pushed perambulators. The aspect of the buildings was not unfriendly, in spite of the chimneys, so ominously big for a mere bath house. The ground over the gassing cellar was converted into a well-kept lawn, in which stood at regular intervals mushroom-like concrete objects, and these, though they might not intrigue the newcomers very much, were the shafts down which, after methodically unscrewing te lids, the sanitary orderly was to scatter the*

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* *The Final Solution.* Gerald Reitlinger. *Vallentine, Mitchell.* 30s.

amethyst-blue crystals when the Sergeant-Major gave the order. Slowly the gas escaped from the perforations in the sheet-metal columns. Generally the victims would be too tightly packed in to notice this at first, but at other times they would be few enough to sit in comfort, gazing up at the douches, from which no water came, or at the floor, which, strange to say, had no drainage runnels. Then they would feel the gas and crowd together away from the menacing columns and finally stampede towards the huge metal door with its little window, where they piled up in one blue clammy blood-spattered pyramid, clawing and mauling each other even in death. Twenty-five minutes later the "exhauster" electric pumps removed the gas-laden air, the great metal door slid open, and the men of the Jewish Sonderkommando *entered, wearing gas masks and gum boots and carrying hoses, for their first task was to remove the blood and defecations before dragging the clawing dead apart with nooses and hooks, the prelude to the ghastly search for gold and the removal of the teeth and hair which were regarded by the Germans as strategic materials. Then the journey by lift or rail-wagon to the furnaces, the mill that ground the clinker to fine ash, and the lorry that scattered the ashes in the stream of the Sola.*

Extermination was very rarely mentioned in the files. The two organizations, for instance, whish first collected 60,000 aged and insane persons from the German public assistance institutions and the asylums and then gassed them in fourteen Euthanasia clinics were discreetly called the "Charitable Foundation for the Transportation of the Sick" and the "Charitable Foundation for Institutional Care."

The code name for gassing Jews was *Sonderbehandlung,* and each trainload of victims destined for extermination at Auschwitz was preceded by a teletyped message from "IVA 4b," which read, "To be treated according to the directives for special treatment." The officials concerned knew what was happening but, since they did not know officially, their consciences are now clear. The only weighty objection came from the Wehrmacht Transport Command, which protested against the slowing up. of military movements by the trainloads of useless Jews. Curiously enough the Vichy and the Fascist Governments also put up some resistance and successfully evaded Himmler's plan for exterminating their own nationals. But they made no protests against the gassing of foreign Jews within their borders. So, too, the Protestant and Catholic bishops in Germany stopped the mercy killing of Germans but did nothing about Auschwitz. Dr. Lohse can enjoy his pension with a good conscience, particularly since he *did* make at least one protest. If he were to suffer, so should thousands of other bureaucrats all over Europe who connived at the Final Solution. . . .

Of course, the whole operation was classified as "Secret," and that supplies an easy alibi to modern consciences. Those in the secret cannot tell what they know, while those outside are patriotically bound to turn a blind eye. Moreover, in the case of the "Final Solution," there was the further excuse of extreme confusion. Perhaps the most illuminating part of Mr. Reitlinger's book is his separation of the various strands which had to be woven together in order to produce Auschwitz.

Hitler and Himmler started with the idea of expelling Jews from the Reich, if possible at a profit. In this way three birds could be killed with one stone: the Reich would be made Jew-free; the recipient countries would be poisoned by Jewish immigration; and Germany would earn some useful foreign exchange. To some extent this policy continued right up to the end. Throughout the war, rich Jews were purchasing visas and, even in the concentration camps, the S.S. were always open to business deals. As late as the autumn of 1944, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee was offering Himmler fifteen million Swiss francs in exchange for the Hungarian Jews.

The second strand was the use of Jews for slave labor. Auschwitz was started as a camp to provide labor for a new I.G. synthetic rubber factory, and it was never clear, even to the S.S., whether this factory was a mere cover for extermination or a serious project. It seems to have been a matter of chance whether any particular trainload of Jews was destined for the gas chamber or the Buna plant. Moreover, throughout the war both the Wehrmacht and the Economic Ministry hoarded their skilled Jewish labor for arms production.

The third strand was extermination in the strict sense. This began in September, 1939, as Euthanasia; and up to 1941, when the German bishops stepped in, it was applied to the aged and insane inside Germany, irrespective of race. Then the Euthanasia teams were transferred to extermination proper, apparently in order to accelerate the process of making the Reich "Jew-free." Owing to the secrecy attached to it, this never replaced the other policies, but was superimposed upon them. Thereby a macabre confusion was created.

At the most critical period of the Russian war, the transport system was overstrained by trainloads of Jews, being concentrated into ghettoes, shifted Eastwards for extermination or sent Westwards to arms factories. The muddle—intensified by the usual inter-departmental disputes—became sheer chaos when the Russian advance began and the Jews, who had been shifted Eastwards, had to be shifted Westwards again. It was now that Himmler and a number of his senior officers conceived the plan of keeping the gas chambers going, but simultaneously offering to save Jews from them—at a price. So the two strands—exploitation and extermination—crossed and recrossed right to the bitter end. . . .

(Condensed—Courtesy, The New Statesman and Nation)

"Buenos Aires: . . . The German publishing firm Editorial Durer today published a book containing what were alleged to be almost 2,000 sworn statements by German officers and soldiers charging Allied forces violated rules of war. The statements were said to have been made by prisoners at a camp near Darmstadt, where they were interned after May 8, 1945.

"American forces were accused of 1,094 crimes; the Russians, 528. . . .

"The accusations include a wide range of brutalities, with rape predominant. There are also charges of bombing and strafing hospital units, plunder, beatings and other forms of torture."

(From the U.P., 10-14-53)

Russian Policy and Propaganda

Why Russia Wants a Strong Germany

On the eve of the elections in Germany the New York Herald Tribune (September 6, 1953) stated in its leading editorial: "The Soviet Union wants a weak Germany in which it could intrigue at will . . ." These words express a point of view which has been shared by many of our leading policy makers since the end of the war. It has led many Americans to accept the thesis that the Soviet Union hoped to communize Germany or at least to exercise a predominating influence on the country by pursuing a policy that would weaken Germany's power.

Because so much of our policy towards Germany has been based on this premise, it is essential we believe, particularly at this time, to scrutinize this idea with more care.

As we review the past eight years of Soviet policy in Germany, one fact stands out most sharply, i.e., that the Soviet have never pursued fixed tactics with regard to their postwar treatment of Germany. It is true that in the latter period of World War II, and immediately thereafter, the Russians appeared to advocate a "weak" Germany. Yet, even during the war itself Stalin made public statements which indicated that the Soviets were not at all wedded to the idea of a permanently "weak" Germany. The Soviet dictator emphasized the resilience of the German state and even went so far as to talk about the need for the re-establishment of a German Army. In spite of these broad hints as to the flexibility of Russian tactics, our key policy makers developed a program which assumed that a "strong" Germany was anathema to the Russians and therefore perfectly suited for the West.

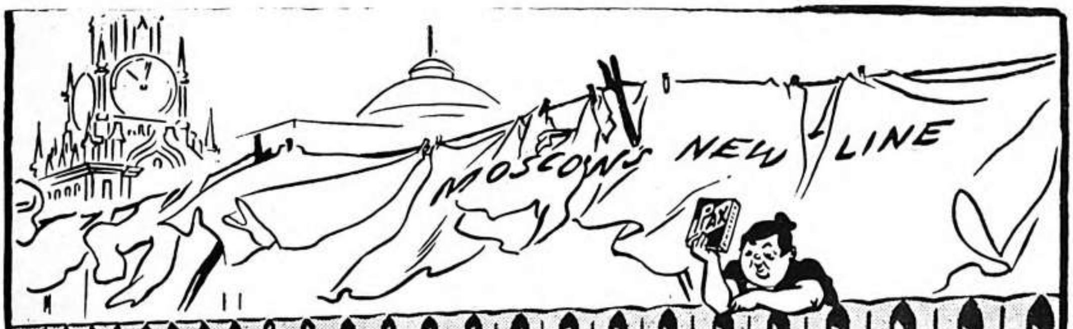
The Stalin statements of the war years were carried forward after hostilities had ceased. For example, in the summer of 1946 Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov made a declaration which definitely supported the revival of a "strong" Germany. Among the points made by Mr. Molotov were the following:

(a) The Russians opposed a separation of the Ruhr from Germany proper.

(b) The Russians opposed the "imposition" by the Allies of any program for the federalization of Germany into autonomous states, unless approved by a plebiscite of the German people.

(c) The Russians opposed the "agrarianization" of Germany and the "annihilation" of her main industrial centers.

Point (c) mentioned above deserves to be quoted in full: "In the light of the interests of world economy and tranquillity in Europe, it would be incorrect to adopt a


MOSCOW'S NEW LINE
PAX
EUROPEAN DEFENCE TREATY (W. GERMANY)
". AND IF I CAN RINSE OUT ANYTHING FOR YOU, DEAR—"
LOW

OVER THE EAST-WEST WALL

(*Copyright, Manchester Guardian*)

course of Germany's annihilation as a state, or that of its agrarianization, including the annihilation of its own main industrial centers, and that such a course would result in undermining the economy of Europe, in the dislocation of world economy, in chronic political crises in Germany, which would spell a threat to peace."

Falling for the "Line"

Apparently, Mr. Molotov's statement did not make the impression that it should have made on those responsible for the formation of American policy toward Germany. Some of these policy makers were too busy denouncing those who demanded the whittling down of Germany's economic power as dupes or, still worse, as mouthpieces of the Kremlin.

The Soviets returned to the theme of rebuilding a powerful Germany during the Moscow Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers in 1947. This was in sharp contrast to a prior recommendation of the Russians that German steel production be limited to 3.5 million tons a year. In this connection the Russian Marshall Sokolovsky stated on December 21, 1945, that "to leave Germany an annual capacity of 9 million tons of steel will mean war in a few years." This declaration by Marshall Sokolovsky was a sample of some of the pronouncements made by Russians which conveyed the impression that the Russians were aiming at a "hard" peace that would produce a "weak" Germany. Following this line, one of Russia's leading propagandists, Ilya Ehrenburg, wrote: "Some people think that beaten Germans are less harmful. They are mistaken. Germans remain true to themselves . . . The Germans haven't changed much. It is senseless to hope to bring them to reason, to shame them, and then to reform them."

Statements such as Sokolovsky's and the highly publicized emotional appeals by Ehrenburg apparently convinced our policy makers that the Russians would never agree to a "strong" Germany because it would act as the spearhead of a Western Bloc. Yet, the record shows that each time the West adopted programs which increased Germany's economic strength, the Russians went still further—as in the case of German steel production.

If a "weak" Germany were truly in the interest of Soviet Communism, then how can we explain Molotov's proposal in 1947 to increase Germany's steel production to 12 million tons after the Allies had proposed the figure of 7.5 million tons? This question, unfortunately, was never really pondered or answered by Western statesmen.

Could it be that the Russians deliberately cultivated the impression that they were for a "weak" Germany hoping that this would automatically induce the West to build up a "strong" Germany? Whatever the answer is, the evidence of the last two years shows conclusively that the Russians are not afraid of a "strong" Germany.

Appeal to the Germans

The Moscow diplomatic notes of 1952 on the unification of Germany underline the fact that the Russians advocate a strong and powerful Germany based on an unlimited industrial war potential which could support a national German army. For example, the Soviet note of March 10, 1952, stated that there should be "no limitations" placed on Germany's industrial might. As a natural sequence to this proposition the Soviets proposed that "Germany will be allowed to possess its own national armed forces . . . Germany will be allowed to produce war material and equipment . . ." More recently, Prime Minister Malenkov in a little publicized speech (August 22, 1953) at a dinner which the Kremlin tendered to the leaders of the satellite Soviet regime of East Germany, declared: *"For a long time many achievements of the German intellect and labor were used by militarists for war. In conditions of peaceful development the German people will apply the might of their highly developed industry, all the achievements of science and engineering, all their creative energies and abilities to improving the living conditions of the populace and securing the country's progress. Germany will be able to establish close economic relations with peace loving states to receive the necessary markets, to resume traditional trade relations with the countries of Eastern Europe and with other states. Only by following this path will Germany rise again as a great power and take her proper place among the nations of the world."*

This is not a statement which can be interpreted as a call for a "weak" Germany; on the contrary, it is a non-too-subtle appeal for collaboration between a strong and powerful Germany and the Soviet Union. Malenkov dispensed with questions of ideological differences for he knows that the Germans are past masters of Realpolitik.

As though he had anticipated Malenkov's tempting offer, Chancellor Adenauer stated in an interview (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, July 7, 1953):

"Already today the states of the European Schuman Plan have formed a market of 157 *million people. Thus, these countries are for the Russian economy a highly interesting trading partner. The German and Russian economies once before complemented each other in a magnificent way. The economy of an integrated Europe including Germany could offer even more. The greater the economic meshing* (between Western Europe and Russia), *the greater the political security."*

Adenauer's "line" was repeated by no less an anti-communist stalwart than the late Mayor of West Berlin, Ernst Reuter: *"In keeping with its tradition, a 'unified' Germany will again try to form a commercial bridge between East and West . . . But it will do as much business with the U. S. S. R. and the Balkans as they can handle. For the Soviet Union these trade relations will be a better guarantee of our peaceful development than any security treaty . . . Our country can therefore be expected to give its full support to the budding European Federation, regardless of the party that is in power at home. Thus we*

Germans will constitute a new force for stabilization on the continent." (World Magazine, November, 1953.)

These statements by the two outstanding leaders of Germany cannot be regarded as isolated outburts. They definitely reflect a view that is shared among the most important circles in Germany today.

In view of these facts one can rightly ask the question whether our present policies toward Germany are actually playing into the hands of the Russians: What are the calculations of the men in the Kremlin? It is unquestionably true that they would like to communize Germany. However, this is secondary to them. What they are more interested in at the present time is to create a Germany that would possess the material wherewithal to launch its own independent actions and be able to pursue an independent policy in all directions. This would open up great possibilities for the Russians, because it would offer the Germans the vast markets in the East. Moreover, as a consequence, it would create military and political guarantees of a nature which would enable the Germans to exert its power against the West. In other words, only a "strong" Germany can create an independent Germany, so far as the Russians define the word independent, and such a Germany would enable the Russians to gain another trump card in its dealing with the West.

Malenkov's statement implicitly recognizes this great opportunity as do the views of Reuter and Adenauer. Actually, Malenkov's views were outlined by Stalin himself in his last dissertation on foreign policy problems. It will be recalled that he expressed confidence that a "strong" Germany as well as a "strong" Japan would ultimately break away from the West. Can it therefore be that the Russians have egged us on in a subtle way to increase Germany's industrial war potential in the hope that it would be ultimately employed against the West?

Appeal to the West

The Russian approach to Germany has still another side. While Soviet propaganda raises the hopes of the Ruhr industrialists, it works overtime spreading fears and alarm among our Western Allies regarding the specter of a "strong" Germany.

In the same month of August 1953 when Malenkov toasted the Soviet-German friendship, he publicly addressed the French reminding them that the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1945 could be the backbone of "European security" against a resurgent Germany. Soviet propagandists have hammered away at the dangers to the West of a powerful Germany. Thus, Mr. Ehrenburg writing in the Soviet publication "News" September 1953, under the title "Revival of the Wehrmacht—Deadly Menace to France," reminds the people of the West of the threat of a "strong" Germany. *"It would be wrong,"* Mr. Ehrenburg wrote, *"to assume that French opposition to recreation of the Wehrmacht comes from only one section of society, the workers, and from only one political party, the Communists . . . However, during the German occupation it was not only the workers and not only the Communists but all decent-minded Frenchmen who fought the invader. It is only natural that now when German militarism is being revived, representatives of different classes should voice their protests together with workers . . ."*

In a similar vein A. U. Yerusalemsky writing in the Soviet publication "New Times" September 19, 1953, observes: *"Hitler's policy is still fresh enough in the memory of European peoples from whom German imperialist oppression has executed a heavy toll of blood and sacrifice."* The entire article of Professor Yerusalemsky which runs for about 6 pages, is devoted to this theme.

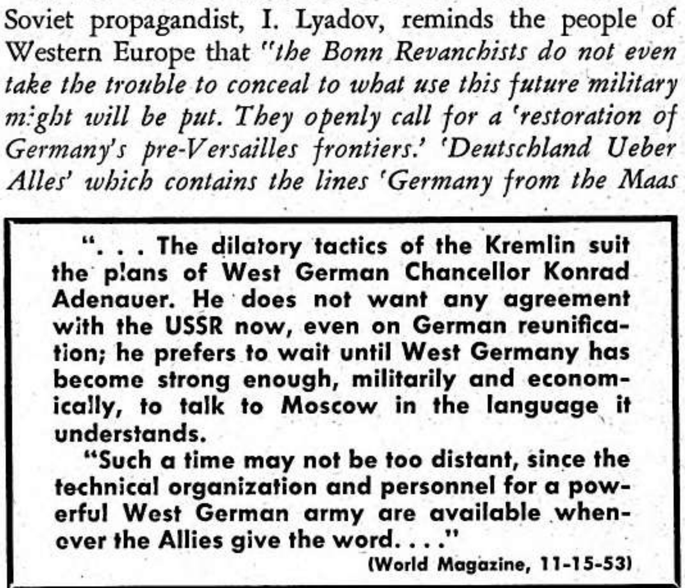
In the October 1953 issue of the "News" another Soviet propagandist, I. Lyadov, reminds the people of Western Europe that *"the Bonn Revanchists do not even take the trouble to conceal to what use this future military might will be put. They openly call for a 'restoration of Germany's pre-Versailles frontiers.' 'Deutschland Ueber Alles' which contains the lines 'Germany from the Maas*

". . . The dilatory tactics of the Kremlin suit the plans of West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. He does not want any agreement with the USSR now, even on German reunification; he prefers to wait until West Germany has become strong enough, militarily and economically, to talk to Moscow in the language it understands.

"Such a time may not be too distant, since the technical organization and personnel for a powerful West German army are available whenever the Allies give the word. . . ."

(World Magazine, 11-15-53)

VERY FANCY PACKAGE FROM MOSCOW


TICK!
TICK!
TICK!
GERMAN UNITY

(*Copyright, St. Louis Post-Dispatch*)

to Memel, from the Adige to the Belt' has become the official national anthem of the Bonn Republic."

In the very same issue of the "News" the former Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Alexander Troyanowsky, writes that the development of a powerful Germany *"is causing sharp and growing dissatisfaction in England too, whose sons have twice in the course of one generation gone to their deaths fighting German aggression."*

The "New Times" of October 24, 1953, ran a 6 page propaganda piece by L. Sedin which was particularly directed towards the British. *"The eyes of ordinary Englishmen,"* Sedin writes, *"are turned to West Germany with fear and apprehension. The creation by the Bonn Reich of an army half a million strong, an airforce and a navy is, naturally, not a comforting prospect to those who have not forgotten Dunkirk or who saw German war planes hovering over London and Coventry."*

The propaganda beamed at the French and the English in particular, is growing with deadly effectiveness. The Russians have plenty of evidence which can be found in the German press, to show the growing belligerency and arrogance among important German groups. They can even point to the report of C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times, October 18, 1953, that *"many West Germans are gradually coming to believe that civilization would have a difficult time continuing without their aid. They take pride in this assumption—and some of them ask a price."*

The Secret of Success

The Russians know that it would be difficult indeed to convince the peoples of Western Europe that the future fate of their freedom rests with the Germans. Unquestionably, most West Europeans want no part of the tyranny of Russian Communism. Yet, much as they fear the designs of the Communist East, their most harrowing experiences in so far as physical contact is concerned, have been with the Germans. The Russians are aware of this too and they are playing it up for all they are worth. Thus, Russian policy and propaganda do not suffer from any fixations, nor are they tied to one tactic or another for the realization of its ultimate objectives. Russian policy and propaganda have shown their dexterity in playing two contrasting melodies simultaneously. One tune fires the imagination of the Realpolitikers in Germany while the other stimulates the emotions and deep rooted fears of our Western friends. The Russians have kept open the door leading to a rapprochement with the Germans and at the same time they have managed to keep open the door leading to the West.

How have they been able to achieve this feat? It is not that we have failed to spend hundreds of millions to challenge Russian policy and propaganda, nor have we been remiss in our efforts to help rehabilitate our Western friends. But all of our actions have been conditioned by one overriding objective, i.e., to re-invigorate the German powerhouse. This has been the great blind spot in our entire approach toward the Russian problem in Europe. Had we defined realistically the basic elements of strength which are prerequisite for our security, we would never have become so vulnerable to the Russian challenge.

By making all factors subservient to the rebuilding of a powerful Germany, we have produced a policy which is psychologically unsound and disastrous in terms of our political and security interests. Thus, the secret of Russia's success is the failure of our own policies.

". . . The dilemma is this: if the U. S. insists on the European army, which was given a sizable shot in the arm by German Chancellor Adenauer's election victory, it almost certainly cannot achieve the unification of Germany. If the U. S. vigorously pursues the unification of Germany, there almost certainly will be no European army. Right now, both are goals of U. S. policy. . . .

"It should be remembered that not creating EDC would not render Western Europe defenseless. It would still have the NATO forces, which it could strengthen as much as it wanted or thought necessary. It would still have what is probably the most powerful deterrent there is to Soviet attack in Europe—the U. S. commitment, in the Atlantic Pact, to come to West Europe's aid in the event of attack.

"There may be other ways out of the dilemma —other ways to negotiate EDC with the Soviets, even ways to make our EDC policy consistent with our German unification policy. But before anything very constructive can be done, it is essential to recognize that the two policies are not now reconciled. . . ."

(Joseph E. Evans in the Wall Street Journal, 9-14-53)

"We prophesy that September 6, 1953, the date when Dr. Adenauer was given a sweeping electoral victory by the West Germans, will once more bring the German menace into the life of Europe.

"Adenauer stands for a rearmed Germany. He wants to liberate the East Germans. Behind him are the Ruhr Industrialists and the same old gang of financiers who backed Hitler.

"Adenauer's Germany is to have an army of 12 divisions. Nominally, they will be part of the West European defense force. In practice, once the new Germany begins to feel its strength, these divisions will soon slip through paper safeguards and become instruments for the furtherance of German ambitions.

"And these ambitions are? Ask history. 1914 . . . 1939 . . . 19 . . . ?

"Adenauer is the blue-eyed boy of the present American Government. The Americans are so terrified of the Red terror that they cannot see the black menace oozing to the surface again.

"From now on the voice of events will be saying: This is where we came in."

(Reynolds News, 9-13-53)

Recommended Reading:

The American Anarchy

By

LIONEL GELBER

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century the developing patterns of American life were brilliantly described and analyzed by a French visitor, Alexis de Tocqueville in his "Democracy In America." His remarkable insight is now generally recognized by our own historians who employ his work as an important source of reference. The historical importance of de Tocqueville's work should remind Americans that the careful evaluations of American life by non-Americans may be more accurate than our own self-judgments.

Our country is older by more than 100 years since the days of de Tocqueville. By 1900 the United States had reached the limits of what are now our present geographical frontiers. However, there are no fixed boundaries to our economic, political and social achievements—and failures.

The changes that have occurred and are now rapidly transpiring before our eyes are not only momentous in terms of our future as a democracy but they have a direct bearing on the future direction of world events. Once again an "outsider," a Canadian born scholar, has placed mid-century U. S. A. on the canvass. It is not a canvass of blacks and whites but of many shades and colors, and the artist has exhibited a technical competence coupled with a profound understanding of his subject.

Mr. Lionel Gelber, the author of "The American Anarchy," is a recognized authority on international affairs and a sober student of the political and social sciences. Educated at the University of Toronto and then at Oxford (Rhodes scholar), he has taught at the University of Toronto and served with the RCAF during the war. Since the end of the war he has lived in the U. S. A.

Mr. Gelber is an accomplished writer. His earlier books, "The Rise of Anglo-American Friendship" (1938), "Peace by Power" (1942), "Reprieve from War" (1950), were acclaimed by scholars and journalists. With such intellectual equipment and achievements it is not surprising that in his latest work Mr. Gelber should attain further distinction.

THE AMERICAN ANARCHY is not a book to be read at one sitting. The wise observations which literally pack every sentence of this work, require careful study and thought. It is a book that grows in meaning and instruction as one rereads it.

While describing basic trends and developments in the United States today, THE AMERICAN ANARCHY also presents a historical and philosophical analysis of the present world crisis. *"Man versus the machine remains a major issue of the twentieth century, the question being how to control it so that it can be exploited in common to the common advantage."* This is certainly one of the great problems of our time but, according to Mr. Gelber, it is not only man versus machine but responsibility versus irresponsibility, order versus disorder, in all aspects of American life.

The author not only delves into the basic problems of American economics, education, morals and politics, but projects these problems to the world scene.

One of his most thought provoking chapters is entitled "Foreclosure and Dissent." Here, Mr. Gelber discusses the crucial issue of responsibility versus irresponsibility in the fields of public opinion and the instruments which condition American thinking. Perhaps the theme of this chapter may best be expressed in his quotation of a statement by the celebrated Artemus Ward, "It ain't so much people's ignorance that does the harm as their knowing so much that ain't so."

Mr. Gelber describes the development of what he calls large scale organizations in the realm of opinion. *"Large scale instrumentalities which are themselves monopolistic, thus become the chief means for that exchange of ideas which, properly conducted, will be the antithesis of monopoly."* In other words, Mr. Gelber does not fear bigness per se, for in his opinion, bigness in itself is not the real issue, whether it be in the realm of economics or politics. The real issue is responsibility versus irresponsibility. The author insists that a democracy, to be well rounded, must be well informed, *"and that is why opinion industries, though they deal in imponderables, are for it the most basic of all."*

In discussing the relations between the organs of public opinion and the formulation of government policy, Mr. Gelber makes the following observations.

"After 1945 the débâcle of the West in East Asia was bruited about. Over another crucial issue, the abrupt switch in American policy toward Germany, a more studied reticence hovered. Its potential consequences were never fully published before that portentous change had been speeded up beyond recall. Mass media, so eager on occasion to expose, promoted this fateful volte face unquestioningly; Congress, which examines everything else, proceeded on the unexamined hypothesis that Germany's interests would lie with the West. And so the American public could not be warned that in the long run German nationalism, as revived through the Bonn Republic, had most to get from Moscow; that, in the absence of East-West agreement, land and brethren in Soviet clutches can be repossessed through another Russo-German agreement; that in fostering the restoration of an industrially powerful West German State the bipartisan policy of the United States might itself have played into Russia's hands. World War III can result from such irresponsibility, and if it does this may be proof that a manipulated large-scale democracy, being selectively informed, is not really an informed one. But the proof will again have come too late.

"Opinion industries, like government itself, thus waver between foreclosure and disclosure. It is not enough therefore that mass media watch each other and that government also

be watched. It is as important that views independent of them all should be heard. For a diplomacy which may be treated or mistreated in accordance with the interests of mass media is, to those who reject organized conformities, not an open one either. War and peace is the major issue of the twentieth century; and open diplomacy can be the most democratic of procedures if citizens are apprised generally of what goes on, if new departures in policy are fully debated. Yet, when proposals, prior to submission for approval, are being negotiated, there should not be the sort of publicity which makes diplomacy itself impossible."

In another instructive chapter, "Democracy In Error," Mr. Gelber examines the problem of leadership:

"The era of bigness, with the national and the international so interdependent, requires an expert leadership which might handle and advise upon the enlarged scale of public affairs. To preserve peace, or win a war when it comes, is still the cardinal task of government. By the same token the political role of the technician in a modern democracy can, over and above routine administration, be appraised through the specialized qualities he contributes to the making of foreign policy."

The author does not imply that genuine leadership must bear the imprimatur of infallibility. "Error is not treason," he declares, but society can scarcely afford one or the other when either is raised to a point "coextensive with society itself." It is not enough to have an illustrious name or the claim of distinguished ancestors as qualifications for leadership. Nor is it sound, Mr. Gelber writes, to accept leaders solely on the basis of technical and administrative competence. In the realm of foreign policy sound leadership must possess a "rich background of full acquaintance with the vital interests of a free world everywhere." Further on he states, "Statesmanship is not only wisdom in public affairs, it is wisdom in time."

Because of Mr. Gelber's style interspersed with philosophical observations, the reader may lose sight of the specific targets discussed. But upon a careful re-examination, the lines become clearer, the subject matter more concrete.

In every way THE AMERICAN ANARCHY is a challenging experience. Mr. Gelber writes without the confusion of ambiguity; on the contrary, he is direct and courageous and he speaks without malice but with the dignity of one who is thoroughly imbued with the democratic spirit and who perceives clearly the roots of American democracy.

(The American Anarchy, by Lionel Gelber,
Henry Schuman, Inc., New York, N. Y.)

Dr. Adenauer's Vote in the "Council of Three"

In the article, "A Significant Chapter in Dr. Adenauer's Political Career" by "Rhenanus" (Prevent World War III, No. 42 issue), it was stated that Dr. Adenauer had voted with the Nazis to dissolve the Prussian Diet at the request of Franz von Papen.

Since we received inquiries regarding Dr. Adenauer's position on that occasion, we asked the author "Rhenanus" to clarify the matter. Rhenanus' reply is published below:

"1. The Prussian Diet was dissolved by the 'Council of Three' on February 6, 1933. I was mistaken in reporting that Dr. Adenauer voted for the dissolution. He actually abstained. Cf. Otto Braun, 'Von Weimar zu Hitler,' (Zurich and New York, 1940), p. 445. The two members of the 'Council of Three,' who voted for dissolution, were von Papen and the Nazi Speaker Kerrl.

"2. Dr. Adenauer abstained for constitutional reasons. He considered the vote illegal because he regarded an executive order (February 6, 1933) by von Hindenburg and von Papen replacing Braun as the 'legal Premier' in the 'Council of Three' as unconstitutional. He also considered the executive order to be a violation of the decision of the Constitutional Court (October 25, 1932) which had upheld the 'legal government' of Braun (cf. Braun, ibid.).

"3. Nevertheless, neither Dr. Adenauer as President of the Prussian Upper House (State Council) nor Otto Braun as legal Premier, carried through new proceedings before the Constitutional Court because of the illegal dissolution of the Prussian Diet. This Diet was only one year old and just had defeated a Nazi motion for dissolution. (cf. Braun, ibid, p. 444 f.)

"4. Dr. Adenauer's abstention in the 'Council of Three' and his subsequent omission to resort to the Constitutional Court was as much a service to the Nazis and to von Papen as if he would have voted for the dissolution. By a similar abstention Premier Reinhold Maier just has assured a ratification of the EDC treaty by the Bonn Bundesrat (Upper Chamber). Supposing a would-be-dictator attempted to dissolve the United States Congress and dispose of the President of the United States of America. What would he think of a president of the U. S. Senate who did not try to resort to the courts against such illegal actions? Dr. Adenauer as President of the Upper House did not resort to the courts although this was quite feasible since the Third Reich was only 6 days old. Thus, when neither Braun nor Adenauer acted, the potential legal resistance to the Nazis crumbled and the latter were enabled to carry out their 'revolution.'

"5. My error was due to the reports of the Nazi press at that time which had suppressed Dr. Adenauer's abstention which I now accept on the strength of Braun's book. The official Nazi newspaper 'Völkischer Beobachter' of February 4th, 1933 reported that the Nazi Speaker Kerrl consulted Dr. Adenauer with regard to the dissolution of the Prussian Diet in accordance with Art. 14 of the Prussian Constitution. The same newspaper reported on February 7th, 1933 that the 'Council of Three' consisting of Adenauer, Papen and Kerrl had dissolved the Diet. The 'Völkischer Beobachter' made no reference whatsoever to the fact that Dr. Adenauer had not approved the resolution. On the contrary, at the end of the newspaper report it was stated that Dr. Adenauer opposed the intention of Braun to resort to the Constitutional Court (because of the illegal dissolution of the Diet) and had characterized Braun as 'a private person with no legal standing in the Constitutional Court'."

"Rhenanus"

What Does Adenauer's Victory Mean

By

JOHN CORDELLI

The United States government was very much heartened by e unexpectedly stunning victory of Chancellor Adenauer ıd his party of Christian Democrats in the recent West Ger- an elections. While optimism over the results is height- ned because, in effect, the Soviets received a political drub- ng, it must be tempered because we do not know which rection a resurgent and powerful Germany will finally take.

The problem is how safely to harness the potential mili- ry and economic might of the new Germany into the service the Western democracies. The most obvious course—to hich our government is deeply committed—is to bring Ger- any into a fully functioning European defense system. How- er, the French who are the original advocates of the system, e now fearful lest the dominant position in this grouping occupied by their old foe. Weakened by a chronically in- fective government, and harassed both by economic prob- ms of the first magnitude and debilitating effects of the war Indo-China, France finds herself in a position of distinct feriority as compared with the politically stable and eco- omically expanding Germany.

Nevertheless, the choice before France is quite limited. If it oes not agree to enter the European defense system, it is a ertainty that Germany will be invited into NATO. This oses a terrible dilemma for the French, as the Germans, with powerful army, would have much more freedom of action an if they were securely wedged into a European defense stem. There is also the not inconsiderable factor that failure act cooperatively from the American military viewpoint ould cause France to lose American support. Perhaps the ew recommendation of the National Security Council to ex- nd an additional $385 million in military aid to France to nable her to more successfully wage her war in Indo-China ill help her make up her mind.

While it is a cause for elation to the free world that West ermany has firmly decided in favor of the West, a special roblem has been posed for the United States as Germany ill undoubtedly exact a stiff price for her allegiance. As soon s she rearms, which cannot now be prevented in any case, he will have enormous bargaining power as between Russia nd the United States. It must not be forgotten that the Soviets ave a very large and valuable ace in the hole in the form of e East German territories which they annexed at the end of e war, and, more important, controls the former German rritories which the Poles now occupy. With Poland a mere awn in the hands of Russia, it would not cause the Russians e slightest embarrassment to offer a return of these terri- ries to the Germans in exchange for a neutralized and nified Germany. This would be very tempting bait and diffi- ult for the Germans to resist. We, of course, can counter by ffering increased financial aid and other inducements but e might be forced to continue it indefinitely as long as the ussians were in a position to offer the Germans something they all so deeply want. This is not a pleasant prospect for the American taxpayer but it might as well be faced, as we apparently have no alternative.

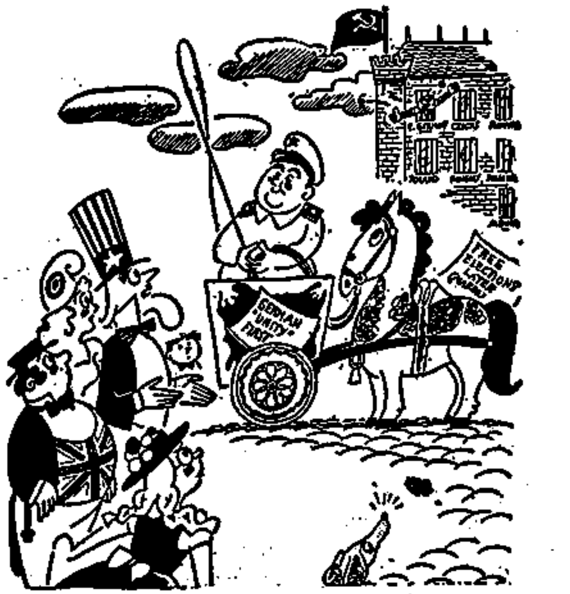
While the victory of Adenauer is welcomed in the United States, we should look a little more deeply below the surface and see that, in reality, it is a victory for a new and potentially powerful Germany, which intends to be fully in command of its own destiny. In the long run, probably neither we or the Russians will be able to do much about it.

Among the first things we may expect is pressure by the Germans to increase their trade with the East. This is already clearly in evidence. German businessmen are not particularly bothered by such considerations as ideology and, if they can make a favorable trade deal with the Soviet bloc, they will do it, regardless of our wishes.

It would appear that we have gotten ourselves what may eventually prove to be an unmanageable ally. It is true that we need his strength at this particular juncture of world affairs, with the Soviets posing an ever more serious threat to the peace and stability of the world. But in our relief at the moment, let us not ignore historic German expansionist pressure through any means available. We need not fear this under Chancellor Adenauer, who is first and foremost a good European, but Germany has many times in the past shown she will follow a "strong" man. It would not be pleasant for the rest of us if the strong man to follow Adenauer turned out to be more of an old-time German nationalist and less of a European.

(Courtesy, The Magazine of Wall Street)

GEORGI HAS THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE



(*Yardley, in The Baltimore Sun*)

Europe's Worry

By

WALTER LIPPMANN

There is a misunderstanding between French and American opinion which is still far from being irreparable. However, with sufficient stubborn and reckless stupidity it could be made irreparable. There are catastrophists in both countries who think it will be made irreparable.

They see only too clearly what would happen if the worst happened—if the logic of the misunderstanding were followed to the bitter end. The United States, exasperated by the French reluctance to decide how Germany is to rearm, would make a separate military alliance with Germany. Then France, reacting against such external coercion by swinging to the left, would fall into disorders that were too much for its democratic institutions to deal with.

I would not like to give the impression that such a disaster is imminent or is probable. I mention it because it is in everyone's mind: It is in everyone's mind because men think desperately when they despair of getting and making themselves understood.

"Looking at a Map"

Yet there can be no doubt, I submit, that the two countries are involved in a misunderstanding and not in a conflict of national interests. Our national interests are now, as they have always been, complementary. There is a fundamental community, going back to our own beginnings, which is in fact greater today than it ever was before.

It is impossible for the United States to play any effective role in Europe, to have any serious co-operation with Germany or with anyone to the East of the Rhine, except in callaboration with France. If anyone doubts this, let him study the map. Let him try to imagine the Atlantic Community without France and the French Union.

Nor is the present misunderstanding in the domain of morals, manners, and culture. The differences have always existed. Nor does the national misunderstanding stem from an ideological conflict. On the contrary, the ideological conflict in France feeds upon the misunderstanding.

"Simple U. S. Assumption"

The basic misunderstanding is due, I am convinced, to a different estimate of the international situation. Reduced to its simplest elements the governing assumption of American policy is still that of 1950—that Western Europe is threatened by a Soviet military aggression, and that all policies must be directed, must be pinpointed, to the objective of resisting that aggression. To have any other serious preoccupation is on this assumption blindness, folly, frivolity, escapism to the verge of disloyalty.

This American working assumption is held and is announced in varying degrees of rigidity and simplicity by the swarms of politicians, admirals, generals, and visiting firemen who at home and abroad issue public declarations in the name of the United States.

"Germans and Reds"

This assumption is, however, no longer that of any West European government, including the British, or of any important section of opinion in Europe. There is nothing uniquely French about the French view. It is the European view, namely, that Western re-armament in NATO, the discontent inside the satellites, the post-Stalin social and economic developments inside the Soviet Union, have together produced a situation different from 1950.

A military aggression, an overt orthodox organized military invasion is not now a primary preoccupation.

If it is not, then it follows that the big question is how Western Europe is to live at peace and in freedom with Germany. The Franco-American misunderstanding can be resolved only if we start from the postulate that in 1953 the problem is not how to contain the Red Army at Elbe but what is to be the place of Germany in post-war Europe.

This is now the paramount question everywhere in Western Europe. This great problem with its vast historic consequences can never be solved, can only be hopelessly muddled up, by the simple-minded notion that the twelve German divisions would make Europe safe against the Russians and would permit the larger part of the American ground forces to be withdrawn.

"Power with a Grievance"

It is in this context that the problems of the European Army and of the still larger project of political federation have now to be dealt with. It is, I believe, reasonably plain what is the problem that has to be solved.

It is how to achieve and maintain a balance of power within the Western continent which will prevent German hegemony and domination.

E. D. C., for example, is advocated as a device for restraining the dominating power of Germany; it is opposed on the ground that it will not restrain and might facilitate German domination in Western Europe.

This preoccupation with German domination is not imaginary, hysterical or sentimental. It is general in all sections of West European opinion and it is shared by a very considerable number of impeccable and highly responsible Germans.

It rests on the evident fact that Western Germany is the largest, strongest country in Europe, that it is at once full of energy and at the same time bound to resent the partition, the dismemberment and the occupation. A great power with great grievances is not something to be shrugged off.

It is absurd that any American should find it difficult to understand the reluctance of the French to merge their own sovereign independence in a superstate which on present prospects is certain to be dominated by Germany.

An American who dared to suggest the relinquishment of American sovereignty to a supernational, to a super American Federation, would probably be investigated by the F. B. I. and hauled up before the McCarthy Committee.

Now there may be, and probably there are, good reasons why the French should do what neither we nor the British would dream of doing. But it is indecent to treat their natural and legitimate reluctance as a sign of moral inferiority.

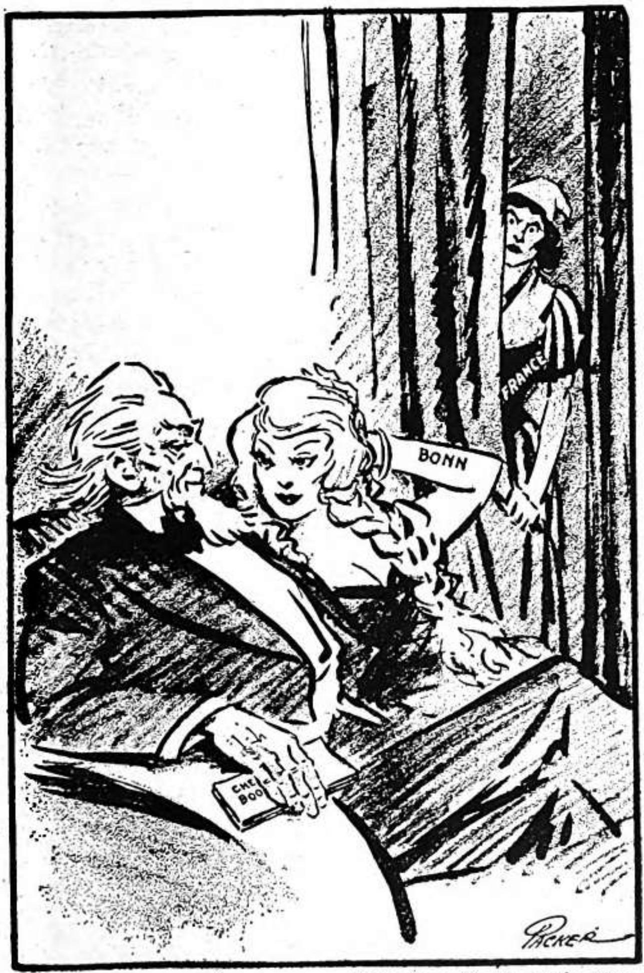
"For French Reconstruction"

The problem to be solved, I repeat, is how to achieve and maintain an equilibrium of power within this integrated Europe. France is as "European," indeed more European in spirit and by tradition, than any other nation. But it will not be able to play voluntarily, and therefore adequately and effectively, a European role until it has—in terms of French conditions—made an internal reconstruction and revival which is comparable with that of Germany under Adenauer.

This is the indispensable condition of genuine progress toward the greater and smaller European unities. It may be that the French could be dragooned into ratifying E. D. C. before they have recovered their economic independence and their self confidence.

But it will be a poor kind of diplomatic victory, which will soon be undone and reversed, For, as Americans ought to find it easy to understand, it is a tremendous thing to ask any people to give up an important part of its sovereign independence: to force it when the nation is reluctant and resentful, is to ask for trouble.

(Courtesy, St. Louis Post-Dispatch)



(*Courtesy, N. Y. Daily Mirror*)

A British View on German Rearmament

Propaganda for the idea of rearming Germany is being pushed out all the time. There is an urgent danger that the British people may come to accept the idea as right.

Here is Mr. Anthony Nutting, Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, making a scandalous speech to foreign journalists at Bonn. He says that he sees no objections to British troupes being placed under German command.

The statement goes a great deal further than anything that has been said before. It will horrify most people in this country.

War Would Follow

If the British people have any sense they will let it be known that in no circumstances can they support the project of rearming Germany. Certainly not until the people of the country have shown themselves to have changed in mentality and character.

The Germans are a war-like people. After a few head hunting and savage tribes they are the most war-like people in the world. And although this may be a reason for admiring them, it certainly is not a reason for rearming them.

Only a fool would think that the Germans would not sooner or later make war-like use of any arms they were given.

Not-so-good Reasons

Two reasons are always put forward by those who advocate German rearmament.

First they say that German divisions can greatly strengthen the western alliance. Perfectly true. But in a very short time German divisions would also dominate the alliance—and most likely involve them in war.

The second argument is based on economics. It is said that the German industries, free from armament orders, are going to beat up Britain in the export field.

But there is a perfectly satisfactory way of getting around both points.

This Is the Answer

The duty of the British Government is to make peace with Germany and thereafter withdraw the strong British forces now occupying this country.

It will be said that the whole of Northern Germany would then be exposed as an open invasion route from the East.

Well then, let it be made a condition of the peace that the Germans should make a financial contribution towards the arming of those nations which are protected by the British forces.

By all means let the Germans provide arms. But by no means give them the opportunity to handle them.

(An Editorial—*London Daily Express*)

The Pentagon Shapes a New Plan

By

FRANK GORRELL

The visit of Admiral Arthur Radford, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, is regarded in Paris as the most important visit to Europe of an American military leader since General Eisenhower crossed the channel in wartime.

Europeans know that the Eisenhower Administration has been engaged in a basic review of US strategy. They have not been told, but they can further guess that pressure for a revision in strategy is mounting in the US as the result of five major developments.

First, while the demands upon France to ratify the European Defense Community agreement have been intense following the victory of Chancellor Adenauer, the European army is all but moribund.

Second, NATO has stalled at the halfway point in its objective of 50 divisions in being, and without these divisions, NATO's plan for holding the Russians at Europe's Eastern frontiers is in limbo.

Third, American army leaders have long believed that Germany alone is willing and able to organize the ground forces that can defend Europe. They have watched with growing impatience, while the French have vetoed even the most minute increases in Germany's border guards. A choice between reluctant France and willing and industrious Germany seems imminent to some American leaders.

Fourth, the Russians have steadily built their air forces in the West and now are constructing rocket platforms for guided missiles around Europe. They can quickly establish command of the air over Europe in wartime, making the reinforcement and supply of European armies next to impossible.

Fifth, the US is "running out of the ears" with atomic bombs. The immensity of the atomic stockpile and the cost of a dual defense system, of atomic and conventional weapons, is leading Eisenhower's civilian advisers to challenge the concept of limited, conventional warfare and to base American military strategy on the assumption that future wars will be all-out atomic wars.

This last conclusion is not shared by the Joint Chiefs. It is the product of the amateurs, principally Defense Secretary Wilson, and his deputy Roger Kyes. These men come to the Pentagon with the natural assumption of industrialists that any machinery installed in a factory 10 years or more ago is out of date and should be thrown away. Their central, driving motive is not the defense of the free nations but the reduction of America's military budget. They are searching for military miracles as a cheap way out. They began by cutting back the air force. Now they suspect that they have found the magic answer in the air force and the A-Bomb.

The professionals in the Joint Chiefs of Staff of course disagree, but the pressure to economize is on. It takes primarily the form of reducing the six American divisions now in Europe. These forces might be withdrawn as part of a bargain by which Russian troops were also pulled back. Or they might be re-integrated in a new force in which the presence of British and American troops continue to serve as a counter to a German army. But the prospect is for more German soldiers, under fewer guarantees.

France is the nation that seems most in danger of isolation. During December the National Assembly in Paris will choose the man who is to be the next president of France for (in theory, at least) a period of seven years. One of the hints from Bonn has been about this election. Chancellor Adenauer has given notice—in a public statement—that West Germany is "willing" to wait that long—but not much longer—for the French Assembly to make up its collective mind to ratify the European Defense Community—or else!

The peremptory form of the statement, implying an ultimatum, is significant because General Eisenhower has made known—also in a public statement—his boundless confidence in the greatest German (and European) since Bismarck, and his willingness to consider any and every suggestion from the West German Chancellery with the most sympathetic attention. And after the Adenauer "veto" at the London conference, this unusual endorsement has seemed over here to confirm that the Chancellor is a species of semi-official mouthpiece of the White House in Europe, his words speaking the President's—and also the Pentagon's—thoughts.

The first decision expected by the year's end is, therefore, that West Germany's army, already blueprinted and prepared by Theodore Blank and his loyal generals, will start getting its booted feet on the ground. Since the chances of French ratification of the EDC are no better, and the probability of a French veto of West German entry into the NATO is excellent, Adenauer's ultimatim fits with a second hint from Bonn. This is to the effect that there may be a US-West German military pact outside the NATO, similar to the ones with Spain and Greece. As a matter of fact, the whole NATO system may gradually be replaced by a network of military agreements in which the British as well as the Americans will take part.

Also during December the NATO council will meet in Paris for what (according to the hints) will be the most important session since its creation. It will hear some—but not all—the details of the US plan; and it will learn in the form of reports from the US Joint Chiefs of what the Pentagon had decided *before* their departure about the next phase—the "nuclear-economy" phase. In this phase, the hints fall into a contradictory pattern: US public opinion is being told that the six US army divisions on the European continent will gradually be replaced during the next five years by the new German divisions. Western European opinion on the other hand is being carefully led to believe what Gen. Walter Bedell Smith told French Ambassador Henri Bonnet—that the US troops will remain.

The difference between the two versions, it is believed over here, is a matter both of short-term psychological targets and longer-term practical timing. In any event, the new US plan will make the US Sixth Fleet in the Meditearranean steadily more important in strategic terms—as the guardian of a "Radford Line"—than the six divisions on the ground. Other hints published in European newspapers, and neither denied nor confirmed by US military authorities in Europe, are to the effect that the carrier *Midway* has already been equipped to use tactical nuclear weapons.

The "Radford Line" is said to be the sea-air juncture at which these tactical weapons afloat are to be co-ordinated with strategic nuclear weapons ashore. The line is, roughly, the 38th Parallel of latitude which cuts a broad arc from southern Spain through southern Italy and Greece to northern Turkey. Military treaties permit use of bases in Spain and Greece for such bomb-carrying planes as the new US 8-jet intercontinental B-52. Other arrangements permit the use of Italian and Turkish ports and bases. The ill-fated Trieste project indicated that Yugoslavia was no longer on the Radford Line; and Gen. Nathan Twining on the eve of his departure with Air Secretary Harold Talbott for North Africa suggested that the line was north of Morocco—he said that two big air bases planned for North Africa would not be built because of the Spain bases now available.

Lines drawn from the western (Spanish) end of the southern arc and the eastern (Turkish) end to a central area in northern Europe are about equal in length. That area is Germany. The geographical relation between the area and the arc is the equivalent of the strategical relation in the new US plan between orthodox, conventional armaments and deterrent nuclear armaments. There are in fact three levels in the plan: orthodox conventional; tactical nuclear; strategic nuclear.

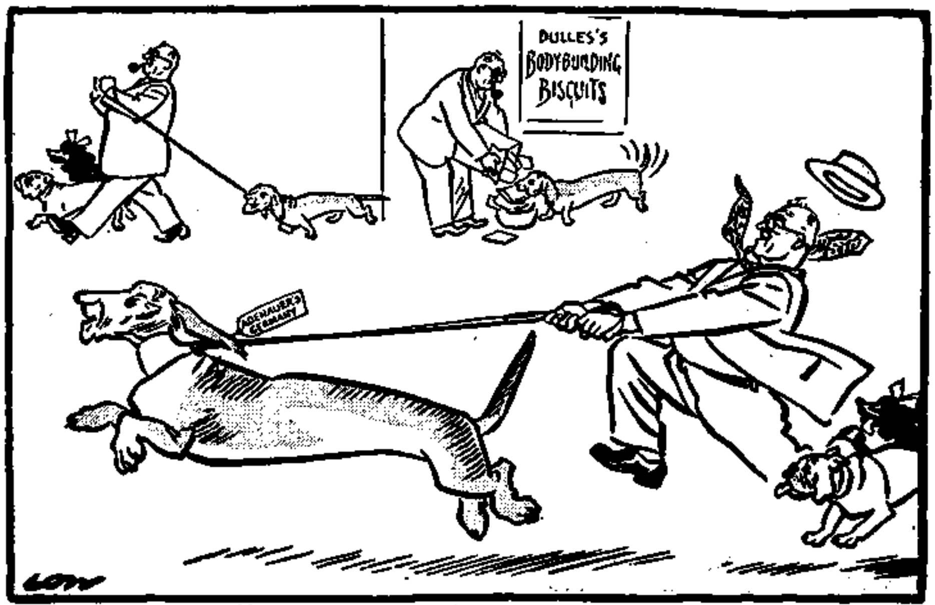
The role of the first is to protect the West's industrial power in Europe. This means England, France, Northern Italy and West Germany—above all Germany because it is the country which holds the industrial balance of power between West and East not only in Europe but in the world. The second level is a bridge between the first and third, gradually closer to the conventional than to the absolute. The role of the nuclear weapons, both strategical and tactical, air and sea combined—atomic and hydrogen bombs, rockets, jets, guided missiles, the equipment needed to use them and to protect against the enemy's use of them—is to guarantee dreadful retaliation for any atomic aggression on the part of the enemy. The Soviets might win a few battles; but their victory would be suicidal; their industrial power would quickly be annihilated.

* * *

The new US plan (or rather the hints about its nature) is already meeting opposition in Western Europe. Some observers are nervous about the apparent allocation of military roles. The *Sunday Times* of London says: "What disturbs members of the NATO is that it looks as if it implied adapting the military strategic concept to the Republican concept of budgetary solvency." The *Monde* of Paris rebels against the notion of bargain-counter cut-rate armies of European mercenaries; while a US Army division costs annually in peacetime some $300 million, the same fire power can be obtained in Germany for some $65 to $80 million, and in Greece and Turkey for as little as $10 to $20 million.

Saving money may be an important consideration in the US, but there is little chance that a German army, especially an independent army, can become politically "safe" enough to take specifically political risk of removing the US divisions in the foreseeable future. This is particularly true because the horrendous absolute nuclear weapons on both sides, West and East, may cancel each other out; neither may use them, and the issue may be decided—as it was, for example, in Korea—by the relatively old methods. Western Europeans can see no lasting peace in the victory of the West, led in military terms by German arms, over the Soviets.

Another objection is that the plan tends to mobilize what-



GROWTH OF LITTLE FRITZY—A CAUTIONARY CARTOON

(*Copyright, Manchester Guardian*)

ever "diplomatic" action that might be taken, in the service of military rather than political goals. There has been much talk of negotiation with the Russians to get them out of East Germany, either through the van Zeeland plan, or the Bonn plan for a demilitarized zone between the Elbe and the Vistula. It would be fine if this could be done: so long as the Russians have bases in East Germany, they can bomb Paris and London with their 500/600-mile range rockets. But it would be better if diplomatic efforts were directed, Western Europeans believe, toward unfreezing the present West-East status quo with all its tensions.

But the most serious objection to the US plan is that it does not provide a fourth level. Protecting Western European industry against possible military attack is not enough; it must also be protected from economic and social attack. In building up the essential forces of military defense, the domestic economies of the Western European countries must not be made vulnerable to subversion. As the *London Observer* says, "We must not allow civilian consumption to fall so low that it causes political trouble."

Chancellor Adenauer has given more than hints about his attitude toward labor. The Christian Democratic attack on the labor unions suggests, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, "that an attempt is being made to split the unions in order to weaken the opposition of the bulk of German industrial workers to the present government"—and to its military plans worked out in conjunction with Republican big-business anti-labor elements in Washington. Such an attempt may have success in Germany (though that is doubtful), but it certainly would, if tried, cause trouble in every other Western European country.

Above all, the failure to provide the fourth level of the US military plan is already being exploited by Moscow. The effects of economic and social injustice have permitted the Communists to start conversion and recruiting campaigns among workers and other low-level economic elements of the population which up until now have been non-Communist and anti-Communist. The slogan, "workers of the world unite to impose peace," which dominated the Third Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Vienna suggests the Kremlin's political strategy against the new US military strategy. Louis Saillant said: "the workers of the world want to tear down the barriers erected by separatist labor union leaders," meaning, of course, the non-Communists. Giuseppe di Vittorio said: "The WFTU aims to win over people of all political beliefs. If it is to get the support of both the workers and the intellectuals, it must not be officially labelled Communist or Soviet-run."

The Communists and their agents in the labor unions may not succeed in getting the non-Communist workers in Western Europe to believe that the military defense against Communism equates or condones or even permits aggression against the whole working class.

But the defense of Western Europe's industrial power—used as a justification for creating the German divisions—will, if it is also used as a justification for leaving Western European military control and leadership to Adenauer's Germany, without US ground troops, almost inevitably give Moscow a good weapon of attack against the made-in-Washington new US five-year strategic plan for Atlantic defense.

(Courtesy, The New Republic)

"DUSSELDORF—Chalk up as a failure the attempt to sell American-style capitalism to German big business.

"West Germany today has a private-enterprise economy; that is, it's not run by the state. But it can hardly be called a free-enterprise economy in the American competitive sense, and it's probably going to become less so. Quietly and methodically trade and industry are returning to their traditional pre-war patterns of cartel and trust. . . .

"Germany is the home of the cartel, and the Germans are if anything proud of the institution; they say the pre-World War I coal and steel cartels helped to make the Ruhr the dominant industrial power of all Europe. It is this attitude, perhaps more than anything else, that the U. S. has failed to change."

(Edwin Hartrich in the Wall Street Journal, 8-27-53)

GERMAN ASSETS

". . . The confiscation of these assets and patents was agreed at Potsdam, and the Allied intention then was that they should be liquidated and used as reparations. This was not only to be done in countries which were at war with Germany but in neutral States like Spain and Turkey. . . . Liquidation is, however, a slow business, and some neutral countries have failed so far to implement the terms of the 'Safehaven Treaties' originally negotiated between them and the Allies for the disposal of enemy assets. . . . The German view is that all assets abroad which have not already been disposed of should be returned into German hands. It is a curious paradox that, had the Bonn 'General' Agreement between the Western Powers and the Federal Republic already entered into force, the Germans would be legally bound not to interfere with any arrangements which have been made, or will be made, in relation to former external assets. . . . Hence Professor Erhard's desire to get a settlement favorable to Germany before the Bonn Agreement enters into force.

"Hence also the recent appeals to the Allied High Commission. Hence the German pressure which is being brought to bear on the neutrals. . . . Hence the German efforts to detach one of the occupying powers, America, from the Allied front—efforts which have failed so far in Bonn but which are sure to enlist sympathy when Professor Erhard states his case in Washington. The Germans are using every sort of diplomatic wile and pressure in order to get their way. . . . The policy of the Western Powers must be to press for the speedy liquidation of German assets in Spain, Portugal, Turkey and Sweden. . . . The longer the question of external assets is left the more it will fester in the German mind—unless the Western Powers are surprised into making concessions for which there is no legal or moral obligation."

(Manchester Guardian Weekly, 11-19-53.)

Adenauer's Democratization Program

As an organization which has been following the German scene for many years, the Society paid particular attention to Chancellor Adenauer's election campaign and its results. Our interest did not stem from the fact that we are enthusiastic supporters of Adenauer or his foe. Our own tastes were not involved but nonetheless our interest was great because we know, as everyone knows, that our policy makers have literally placed all of their hopes on the Chancellor. The success of his re-election however shows that hopes are one thing and realities quite another proposition.

Electioneering

The kind of election campaign that Adenauer waged is discussed in detail in the article by James H. Sheldon (see page —). Mr. Sheldon supplies important evidence attesting to the fact that Adenauer appealed to those groups in Germany who are bitter enemies of democracy.

For example, the Chancellor went out of his way to visit some of Germany's worst war criminals imprisoned in Werl. He knew full well that in demonstrating his sympathy for these criminals the votes of hundreds of thousands of German soldiers and officers would be corralled. The appeal that he made to these dangerous elements was launched as early as April 1953 when, in reporting on his visit to the U. S., he boasted that the United States had promised to review the cases of these criminals. He then went on to say:

". . . I would like to stress this today, at the occasion of my first public speech after my return, because former German soldiers of all ranks have complained to me that they are much concerned about the fact that there are still many prisoners at Landsberg Prison who have been tried and convicted when, shortly after the end of the war, judgment was passed somewhat hastily. I believe that our former soldiers may be satisfied that the last stigma—if there was any at all—will be removed from our former armed forces."

This kind of electioneering by Adenauer had a definite imprint on his actions immediately following his re-election. Here are some of the more important events which occurred shortly after Dr. Adenauer returned to office.

The Day After

The Chancellor's first public speech was a well calculated attempt to reawaken the aggressive instincts of the Germans. "Liberation" was his theme—and who can doubt that it received a welcome response on the part of his listeners. It was not a speech which is indicative of a man dedicated to the ways of peace but rather the echo of Germany's belligerent past. It may very well be that some people in the West were not concerned because it appeared that Adenauer's "call to the colors" was directed against the East. But this was a short-lived illusion. Shortly after his liberation speech, the United Press, September 16, 1953, reported:

"Chancellor Adenauer will give France 60 to 90 days to ratify the stalled West German Peace Pact and the European Army Plan before taking any decisive alternative action. . . ."

Such ultimata are, of course, familiar to students of Germany history. They were frequently used by the Kaisers and Adolf Hitler. Chancellor Adenauer, filled with a sense of his own importance and indispensability, and unquestionably encouraged by his cheerleaders in the United States, unfurled his banner. Apparently he is confident that the threats which work so well for his predecessors will intimidate the French.

Towards Domination of the Unions

Having shaken his fist eastward and westward, Adenauer flaunted his fist at the German trade unions. According to the New York Times (September 11, 1953), the German Trade Union Federation received an ultimatum from the executive committee of the CDU under the chairmanship of the Chancellor *"to submit to a re-organization of control that would place the union under the domination of the state."* This brazen attack against the independent trade union movement should be considered in the light of the role that the trade unions in Germany have played since the end of the war.

We have never taken a special position of pleading the cause of trade unionism in Germany for its own sake. We do believe, however, that democratically controlled trade unions free from governmental dictation could contribute, together with other free institutions, toward the strengthening of democracy in Germany. In this connection it is noteworthy that the United States occupation authorities have, from the very earliest days of the occupation, encouraged the development of free trade unions in Germany to serve as a reliable bulwark against all forms of totalitarianism. The Third Quarterly Report on Germany issued by the U. S. High Commissioner (April-June 1950) stated "throughout the period under review, trade unions continued to be a strong positive force of democracy." Discussing the leadership of the German trade union movement, the report comments:

"They are conscious of their key role in preserving the competitive ability of the German economy and in backstopping Germany's slowly developing democracy. They have also been in the forefront of the struggle for a peaceful, prosperous Germany, and have given strong support to U. S. reorientation and democratization policies. They were among the first Germans to be accepted as equals by their colleagues abroad, and the Federation of German Trade Unions is a potent member of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions."

The report adds that although the trade union leaders are proud of their achievements:

"they are still haunted by the specter of German democracy's collapse without a fight in 1933. They express the opinion that an alliance between German governmental leadership and big industrialists not only precipitated this collapse, but paved the way for World Wars I and II. History threatens to repeat itself, they hold, unless Germany achieves industrial as well as political democracy."

The German trade union leaders were not alone in their fears of a resurgence of the same authoritarian elements which did so much harm to German democracy following World War I. As early as 1949, Mr. Matthew Woll, Vice President of the A. F. of L., and Mr. Walter Reuther, President of the C. I. O., publicly warned that the industrial war lords of the Ruhr were endeavoring to re-assert a stranglehold over the democratic forces in Germany.

Of course the Chancellor may claim that he issued this ultimatum, not in his capacity as head of the Bonn government, but in his position of leader of the CDU. In our opinion, this argument amounts to sheer sophistry. It would be equivalent to accepting a situation in which the President of the United States attempted, as leader of his party, to dictate terms to the American trade union movement.

Towards a Controlled Press

After brandishing his whip against the trade unions, the Chancellor went to work on the German newspapers. Apparently German officialdom is not satisfied with the fact that scores of former Hitler supporters and Nazis have returned to the newspaper field. The fact that there is still a core of crusading journalists in Germany is not to the liking of those who are accustomed to a servile press. Thanks to some enterprising German journalists, it was revealed that Dr. Lenz, State Secretary in the Chancellor's office, had concocted a scheme to coordinate the work of the Bonn Foreign Office News Department, government propaganda, the independent news agency and political work among the Germans behind the Iron Curtain. As the London Economist (October 3, 1953) pointed out, this attempted coup was but the culmination of prior efforts on the part of the Bonn government to cripple the independence of the German newspapers.

When the news of this plot leaked out, Adenauer was put on the spot. The official news service of his own party had already attacked the German journalists who opposed the plan. The Koelnische Rundschau, which serves as Adenauer's personal mouthpiece, also defended the Lenz project. Nevertheless, the unfavorable publicity was too great to be ignored and so Adenauer finally broke his silence and averred that the plan was dead. To this assurance, the London Economist commented:

"The fact remains that Dr. Adenauer's ministries (and the Foreign Office in particular) contain large numbers of men who held responsible posts under Herr Ribbentrop or his colleagues. Though they are loyal supporters of the present regime, they are expected to have at least the average German urge to suppress the critics and conduct one-sided propaganda . . . In spite of this week's victory, the German journalists will have to fight for their freedom time and again."

Another Target

Even the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany could not escape the pugnacious arrogance of Herr Adenauer and his colleagues. Apparently the Germans are not completely satisfied with all that they have received from the United States. Surely they cannot complain about the favorable publicity which they have received here, nor can they afford to grumble about the billions of dollars dumped in their laps since the end of the war. Yet, somehow they are still dissatisfied and the immediate target of their resentment is the Office of the U. S. High Commission itself.

Apparently there are some Americans in the High Commissioner's Office who have maintained a sense of historical perspective. These few have become the butt of recent attacks by German officials. Thus the Manchester Guardian (October 2, 1953) disclosed that high German officials have developed a plan

"to have members of the U. S. High Commission removed from Germany as a result of a calculated diplomatic whispering campaign. Details of this plan were published by an American paper which listed about a dozen American officials in Bonn as being 'suspect' of anti-German feelings. This story has not yet been authoritatively denied."

A Business Deal

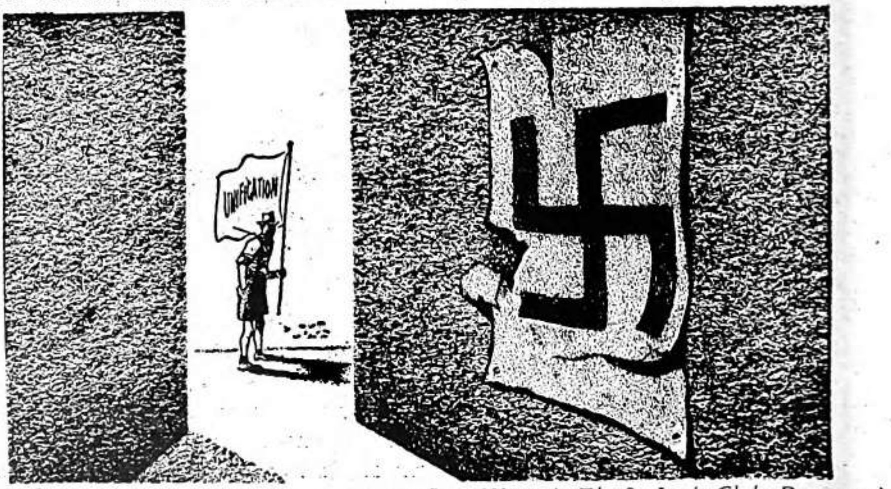
The more recent episode of the Chancellor's activities since his return to office involves flirtations with the Soviets. The United Press (October 14, 1953) reported that West German businessmen had closed their first post-war foreign trade deal with Russia. The agreement will involve the use of accumulated American dollars and Swiss Francs to pay for Russian wheat and oil. The report declares that the negotiations were completed *"with the blessings of the West German government at Bonn."* Apropos of these negotiations, it is interesting to note that the deal was consummated in East Berlin. The U. P. reported, "West German financial experts insist if the cold war were ended, West German trade with the Soviet bloc would jump up a billion dollars in 12 months."

While Adenauer's business friends were negotiating in East Berlin, the Chancellor himself has been working on the political level in the same direction. In an interview granted to the United Press on Oct. 22nd he stated:

"If the Soviet Union desired a special one (separate agreement) with Germany, let them have one."

The idea of unilateral negotiations between Germany and Russia has also been advocated in West Germany's leading conservative newspaper, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. It pointed out that only Chancellor Adenauer himself "can convince the Kremlin of the necessity and usefulness of German policy."

These are some of the highlights of Dr. Adenauer's activities since he was swept back into office. The line of action taken by Adenauer since the election is but the logical result of the campaign he waged prior to his victory. It is not a pretty picture nor can it be regarded as a hopeful sign of things to come.



(*Hesse in The St. Louis Globe-Democrat*)

"IN THE BACK ALLEYS OF BERLIN"

The Germans Talk Trouble

By

SEFTON DELMER

Correspondent for The London Express

BAD GODESBERG—Things could not look more peaceful. Under my window paddle steamers chug importantly up and down the Rhine, drawing behind them long trains of heavily laden barges—German, French and Dutch.

The little ferryboat which, just 15 years ago now, scurried back and forth across the river carrying peace-or-war messages from Hitler to Chamberlain and back, is busier than ever.

As this was being written it was carrying loads of well-fattened, contented-looking Rhenish burghers returning from the polls where they re-elected Dr. Adenauer.

And yet I feel uneasy.

"Aggressiveness"

For everywhere I went in Germany two weeks before election, I have found evidence of a returning truculence, a returning sense of aggressive mission.

Take, for example, a quiet-looking little manifesto which has been widely circulated among the VIPs of Western Germany. It asks them to use their influence in favor of getting agreement between political parties for a common foreign policy.

The manifesto is signed by a whole platoon of generals who commanded Hitler's armies during the last war, including a good number of those younger ones who, like Maj. Gen. Dethleffsen, are booked for general staff posts in the German forces now to be created.

It is further indorsed by big industrialists like up-and-coming Ernst Schneider, president of Dusseldorf Chamber of Commerce.

What is the foreign policy which they wish to see supported by all? Here is a passage:

The Soviet system, says the manifesto, has suffered an attack of weakness which has reduced its capacity for action to a much greater extent than has generally been accepted. The Soviet leaders are forced to seek an understanding with the West. . . .

On our side we can and must make the Western powers, and the U. S. in particular, adopt the liberation of the Soviet zone of Germany as their own cause, and give it top priority in their program of action.

Dr. Adenauer himself, who retained the chancellorship—*talked* at a pre-election lunch which I attended. He also stressed the weakness of Russia and the opportunity this presented for the reunification of Germany.

"We Might Be Back"

Among ordinary folk this kind of thinking has begun to gain some ground as well.

"The way things are shaping, it looks as if we might be back in Russia soon, doesn't it?" said an ex-soldier truck driver to me in a bar.

He took me for a fellow-German. "I only got back from there myself in '49," he said. "Never thought I'd be a soldier again. I don't like soldiering. But if it is to have another go at them I will be there—and this time we'll exterminate them the way they said we did last time."

What is behind this wild and dangerous talk?

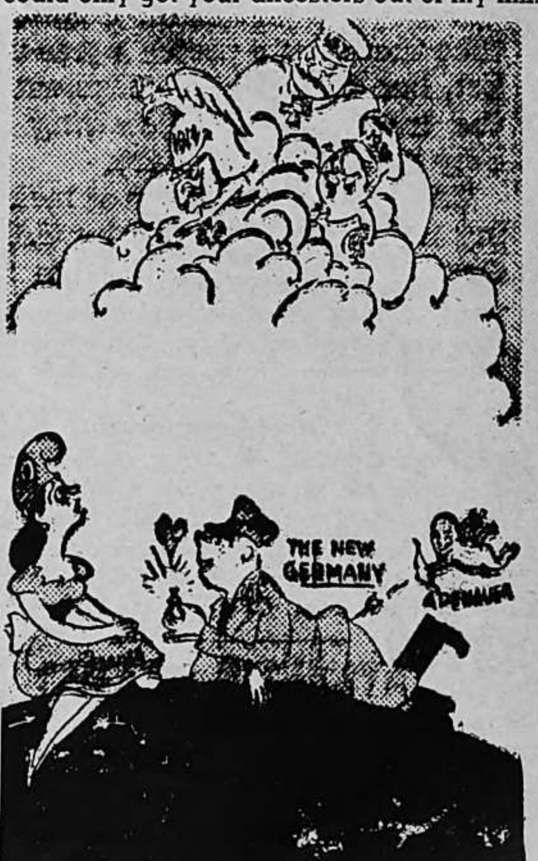
In the first place, of course, the Berlin rising of June 17 and the risings that accompanied it in Leipzig and the rest of the Russian-occupied zone.

This has filled everyone here in West Germany with an immense pride in the desperate courage of their fellow-Germans who faced Russian tanks and machine guns unarmed. Above everything, it has convinced many Germans of the vulnerability of Soviet power.

Their "Dilemma"

In Berlin a German with considerable influence on Adenauer's policy-making told me: "The Russians are in an impossible dilemma today. They cannot use their German police

"If I could only get your ancestors out of my mind."



(Yardley in The Baltimore Sun)

force against revolt in their zone because policemen won't fire on Germans. They cannot use the Soviet Army either because this would cause international complications. They don't feel strong and united enough at home to face international conflicts at this time. For they know anything might happen in the Soviet Union with all the discontent that exists there if a foreign war started now."

The second reason is the immensely increased feeling of importance and self-confidence Adenauer built up in Germans by his visit to President Eisenhower.

Everyone here professes to know that Adenauer carried back a secret agreement for U. S. support in an active liberation policy, going far beyond anything that was published.

The remarks of Mr. Dulles stressing the importance of Adenauer's re-election, far from shocking and angering these particular Germans, has reassured them of American support for a German eastward push.

"This time," said my Berlin friend—there is a lot of "This time-ing" going on in Germany these days—"we shall not run out of supplies half-way through like we did during the other two efforts. There is no question that with American supplies to back us we can go as far as we please."

How far is this?

A speaker at the reception in Frankfort for a party of June 17 heroes from Berlin put it this way: "And when we get going we shall not stop at the Oder-Neisse frontier" (with Poland).

Prof. Hallstein, Adenauer's State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in an unguarded moment was even more explicit.

"All Europe must be liberated." he said, "up to the Ural Mountains."

But I have found a third motive, and in many ways it is more sinister and more practical than the rest.

Otto Klepper, ex-banker, Minister of Justice in the Weimar Republic, refugee from Hitler, and one of the manifesto men, gave me the clue.

"If the cold war is allowed to fall down still further," he said, "there will be a bad slump, both in morale and in trade. At any rate in Europe. That will mean more unemployment.

"The Soviets, who are now down, will be up again. Therefore we have to move fast and exploit the weakness of the Russians to get them out of East Germany before there is any slump or recession. That in turn will stop the slump."

This Is Important

They sound ingenious, don't they, all these German hopes of stampeding the Americans into a policy of which they are to be the main profiteers? But don't write them off altogether. For the Germans have one important asset.

The many body of United States Intelligence about Soviet Eastern Germany and Soviet Europe in general comes from a German source.

This is the American-financed organization of the German Gen. Gehlen, Hitler's wartime expert on Soviet Intelligence.

Such is his authority with the U. S. intelligence people that Gehlen is in a position to put to them at any time he chooses such information about Russia as will suit German policy and German plans.

Yes, the Rhine looks peaceful enough. But I feel uneasy all the same.

(Courtesy, The Washington Daily News)

THE CHOSEN PEOPLE

God has called upon Germany to save Christianity . . . The fate of Europe, Germany and Christian culture depends on the outcome of the ballot.—
Dr. Adenauer.

Germany hears God's voice once more
In the Western German State.
The Federal German Chancellor,
Like other Chancellors gone before,
Is charged with Europe's fate.
And the message is handed on—
Germans must save the West,
Heed the divine behest,
For the voice of God is the voice of Bonn.

Destiny once more strikes the hour,
The task must be begun.
If free elections return to power
The party of Dr. Adenauer,
The will of God be done.
The mark of heavenly grace
Is shown to Germans still,
For Bonn's will is God's will
And God has chosen the German race.

Western Christians in other lands
May ask why it should be
God confides them to German hands,
Why Christianity falls or stands
By the vote of Germany?
Why—God only knows,
But Germany hears the Word,
They above all preferred,
Always the race the Almighty chose.

Since God the mandate to Germans gave
By him to be employed,
Christian culture and faith to save,
Will Germany raise from Europe's grave
The world that she destroyed?
What is left of it all?
Though the vote for Bonn is won,
What's done can't be undone,
And the past is gone beyond recall.

God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to effect,
And "Gott mit uns" the Germans say,
"For we today as yesterday,
Are still the Lord's elect."
And thought the choice seems odd,
The fate of the Christian West
On the German vote will rest,
For the voice of Bonn is the voice of God.

Sagittarius

(Courtesy, The New Statesman and Nation)

Toward a New Rapallo?

By T. H. TETENS

We have asked the author of GERMANY PLOTS WITH THE KREMLIN to give us his analysis of West Germany's diplomatic approach to the present world situation. We have been specifically interested to know whether new evidence has come to light which backs up the author's thesis that Germany's long range policy aims at the betrayal of the West. Here is the answer from an expert who has been intimately acquainted with German geopolitical thinking and writing for thirty years.

Germany's diplomatic strategy for a comeback to power has not changed during 1953. The Bonn Republic pursues the same objectives which were the goal of those masterminds who once blueprinted Hitler's scheme for world conquest. General Haushofer's geopoliticians and the old Ribbentrop diplomats are plotting now as they did during the 1920s and 30s, with the only difference that their diplomatic approach has become more subtle and refined under Dr. Adenauer. Where Hitler tried to bully Europe into submission, Adenauer uses a more gentle approach to gain the same objective. The German plan, as it has been stated in Germany's leading political papers, is to make, with the help of America, the Bonn Republic the strongest power in Europe and then, by a diplomatic somersault, strike a bargain with Moscow. The soundness of this scheme is well understood by many Germans and this was the reason why they registered an overwhelming vote of confidence for Dr. Adenauer.

The election victory of September 6, 1953, was decided on the foreign policy issue, i.e., on Dr. Adenauer's blueprint for a United Europe. The German press emphasized the "great political instinct" which the German voters showed in re-electing the Adenauer coalition by a decisive majority. In his election speeches the Chancellor clearly outlined the two basic principles of his policy: a) to obtain full sovereignty for Germany and to make her again a leading power in world affairs; b) to avoid the risk of a war with Russia and to reach friendly agreements with Moscow. The latter principle was stated in a speech two days before the election and it made a profound impression on the German voters.

In his pre-election speeches, the Chancellor told the Germans bluntly that their vote must now show that Germany deserves the trust and confidence that he has gained for the Bonn Republic during his four years of leadership. He stressed the point that the only big hurdle which Germany has to overcome, is to dispel the still lingering distrust in the Western world against a resurgent and rearmed Germany. This hint was clearly understood in Germany, especially among the extreme nationalists and former Nazis. In the months before the election the Chancellor used his influence and that of his industrial backers to warn the rightist elements against any action or propaganda that in any possible way might damage Germany's future.

Adenauer's election victory should not be considered as a change of mind and heart on the part of the German masses, but must be regarded as a shrewd tactical maneuver to blind and fool the Western world. The Chancellor himself made the significant overtures to the extreme rightists and Nazis by visiting the war criminals at the prison at Werl and by giving assurances to the leaders of the Waffen SS and other veterans organizations, that his policy is aimed at re-establishing the honor of the German soldier and creating a Europe for which the Waffen SS fought during World War II. Millions of former Nazis who had boycotted the election in 1949, flocked behind Adenauer, and *Nation Europa*, the mouthpiece of the European Fascists, praised Adenauer as "the champion of the coming German army."

Adenauer's position was enormously strengthened by Secretary Dulles in a statement on the German election. The German papers admitted that the Dulles statement was well understood by the German people, that it was not regarded as a meddling in German affairs, and that the masses did not resent it but reacted realistically and showed their "great political instinct." The German press stressed the point that the voters in the Bonn Republic acted quite differently than the people in Italy and France would have done under similar circumstances. The Germans read in their papers or heard it from the election speeches, especially from Dr. Adenauer himself, that only with the help of America could Germany re-emerge as a leading world power.

It was strongly impressed on the German voters that France is the sole roadblock which prevents Germany from regaining her sovereignty and stalls her comeback to glory and power. If France would yield and ratify the EDC treaty, then the way would be open to new German adventures in world politics.

The true meaning of Adenauer's brand of European unification was expressed by Germany's leading geopolitician, Dr. Klaus Mehnert, in an editorial in *Christ und Welt* (Sept. 24, 1953), in which he pointed out that the "fatal day" of ratification of the European treaties would mean the execution of a death sentence on France. Dr. Mehnert asserted that France, in not ratifying the European treaties, acts *"like the beautiful Scheherazade in Thousand-and-one Nights who delayed her execution from one day to the other by telling the Sultan each night a new fairy tale."*

It is interesting to note how the Germans interpret the meaning of European integration. Many German papers have pictured the advantages of European unification to the Fatherland in the most glowing terms. The same *Christ und Welt* stated in another editorial:

> *"The French have the jitters from the thought that they must sit with us in the same boat. They fear that the German oarsmen will pull with such forceful strokes that the others will lose control over the boat. . . . Nobody has to gain more from the unification of Europe than the Germans, the most numerous and vital among all European nations west of the U. S. S. R. . . ."*

The Germans who lost two world wars and do not enjoy full sovereignty hope to gain within a very short time the economic and political mastery of Europe via the European Community. They believe that for France "integration" means "the execution of a death sentence." It is precisely this fatal consequence which stirs deep fears among the French whose instinct for political trends has been sharpened by the tragic history of the last 80 years.

In order to inveigle "Marianne," Dr. Adenauer has employed a quick-shifting diplomatic finesse and cunning double talk to anesthetize his intended victim. Adenauer operates on the following premises: Washington is "inflexibly committed" to back a powerful Germany as the leader and "protector" of Europe; France is in "hopeless confusion" and unable to counteract Germany's diplomatic moves, whereas England is so absorbed by troubles in Asia, Africa and in the Arab world that she cannot devote her main attention to the growing power of Germany. Thus, Dr. Adenauer belives he can carry out the most daring diplomatic maneuvers and persuade the other Western powers, via Washington, to do his bidding.

There is a growing belief among Germans that Adenauer is playing a decisive role in shaping American policy. The feeling, according to the *Deutsche Zeitung* (September 19th, 1953) is reflected in a popular quip making the rounds in Germany: *"Who makes Washington's European policy?—Konrad Adenauer in Bonn."*

Dr. Adenauer's nightmare is the possibility that the Western powers together, or one of them, might come to an agreement with Russia on Germany. Yet, as long as the present occupation statute is still in force, the right to negotiate with Russia on the German question belongs to the Western Powers alone. This is the true reason why Dr. Adenauer is doing his utmost to prevent a Four Power talk on Germany and why he is pressing so hard to regain full sovereignty for the Bonn Republic. It is for this reason that in the Chancellor's own words "Germany has come to the end of her patience," and he hinted that if the Western Powers will still withhold sovereignty then the Bonn Republic will find her own solution (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, Oct. 22, 1953). Whatever the meaning of this threat might be, the fact is that the Germans in recent months have shown bitter resentment against France which, as an occupying power, can oppose and veto Washington's diplomatic moves and can still block Germany's dream of a comeback to world power.

The Germans allege that all the conditions which France likes to see fulfilled before she can ratify the European treaties—the acceptance of various amendments to the treaties, a settlement of the Saar territory, and special commitments by Great Britain and the USA—are only a pretext in order to evade ratification.

The French have been blamed by Germany for not following through with their own suggestion for a common European defense which they themselves originated under the Pleven Plan. But this argument does not hold water. The Pleven Plan never originated in France but was first ventilated shortly after the war by Dr. Adenauer, long before he became chancellor.

German newspapers have admitted that little has been left from the original Pleven Plan. In 1950, when Russian aggression was feared, the French reluctantly agreed to the use of German manpower in small military units under the command of other European officers. In the meantime, the Pleven Plan has undergone so many changes that leading French and British newspapers fear the European Army will some day fall under the domination of the German militarists.

To overcome French opposition the Germans have spread the warning that if France does not submit to German rearmament then she will be confronted with a Bonn-Washington military alliance. But the unwillingness of the Frenc parliament to ratify the EDC rests on the opinion that this step would upset true European balance of power an would finally result in German domination of the European continent. Yet, th German press is still hopeful that unde the prodding of Washington, a majorit of the French National Assembly wi approve the defense treaty. These hope have been raised since Bidault came ou more positively for the treaty and Gu Mollet, the General Secretary of th French Socialists, became one of the advocates of ratification. He is reportedl trying to impose party discipline on al Socialist members of parliament.

Dr. Adenauer's mouthpiece, the *Rheinischer Merkur*, has set its hopes on th French Socialists by recalling Bismarck' words who once stated that "in the German interest it is desirable that France i governed by a cabinet of the left whic keeps her weak politically and militarily. To obtain French ratification, the conservative Adenauer would not hesitate t cooperate joyfully with the French Socialists.

There is a great contradiction betwee the American and German arguments fo ratifying the EDC. The American versio

". . . It will be said that the weak showing of the extreme pro-Nazi groups (like the debacle of the Communists) is proof that democracy is flourishing in Western Germany. Such a view is cheerful but premature; for many of the neo-Nazi elements undoubtedly have to make larger movements the base of their operations. What would happen to Dr. Adenauer's party if this revered but elderly leader were to leave the scene tomorrow? What sign is there of the emergence of any effective democratic leadership around him? . . ."

(N. Y. Post, 9-8-53)

". . . On occasion Dr. Adenauer has indicated genuine feeling about the creation of a European Defense Community. We should like to believe that the election returns signify Germany's repudiation of nationalism and the evolution of a new and humbler view of Germany's world role, but it is hard to believe that the meaning of the result is quite that simple.

"How many of the millions who voted for Dr. Adenauer really believed in the concept of collective security—and how many felt that this was simply the most practical way of beginning the remilitarization of a great Germany? How many were voting their allegiance to the fight against all tyranny—and how many were merely responding to the sound of familiar anti-Bolshevist symbols? How many saw Dr. Adenauer as the spokesman of the cause of freedom—and how many were impressed by the deals he had seemingly swung with America?" . . .

(From an editorial in the N. Y. Post, 9-8-5

is that the "German military contribution is indispensable for an effective defense of Europe." The Germans, however, have frequently declared that "twelve divisions will not constitute a serious hindrance to Russian aggressions, but it will be the first step to make Germany a strong European factor. Dr. Adenauer himself declared that the "EDC and a United Europe are a reasonable idea in itself and absolutely necessary irrespective of whether Europe is threatened by the Soviet Union or not." (*Stuttgarter Nachrichten,* November 5, 1953.)

Washington's policy to rearm Germany will make Germany again "buendnisfaehig," which means a desired partner for an alliance or, as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (April 13th, 1953) stated: "Out of the reality of the military partnership grows the political reality that Germany will become an ally of tomorrow."

Dr. Adenauer stated recently before the new Bundestag that the German people were becoming impatient with the delay in the ratification of the treaty and that Germany must soon obtain "full authority over its internal and external affairs." The German Chancellor is urgently in need of French consent to the European Army Pact because this Treaty is interlocked with the Contractual Agreement. Without obtaining full sovereignty the Bonn Republic is handicapped in the pursuit of her long range political objectives. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine" made this very clear in an editorial of October 26, 1953, in which it stated that if Germany had her sovereignty "only for a few hours," it would be a world shaking event of greatest magnitude because it would change with one stroke all historic national patterns and power relations in Europe. Germany would "sacrifice her own sovereignty as a gift" and would "happily re-emerge in a new Europe." It is this "new Euorpe" of which every German is dreaming; it is the "new Europe" for which Hitler's Waffen SS fought so fervently. Thus, the picture is clear: France fears instinctively that the ratification of EDC will automatically bring her independence to an end or, as Dr. Klaus Mehnert stated with cold cynicism, it will mean "the execution of Marianne." For the Germans, however, it will be a new start in Europe in which Germany will be the dominating factor.

The "European spirit" which Dr. Adenauer projects so often, is nothing more than a window dressing and a fraud. In reading the German press today, it does not appear that nationalism in Germany is less rampant than under Hitler. The Germans are confident that they are on the way to become the overlords of Europe.

According to the official German news agency (dpa), the Germans together with the Italians can marshal about 60 per cent of the votes in the Council of the EDC which could place France, with her 27 per cent of the votes, in a hopeless minority. (New York Staats-Zeitung, October 31, 1953.)

Dr. Adenauer certainly does not intend to make France an outright satellite of Germany in the very beginning. But the Germans hope for a France responding to German wishes; they dream of a collaboration as it once existed under Marshal Petain and Hitler.

For the time being the Germans will move with great caution because Dr. Adenauer has—as Goebbel's deputy, Dr. Naumann, stated in his diaries—"to play the role of a Stresemann."

Today, not only the Chancellor but important sections of the German people are "playing the role of Stresemann." Western Germany, said the Bonn correspondent of the New York Times, "acts like a small boy who, pleading for a rifle, fervently promises that he will be very careful and not shoot anybody." But the Germans know the cycle from defeat to victory. In the 20s it was Versailles-Stresemann-Hitler; this time it will be Potsdam-Adenauer-???.

Today, "Marianne" receives the same assurances of eternal love and adoration from her German groom as she did 20 years ago. The French Ambassador André François Poncet once heard from the lips of a German chancellor:

"The sole ambition I have in my life is to be remembered in posterity as the man who brought France and Germany together. Between us stands nothing else than the Saar question."

The man who said this to André François Poncet, on September 15, 1933, was Adolf Hitler. The same François Poncet, acting today as French High Commissioner in Bonn, hears the same assurances from Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

If the Germans were the "good Europeans," as Dr. Adenauer so often asserted, why are they not willing to accept, as first proof of their new spirit, the europeanization of the Saar with such economic provisions which would at least partly repair the wrongs that have been done to France from 1940-1945? But the Bundestag and Chancellor Adenauer proclaim haughtily Germany's "rights" to the Saar, ignoring their moral and legal responsibility for the great crimes committed only yesterday.

After their tragic experiences in the past, nobody should wonder why the French distrust the Germans and question the soundness of American policy toward Germany. When France was bled white after World War I, America rebuilt Germany with billions of dollars which ultimately resulted in World War II. France fears a repetition of this vicious cycle. No wonder that the French are deeply concerned about the future. Official announcements that Washington intends to reduce American troops in Europe, caused consternation in Paris because the French regard the presence of American divisions in Europe as a protection against a reborn German militarism.

It is interesting to note that at the same time when the French had the jitters, German papers openly discussed possible negotiations with the Soviets in order to get rid of all American bases in Europe. Shortly after the September election, German papers reported that the Bonn Foreign Office had drafted plans in which German reunification and the simultaneous withdrawal of all American, British and Russian troops were suggested. On October 3, 1953, Germany's leading paper, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine,* suggested in an editorial "direct talks between the Bonn Republic and the Soviets" and added: *"Only Chancellor Adenauer can convince the Kremlin of the honesty and general usefulness of Germany's policy."*

The Frankfurter Allgemeine mentioned even the program of such direct German-Russo negotiations, namely *"to explore the mutual intentions and opinions with regard to European problems"* and to develop *"a European policy which ultimately aims at the creation of a Third Force and an independent power in the center."* (Oct. 3, 1953.)

That is what the Germans want from Russia. What are they willing to pay the Kremlin? The Germans have made up their mind on that score too. They are offering Moscow the liquidation of all American bases in Europe, if the Kremlin allows Germany to become the backbone of this "Third Force." Here is the German offer carefully wrapped in diplomatic phrases by the editor of the Frankfurter Allgemeine:

"The Soviets demand that American military bases should be abolished.... Should and must not the countries, which harbor those bases, become strong enough in a given time so that they can carry on without those bases? Could these bases not be liquidated with the gradual strengthening of the weak European countries? Is it not possible to negotiate such agreements which, amended by security pacts, would lead to general peace? Such topics and others might very well convince the Russians that an independent and free European center would be to their own advantage." (Oct. 3, 1953.)

People familiar with the documentary evidence presented in my book GERMANY PLOTS WITH THE KREMLIN will easily discover that the Bonn Republic continues the time-honored Stresemann-Hitler strategy of "finassieren," i.e., the play off of the West against the East and vice versa.

To those who can see through Germany's master scheme, it becomes clear that Dr. Adenauer's real aim is not the EDC but to become a highly attractive partner in a rapproachment with Moscow, in which Germany expects great territorial and trade concessions from the Soviets. As long as Germany has nothing else to offer but her *own* neutrality, the price to be paid by Moscow will not be impressive. However, if Germany can negotiate as the chief representative of a United Europe and offer not only the liquidation of all American bases in Europe but also the neutralization of Europe and the breakup of the Atlantic Pact organization, then the Russians would certainly be willing to pay a high price for such a political and strategic deal.

The mutual advantages of a Russo-German deal have been openly discussed for months by Germany's leading political papers. Such statements have shown the identity between Adenauer's policy and the blueprints of a daring geopolitical masterplan. Let us remember that the *Frankfurter Allgemeine,* which is frequently used to air the views of the Bonn Foreign Office, declared in an editorial on April 3rd, 1952:

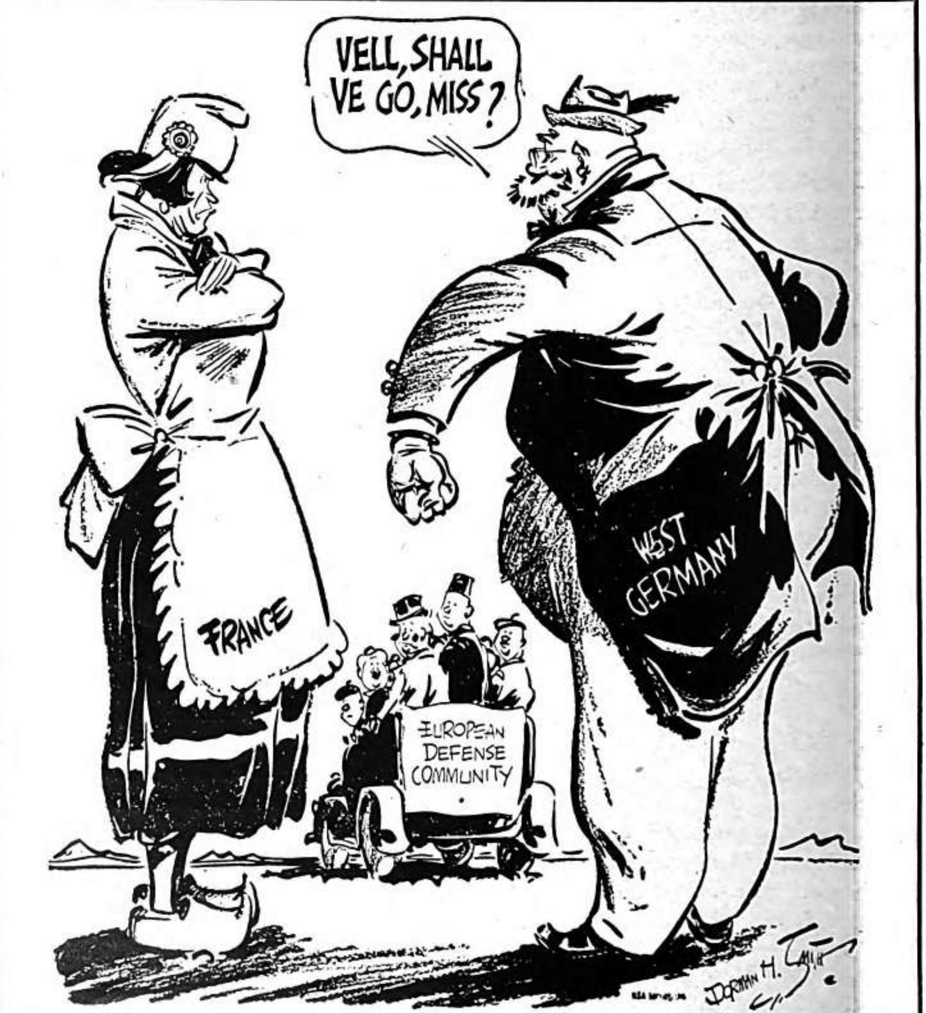
"The Chancellor follows a tremendous, bold plan: First rearmament, followed later on by talks with the Russians in order to persuade them to remove their armies behind the Bug River. For this goal the Chancellor has been working tenaciously for some time. And because he sticks to his timetable, he is presently opposed to the Russian Note (of March 1952)."

In the influential *Christ und Welt,* the geopolitician Dr. Klaus Mehnert wrote in an editorial as early as December 27th, 1951:

"It would be necessary that we first create a united, healthy and strong Western Europe in whose name the following offer to the Kremlin could then be made: Continental Europe would break away from the Atlantic Pact if the Soviets agree to withdraw their forces behind the Pripet-Marshes and release not only the Eastern zone of Germany, but the whole of Eastern Europe into the European Union. A United Europe, standing on its own feet and possessing its own powerful army, could begin with the development of its colonial empire in Africa."

From the foregoing does it not become clear that Dr. Adenauer is proceeding full steam ahead with his plan: first to create a German dominated Europe and later to strike a bargain with Moscow? The success of this policy can only be obtained by the isolation of France and the break-up of all post-war treaties which sought to prevent the resurgence of a war-breeding Germany.

Up to now, Dr. Adenauer's triumphs have been unprecedented, especially since he has had to work with a prostrated rump Germany, lacking an army and full sovereignty. Yet the biggest hurdle Germany still faces is the growing opposition in France. With recent history fresh in their minds, most Frenchmen feel that by ratifying the European Army Pact they will open the Pandora box of German militarism. France hesitates to make that fatal step which the German geopoliticians have correctly defined as "Marianne's execution."



(*Courtesy, N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun*)

Germany, Key to Peace

By
JAMES P. WARBURG

Reviewed by Gordon A. Graig
Gordon A. Craig is Professor of History at Princeton Uni-versity, and Co-Editor of "The Diplomats."

Since 1945 Mr. James Warburg in a series of books and articles, in letters to the press and in Congressional hearings has argued that American policy in Germany is defeating the purpose for which it was designed: namely, the creation of a Germany that would be a force for peace rather than a menace to its neighbors. Those arguments have been given a respectful hearing, but have had little effect upon the course of events. Mr. Warburg is a persistent man, however, and, in his new book, he has recapitulated the case he has made so often before. It is one which deserves consideration, especially at this time, when there is a possibility of renewed four-power discussions on German and related issues.

At the risk of over-simplification it may be said that the author has two principal points. The first is that, under President Truman, the United States committed itself unwisely to a policy, first, of creating a separate West German state and then of re-arming it and making it a member of the European Defense Community. The merits of this policy were never widely debated in this country—largely because of distractions in other parts of the world—and the political risks were disregarded. Those risks were, and are, great. A Western Germany which has regained its sovereignty and is being encouraged to re-arm cannot be expected to subordinate its policies indefinitely to those of its patrons. Nor, as its strength grows, can it be expected to resist the temptation to seek unification with Eastern Germany and the reacquisition of its lost provinces. It may even try to achieve those ends by extreme means—by dragging the West into war with Russia or, alternatively, by making a deal with Russia at the expense of the West.

Despite those risks, the Truman administration pushed ahead with its policy and, essentially, Gen. Eisenhower has continued it. Indeed—and this is Mr. Warburg's second point—the government has been so intent on achieving its objectives that it has refused seriously to consider other solutions to the German problem. Specifically, although it has continued to insist that its real goal is the unification of Germany (which can be achieved only by negotiation with Russia) it has shown an alarming tendency to avoid any real opportunity to negotiate. Even at moments when it has seemed possible that the Russians might be prepared to make concessions to Western views on Germany, there has been a tendency to "try to show that the Russians do not mean what they say [rather than] to try to find out whether or not they do." This has led to the stultification of diplomacy and, by arousing doubts as to our intentions among our allies, has weakened rather than strengthened the unity of the West.

There will be many who feel that Mr. Warburg's fear of Germany is exaggerated. Yet it must be admitted that Germany's past history throws considerable doubt on her reliability as an ally. German irredentism has not been unknown in the past and has generally had frightening results. Moreover, the Germany of the 1920's proved highly adroit in playing Russia off against the West and, as one of Stresemann's intimates, Konrad Adenauer received a thorough schooling in what the author calls the art of finessing one's way to power. To argue that conditions have changed and that the Germans wouldn't run the risk of making their country a satellite by trying to make a deal with Russia is not conclusive. The Germans have always had great faith in their ability to manipulate rather than to be manipulated.

As for Mr. Warburg's second point, it is enough to note that European concern over what is considered to be American inflexibility has mounted so steadily in the last six months that it seems finally to have impressed Washington. At any rate, new approaches have now been made to Moscow, although their issue is still in doubt.

In the event that the Russians proved willing to negotiate on European questions in general, what should be the American position on Germany? Mr. Warburg is quite clear on this point. He would abandon our past policy almost completely. As a *sine qua non* for a German settlement, he would insist that the Soviet Union agree to a revision of the Eastern frontiers which would return to Germany all the territories annexed by Poland in 1945 except East Prussia and Upper Silesia. Such revision, he believes, would remove the greatest danger of a possible future German deal with Russia at the

BONN DOES NOT TRUST THE UNITED NATIONS

Recently the official "Bulletin" of the Bonn Government dealt wiht the suggestion that "a re-unified Germany should be included in a security system within the framework of the United Nations." In an authorized article in the "Bulletin" this suggestion was "emphatically rejected" on the following ground:

". . . The United Nations have been organized for the purpose of holding down the former Axis powers . . . and to maintain the status of 1945 forever. Those who seek the protection of the U. N. will find themselves in the arms of a stillborn giant."

In reporting this "unequivocal renouncement" of the U. N., the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung stated that Germany aims "to develop the power of the West through integration of Europe to a point from which negotiations with Russia will be possible."

(The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 11-9-53)

expense of Poland. In return for this he would propose that Germany be disarmed and demilitarized for a period of five to ten years, with the provision that, if universal disarmament had not been achieved at the end of that period this restriction would be removed; and, furthermore, that Germany be neutralized and placed under international guaranty for the period in which she was denied the right to re-arm. Under these conditions—and with additional agreements concerning reparations and the future of the Saar—he would propose the creation of an All-German government by free elections, guaranteed by Russian promises of complete constitutional freedom for all citizens.

Would the Russians accept such a proposal? On the basis of past Russian notes Mr. Warburg believes that they might find it to their interest to do so. In any event, Russian rejection of such a concrete proposal, especially if it were supported wholeheartedly by our allies, would cause the Soviet Union a loss of influence amounting to a political defeat, while, at the same time, it would resolve the doubts of those who hesitate to create an effective Western defense system until they are convinced that all reasonable efforts to reach agreement with Moscow have been made.

Would the Russians abide by such a settlement even if they accepted it? This is a more difficult question. Mr. Warburg's answer is that they could violate it only at the cost of war and that it is not reasonable to suppose that they would do so "unless conditions in the meantime so change as to make the Russian rulers seek war. That risk exists with or without a German settlement." The author does not believe that we lose anything by giving up the hope of German membership in EDC. A lot of soldiers, he says, have argued publicly that Western Europe cannot be defended without the Germans; "they have not said that Western Europe can be defended with the Germans." It is more important to seek to prevent the outbreak of war than to cling to a plan which does not at present promise to be effective; and Mr. Warburg believes the neutralization of Germany will remove a provocation and a bone of contention and improve the chances of creating a context in which "the strains of the cold war will be relaxed." GERMANY, Key To Peace. By James P. Warburg, 344 pp. Cambridge: Harvard University.

(*Courtesy, Herald Tribune Book Review*)

German Nationalists Must Face Their Past

By
SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

Of all the nations of Europe, Germany has the greatest capacity for good or evil. The recent elections suggest that its tremendous potential may be put to constructive ends. However, judging from comments I have received on articles of mine . . . German nationalism is by no means dead.

Some of my German correspondents offer abundant quotations and even statistics to show that, in the last 1,000 years, Germany has been less warlike than other nations. Bismarck is depicted as a peace-loving man and Wilhelm II as downright timid. It is conceded that Hitler started a war, but with strictly limited objectives.

Now I am willing to admit that Bismarck was perhaps no better and no worse than many of his contemporaries. He waged aggressive war, but so did others. The same holds true for the Kaiser. . . .

Hitler, however, is another matter altogether. To claim that his objectives were limited, one must be utterly blinded by national prejudice and hence disqualified for objective discussion. Hitler's appetite was boundless. . . .

Other letter-writers attempt to exonerate the German Army and generals in World War II and pin all the blame on the politicians. One refers to "the lance corporal Hitler, who was raised to power not by the soldiers but by the masses." He forgets that Hitler was built up by the Army and that he enjoyed the protection of Von Epp and Ludendorff. . . .

This correspondent goes on: "The main body of German generals, in 1939, advised Hitler in the strongest terms against his warlike ideas, but they were altogether overridden by politics." What he fails to say is whether the generals did so because they wanted peace or because they feared that Germany was not yet ready to fight a successful war. . . .

Another correspondent objects to my praise of the generals who organized the July 1944 bomb plot against Hitler. He writes: "The essential thing is the treason to the country. Schlabrendorff writes in his book that Oster and other high-ranking officers betrayed to the enemy the contemplated attacks on Norway and Holland a few days before they were due to begin, and he describes this as a great deed. I believe it was shameful and unpardonable." My answer to this is that the attacks on Norway and Holland were abominable crimes, and the men who "betrayed" them were more honorable than those who carried them out. . . .

The most discouraging comment I received was one on the bombing of Rotterdam. The bombing, writes my correspondent, "was based on military considerations, which was not true of the destruction of Dresden, Potsdam, Würzburg and other cities." Here we have an unprovoked, unannounced invasion of a neutral state, accompanied by an all-out terror bombing which wipes out the heart of one of its principal cities—yet, we are asked to accept a plea of "military necessity" and, furthermore, condemn subsequent attacks on the cities of the aggressor nation! . . .

These letters demonstrate that much remains to be done before the world can feel confidence in a humanistic as opposed to a nationalistic Germany. . . . It was Hitler who destroyed Europe. It was the generals and the professors of Germany who allowed him to destroy Europe. Let us face that squarely so that it does not happen again.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The New Leader)

Germany's "Gravy Train"

. . . "KRUPP HAS LEADING ROLE IN GERMAN TRADE DRIVE"—The N. Y. Herald Tribune 9-19-53. The accuracy of this statement is confirmed by many reports appearing in the press both here and abroad. In fact, the tentacles of the Krupp empire are reaching to all corners of the world, including the countries east of the Iron Curtain. If we follow the trail of Herr Krupp and Co. we shall be able to appreciate the significance of the German assault against the commercial interests of the West.

Eastward Bound

According to *Business Week* (August 22, 1953), Krupp and the Ruhr machinery firm Demag clinched a deal whereby they will build a one hundred fifty million dollar steel mill for India. The Krupps succeeded in outbidding the British for this project which will eventually produce one million tons of steel annually. In addition, Krupp is now helping to construct a cement works 300 miles south of Bombay. According to press reports, the cement works will have a production target of 300 tons a year.

India's next door neighbor Pakistan has also been invaded by Herr Krupp and Co. They will provide consultant engineers for the Pakistan government in order to make "a thorough survey of all production and of the possibilities of building up a sizable steel industry." (*Manchester Guardian,* October 8, 1953). Moreover, Krupp will build a pilot steel plant for Pakistan which after expansion will cost roughly 85 million dollars. The Krupps will take shares in this enterprise in lieu of monetary payments.

In the Middle East

From Pakistan and India the trail eads to the Middle East. Egypt seems to be one of the main targets in this region. The *Manchester Guardian* reports that he Krupp directors regard Egypt as their third most important market in he East." As in India and Pakistan, the Krupps will participate in the construcon of a steel plant. Krupp will also lay an important role in the development of the huge project of the Assuan dam. This program is only a forerunner f Krupp's program for Egypt. They ope to swamp Egypt with all kinds of heavy industrial equipment and thereby become a decisive factor in the Egyptian economy.

The Krupps are also very active in Turkey. For example, they are favored to obtain the contract for the building of a bridge that would cross the Bosporus at its narrowest point, thus linking up Europe and Asia. The cost for this job is approximately 71 million dollars.

The *Manchester Guardian* reports that Syria has also come within the grip of the Krupp interests. "Krupp is actively interested in shipping industrial machinery of all kinds to Syria, probably including equipment for oil refineries. The firm has already picked up some valuable contracts in this country."

Further West we find the Krupps in Greece and in Yugoslavia. As far as Greece is concerned, the Krupps will install a nickel processing plant as part of their plans to utilize the country's considerable nickel ore deposits. According to the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* (September 19, 1953), "Krupp's interests were previously engaged in nickel development on the Greek peninsula but this activity was interrupted by the collapse of Germany in 1945." Thus, while Hitler's armies were in Greece, Krupp had a free hand. Apparently he is now able to resume where he left off.

Operation "Hispanidad"

The Krupps are virtually up to their necks in Spain. Here under the benevolent eye of Dictator Franco, Krupp is on the threshold of new successes. The *Worldover Press* (April 1, 1953) reports that the new German Ambassador to Spain, Prince Adalbert of Bavaria, is playing a "key role" in building up a Spanish armament industry. "Adalbert is busy helping the German firm of Krupp under Spanish names, to establish a number of arms factories to turn out, notably, not only small weapons but heavy artillery and tanks." This same report discloses that Germany has already sent thousands of technicians into Spain "and these are to be followed by high precision machinery."

That the German Ambassador will do a good job is to be expected in view of the fact that he is an intimate friend of the Krupp family. Undoubtedly the Krupps are happy over the fact that Adalbert has made a hit with the Spanish. *"He received an elaborate welcome complete with Moorish cavalrymen as honor troops, when he presented his credentials to Generalissimo Franco. Deutschland Uber Alles was played publicly in Spain for the first time since World War II."* (*New York Herald Tribune,* Sept. 21, 1953.)

From Spain one of Krupp's trails lead to South America. As early as January, 1953, the publication *Venezuela Up-To-Date* reported that the Krupps "have offered to participate in financing a Venezuelan steel industry as well as in supplying technicians. The Krupps, together with some Swiss interests, are willing to supply 50% of the capital needed, although the total amount required is estimated at 100 million dollars."

Krupp is also eyeing the abundant resources of Brazil, according to the *Manchester Guardian.* The Brazilian government has incurred a huge debt with Germany and the government could convert "its debts by giving firms like Krupp shares in new industrial undertakings—particularly in iron ore development schemes. . . ." In this connection, the *London Economist* (Sept. 26, 1953) reveals that joint German-Brazilian enterprises as well as purely German factories will be set up which of course "will buy their equipment in Germany."

U. S. A.—A Target Too

The enterprising activities of Herr Krupp and Co. are indicative of the general resurgence of Germany's industrial power vis-à-vis the West. In discussing this development, many publications in the U. S. seem to imply that it is strictly a worry for the British and French. The fact of the matter is, however, that the U. S. too is a target for the Krupps and the other industrial war lords of the Ruhr. Thus, the *N. Y. Times* (August 6, 1953) reported that Germany had supplanted the U. S. in the markets of Turkey.

The *Wall Street Journal* (October 5, 1953) noted, "the Germans are raising Cain with some U. S. businesses in parts of the South of the Border region too. Early last year the U. S. outsold Germany by over two to one in Argentina. By early this year the Germans had stepped out in front."

The *U. S. News and World Report* (Oct. 9, 1953) discussing German competition as it affects other countries, including the U. S., admitted that "the Germans are outpacing the rest of the export field."

Business Week (August 29, 1953), observed *"German industry will mount a big trade fair in Mexico City next spring. It's well timed: you hear more and more demands from Mexican businessmen to expand the nation's trade with Europe and Asia, break its 'economic dependence on the U. S.'"*

The U. S. News and World Report (Oct. 30, 1953) declared, "Germans are running off with trade and influence in the Middle East. U. S. and Britain, once tops, are left behind." The article deals in detail with German penetration in the Middle East, economically, militarily and politically. (See our article "Berlin To Bagdad," No. 41 issue PREVENT WORLD WAR III.) Even in the little region of Yemen in Saudi Arabia, the Germans have just obtained a 90 year concession to prospect for oil. The terms of the deal, according to the *U. S. News and World Report,* were "a major worry for American and British oil companies." We could go on citing additional evidence proving that the United States is by no means immune to the German trade assault spearheaded by Herr Krupp.

In the British Commonwealth

What is the secret of Krupp's successes as well as the growing challenge of German heavy industry? Incredible as it may seem, the answer to this question may be partially found in the fact that Krupp and other magnates are receiving substantial assistance, both from Britain and the U. S.

Let us take the case of Britain. Several years ago, the British, together with other members of the Commonwealth, launched the so-called Colombo Plan, which in many ways is the counterpart of our own Point 4 program. The plan was designed to assist underdeveloped countries by the combined efforts of the more highly industrialized countries of the British Commonwealth. However, Krupp and his Ruhr friends were not asleep and they are taking full advantage of all of the facilities offered by the Plan, according to a study in the British publication, *New Statesman and Nation* (Oct. 10, 1953). The *Manchester Guardian,* mentioned above, has also noted the significance of the Krupp "putsch" in relation to the British Commonwealth and Empire. "Krupps," the *Manchester Guardian* writes, *"seems likely to develop and anchor its interests in the new markets which it is opening by accepting shares in new enterprises. Krupps will, in fact, become part owner of key industries in the British empire as well as elsewhere."* Thus the Colombo Plan has become a vehicle through which Krupps and other Ruhr outfits are making rapid headway among the underdeveloped countries.

Behind the Iron Curtain

India, of course, is regarded by Krupps as a focal point for this attack. The *Wall Street Journal* (Aug. 18, 1953) reports that 90% of the outbound passengers to Asia who ride the Air India Airline are German technicians and commercial men

"West German businessmen, long chafing under restrictions on Red trade, closed their first postwar deal with Russia, using accumulated U. S. dollars and Swiss francs to pay for wheat and oil. The deal, negotiated in East Germany, was sanctioned by West German government."

(N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun, 10-14-53)

STIFFENING COMPETITION

"Besides the fact that less foreign aid cash is being handed out to U. S. customers abroad, there's stiff and growing competition from foreign nations, including West Germany and Japan. . . .

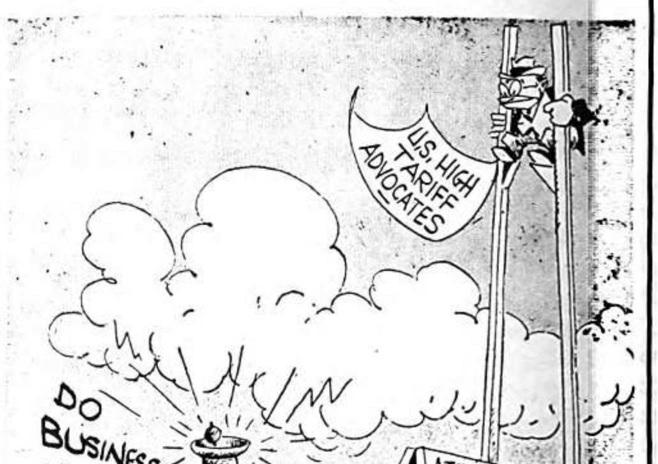
"The Japanese are putting the hex on the export division of one big textile firm. 'With dollars harder to get we can't stop the Japs from coming into our markets abroad—they're hurting us badly.'

"For a Cleveland machine tool producer, the Germans are the bogeymen in the trade picture. 'We've just lost 10 big foreign sales to German companies,' he admits. And the reason wasn't only a shortage of dollars among these buyers. 'We simply couldn't meet the Germans' prices and stay in business.'

"In 1952, West Germany exported the equivalent of about $4 billion worth of products, about twice the value of 1950 sales abroad. Japan exported about $1,272,000,000 worth of goods last year. That's 55 per cent higher than Japanese shipments in 1950. . . ."

(Wall Street Journal, 11-19-53.)

A Glance at What the Competition Is Offering


U.S. HIGH TARIFF ADVOCATES
DO BUSINESS WITH THE SOVIET BLOC
ATTRACTIVE TRADE DEALS FOR THE WEST
SPECIAL INDUCEMENT FOR GERMANY
DOWLING

(*Courtesy, N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.*)

traveling to India. "German businessmen report they are receiving a friendly welcome there. 'We are lucky the Indians don't consider us one of the colonial powers,' said one trader."

But India, according to the same report, is not regarded by Krupp and other Ruhr barons as an end in itself. "India," the *Wall Street Journal* points out, *"also could be a jumping off point for anticipated future German trade with China."* One does not have to anticipate the future German trade with China because the following month, the *Wall Street Journal* (Sept. 3, 1953) reported that Red China had ordered 1,200 tons of steel plates from a Ruhr mill.

The *New Republic* (Nov. 9, 1953) states that Germany regards China *"as a long range customer for machinery,"* etc. In this connection the publication reveals that *"a new organization, the Asiatic Club, now sends spokesmen to Chambers of Commerce all over West Germany to expand China trade prospects. German industrialists are determined to exploit their present economic advantage and gain a foothold in Asia, pending the easing of East-West trade barriers."*

Point 4 Program Helpful Too

Krupp and his friends have not only been able to ride the gravy train of the Colombo Plan but they are also taking full advantage of our own Point 4 Program and other means by which the U. S. finances projects in undeveloped countries. Thus in the case of India, Krupp expects the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to cover the greater portion of the finances required for the building of the Indian steel mill. As everyone knows, the International Bank is largely dependent on American unds for its own activities. It is not for nothing that German industrialsts "have become ardent advocates of the Point 4 Program" (*N. Y. Times,* Aug. 15, 1953).

American funds are also helping out he Germans in Greece. We do not know whether Krupp will receive American unds for the development of nickel ore n that country, but some fortunate Ruhr oncern will pick up some easy money or the processing ot bauxite mined in Greece. The *N. Y. Times* (Nov. 1, 953) reveals that U. S. aid funds will used to extract bauxite from one of e largest mines in Greece. But this im- rtant mineral "will be processed in ermany for defense purposes."

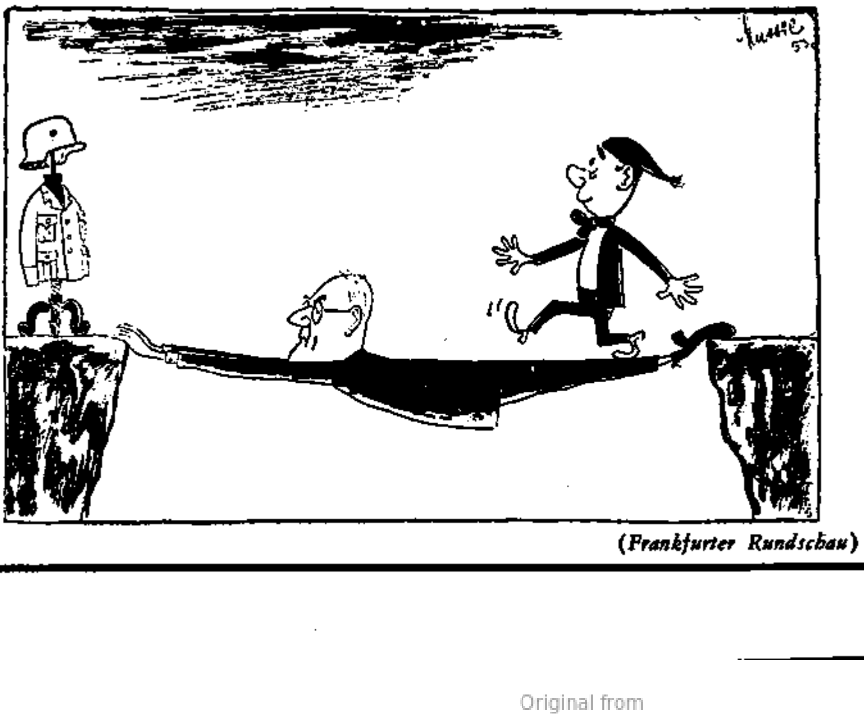
Finally, we come to the case of Spain. According to the authoritative Paris newspaper *Le Monde,* "the armament factories which Krupp is building in Spain are to be financed by the U. S." If we prefer to regard the *Le Monde* statement as biased, then we can turn to our own press. Thus, the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* (Sept. 21, 1953) discloses that Madrid correspondents of West German financial publications are persistently reporting that "Germany will get large orders for cement for use in improving of Spanish harbors and other works, to be launched under the impending pact between the U. S. and Spain for American use of Spanish military and naval bases." This report ties in with our account of the activities of Krupp's Ambassador — excuse us — the West German Ambassador to Spain, Prince Adalbert. Here is the picture for all to see and to wonder. Krupp and his friends have found a new way by which they can rebuild their empires, i.e., at the expense of American and to a lesser extent, British taxpayers.

A Lucky War Criminal

Has any decent human being forgotten that Herr Krupp was convicted as a war criminal on the grounds that he had employed slave labor and participated in the looting of Europe? The properties under his control were supposed to have been confiscated and Krupp was sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment. However, Mr. McCloy, former U. S. High Commissioner, threw all of that out of the window—and Krupp went free. The properties which have yet to be proven to be legally Krupp's, have been turned over to him. More than that, Krupp will receive millions of dollars of compensation for part of these properties, although it still remains to be seen whether he had legal title to them. It is interesting to note that the Chase National Bank, of which Mr. McCloy is now Chairman, loaned Spain 25 million dollars several years ago. Who knows but if Krupp's business concessions in Spain have not profited from this loan? In any event, we are not at all surprised to read the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* report that "Alfred Krupp is the head of the family and thus is one of the richest men in the world. At present he is building himself a large 2-story, 3-wing villa in modern style on a wooded hillside near Essen."

The facts cited above have not received the publicity that they deserve although the *U. S. News and World Report* admits that American businessmen as well as British merchants *"are howling for help from their governments,"* in the face of this German commercial blitzkrieg. American businessmen who are seeking protection would be well advised if they at first demand an accounting for the financing of projects which the Germans are enjoying at the expense of our taxpayers.

DEUTSCHLAND, DEUTSCHLAND-UEBER DULLES



(Frankfurter Rundschau)

Behind the German Elections

By JAMES H. SHELDON

The West German elections show primarily a vote of confidence for "a strong man."

Some early commentators on the Bonn returns seemed jubilant over the relatively small vote secured by the official neo-Nazi parties. Any encouragement to be derived from this aspect of the matter, however, is strictly skin-deep.

The facts are that the Pan Germans, neo-Nazis and ultra-nationalists succeeded in invading the parties of the Adenauer coalition to such an appaling extent that they are now much nearer to the control of power in West Germany than before. Whether they are able to fully exert this power in the immediate future depends largely upon a single very weak link: viz. the life expectancy of one 77-year-old man (Dr. Adenauer). Should Adenauer (like the late Mayor Reuter) die while still in office, his party machinery would be inherited by a coalition in which the extreme nationalists can be expected to claim the controlling voice.

An unpublished report of a United States intelligence observer in Bonn to his superiors puts it this way:

"Although the German voters on September 6th have banished the extremist parties of the right and the left from the Bundestag, they now must prepare themselves to seeing the basic democratic constitutional principles endangered by the authoritarian forces which exert their influence inside Adenauer's party . . . There cannot be any doubt that the nationalist, revisionist and authoritarian tendencies at the policy-making level of the CDU-CSU will be strengthened by the very strong increase in votes received by the party from obviously rightist extremist circles . . ."

In other words, what happened in the German elections on September 6th is about the same as what has happened to "reform" parties in scores of American municipal elections where the "corrupt" machine has adopted the cynical philosophy that "the best way to lick 'em is to join 'em."

In June, Dr. Adenauer made a demonstrative visit to the prison in Werl where he shook hands with the worst war criminals who had been sentenced to death and were later commuted to life. He assured them that the Bonn government is doing everything to get the last few war criminals free.

In one of his election speeches, Dr. Adenauer told the German people, in typical nationalist fashion, that they have *"a God-given mission to save Christian civilization."*

In a mass meeting before the extreme nationalistic expellees (most of whom had once been Nazi 5th Columnists in countries adjoining Hitler's Reich) he told his audience that *"the day will not be far off when you will return to your old homelands."*

Dr. Adenauer and the political leaders of his CDU Party made an especially jingoistic appeal to the unreconstructed Nazis, to the Waffen SS, and to the ex-Nazi officers and Wehrmacht front fighters. In the 1949 election these elements had boycotted the regular political parties, because, being "licensed" by the occupation authorities, they were labelled as "foreign tools." Now these same elements were exhorted to give their support to Dr. Adenauer and his coalition parties because they had accomplished great successes in resurrecting Germany's strength and in *"restoring the honor of the German soldier."*

On August 7th one CDU member of the Bundestag, a Col. Hartmann, made a speech as the official representative of the Adenauer Party before a mass meeting of former members of Hitler's Waffen SS. According to a report in the newspaper of the Waffen SS, the WIKINGRUF (Call of the Viking), the speaker condemned the defamation of the Waffen SS, saying that they had been "as an organization, and in their conduct as soldiers, always honorable." The spokesman then stated:

"The CDU stands for giving equal status to the claims of the Waffen SS along with that accorded to other units of the regular German army. Dr. Adenauer's visit to the prison at Werl is intended to make it clear to the whole world that the last of the so-called war criminals must be set free immediately. The Chancellor has made this a prerequisite of his policy, which is aimed at wiping out the Nuremberg concept of collective guilt . . . The Bonn government has done its utmost to gain all advantages from the present situation and the soldiers of the Waffen SS should be appreciative of the fact that the Chancellor, in the formulation and execution of his European policies, is paying close attention to the record of common sacrifice (by the Waffen S. S.) in a great cause."

This nationalistic appeal of the Adenauer Party was well received by Hitler's Waffen SS veterans. The Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung (German Soldier's Gazette) of August 27th reported that one of the principal Waffen SS leaders, General Gille, recommended to all former elite guard members that they give their vote only to those political parties "who have worked constructively in the interest of Germany."

Observers of the German political scene have stated that it was on account of this nationalistic appeal that millions of former Nazis who had not voted in 1949, this time gave a vote of confidence to parties of the Adenauer coalition.

As a result of this strange campaign, we find a "pro-democratic" victory sending to the Bundestag such odd characters as the former Panzer General Hasso von Manteuffel, recently named as a figure in the notorious "Bruderschaft" conspiracy; the former Vice-Admiral Eduard Heye, of the Nazi navy; and Hans Stumpf, once General of the Nazi Luftwaffe.

So long as Adenauer lives, let us hope that he can perform the political miracle of riding wild horses in several directions at once, without catastrophe to general European policy. But let us not deceive ourselves with the thought that the recent election was anything like a bright victory for democracy. Quite to the contrary, it represents the completion of a very thorough infiltration of the "center" parties by ultra-nationalist and Pen-Germanic forces.

Germany's European neighbors seem well aware of the real meaning of these elections. From Switzerland, France, Holland and Belgium come evidence of the deepest alarm.

The Fascist International

I

A German Forerunner of the Fascist International

The Fascist International, so effectively launched by the old Nazis and brazenly revived by the new, is no Hitler patent. It was conceived as far back as seventy years ago, in September 1882, when, on German initiative, the first international antisemitic Congress met at Dresden to establish the International Anti-Jewish Committee, later called "Allgemeine Vereingung zur Bekämpfung des Judenthums (Alliance Antijuive Universelle)."

The plan was reaffirmed seven months later, in April 1883, at a second Congress, held at Chemnitz, which was attended by delegates from six European countries. Its proceedings were printed in the Congress' own journal, Schmeitzner's *Internationale Monatsschrift,* of which the Wiener Library recently acquired the second volume (1883, 766 pp). It is interesting to examine the early beginnings of a movement which grew, imperceptibly, on its antisemitism until at last it shattered the very foundations of the West.

The internationalists of Dresden and Chemnitz stressed two points which have remained fundamental—(a) that the Jewish Question is not a religious but a social problem, and (b) that this social problem must be solved on a world-wide scale.

When Dr. Otto Glagau opened the second Congress, he described the Jewish Question (p. 256) as "the very core of the Social Question which increases daily in danger and intensity and which may be said to have already undermined the whole of Europe." It was their duty, he explained, to bring home to society and Governments that there could be no solution of the Social Question until the Jewish Question had been "regulated." This was to be done by repealing the Jews' civil emancipation (p. 635) and enforcing their strictest segregation and boycott. One of the chief agents of the Congress movement, Herr Liebermann von Sonnenberg offers (p. 310) a "magic formula": "Isolate the Jew, isolate him socially and in business—by not buying from him, by not selling to him, by denying him all profits and refusing to read his newspapers. . . . Have no intercourse with Jews. Do not join associations which admit Jews. Found clubs which undertake to bar Jews," etc.

Antisemitism to Solve Social Question

This doctrine, being regarded as the heart of the Social Question, is addressed particularly to the lower orders, especially artisans and small traders, also farmers whose distress at the time is felt to offer bright prospects to antisemitic demagoguery (p. 763). . . .

But the doctrine is considered of little consequence unless it be spread beyond the frontiers of any one nation, because the Jews are "an international evil" which can be fought "from a narrow national point of view" no more than could the Colorado beetle (pp. 123, 445, 754). In fact, it is emphasized, this is the only genuine evil besetting nations and causing enmity between nations. "'Le juif, voilà l'ennemi,' this must remain the common international slogan!" (p. 509)....

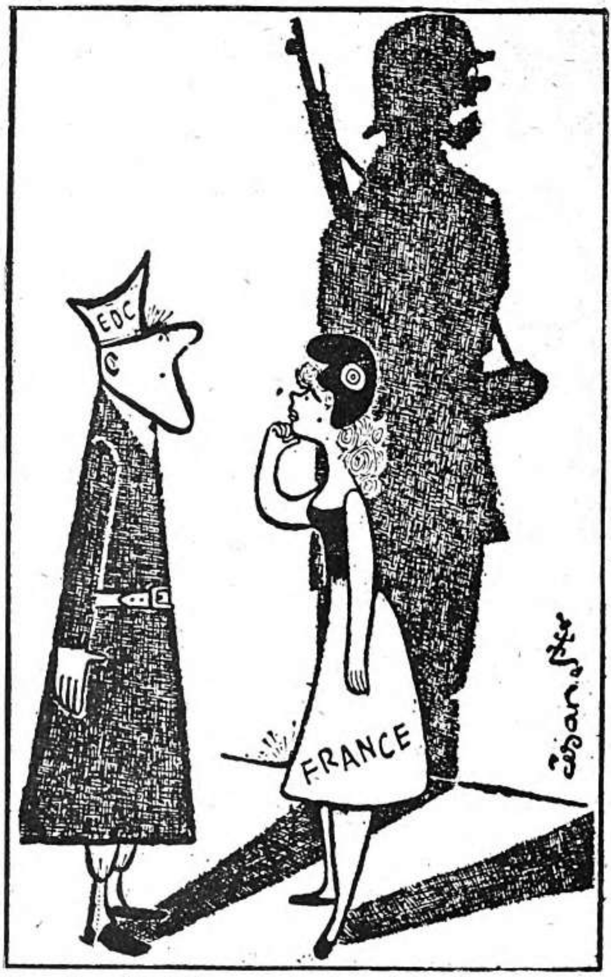
Britain was entirely outside the movement. The "antisemitic seed" was thought to have been sown there when Court Chaplain Stöcker visited London in November 1883 (p. 705), though the hope was somewhat uncertain.

Altogether the agitation failed to make the progress which its managers expected. At the end of 1883, the editor of Schmeitzner's, C. H. Ritter, resigned though promising to remain a contributor. The fear is felt that the leaders will give up the struggle, "disgusted at the indolence and stupidity of the masses" (p. 640). Fifty years later the indolence had ceased and the stupidity was sufficiently aroused to entrust all power to Hitler.

II

Patriots' Emigration

Under this title the Nazi "net of friendships and connections spread over the whole world" is described in an anony-



". . . Provided there isn't a shadow of a doubt."— A French view of EDC from the Paris weekly, Le Canard Enchaine.

mous article in the July 1953 issue of *Nation Europa,* organ of the Fascist International. It recalls that "immediately after the occupation of Germany many Germans escaped, often illegally and with false papers, making for the most part for South America and the countries of the Islamic East. . . . A large number fled because they believed that our people's struggle for its freedom could be more effectively conducted from outside, far from the irksome spying by the enemy and the new authorities. . . . Since 1952 another wave of patriots has been leaving Germany both legally and illegally, not only from the Soviet Zone. . . . Not a few leave in order to avoid serving 'sentences' imposed by a political judiciary."

How, *Nation Europa* asks, can the "patriots' emigration" advance the Nazi cause which is called "the cause of the Reich"? The Fascist journal finds that "today and as long as the Cold War continues, the only effective service can be rendered by building little bulwarks of unyielding loyalty to the Reich, by launching periodicals and publications that expose the injustice done to our people and carry their message into Germany. . . . Another duty is the denunciation of the injustice in the non-German press, the cultivation of close contacts with intellectual leaders of the new countries and cooperation with local papers. Particularly important is the establishment, hardly possible inside Germany, of cross connections between like-minded groups of other nationalities, e.g., with the strong Fascist group of the Italians outside Italy, with the Croat, Hungarian, patriotic Russian and Vichy-French émigrés. Today all leading members of the patriots' emigrations since 1945 know each other, either personally or through correspondence, and have close contacts with the leaders of Islam and Latin America. . . . A net of friendships and connections is spread över the whole world. . . . There are hardly any dissentients, except perhaps the Polish patriots because of their frontier quarrel with the Germans and the Russian patriots, and to some extent, the Serb supporters of a Yugoslav State, because of the irremediable dispute with the Croats."

Nation Europa's Finance

Some of the inside story of *Nation Europa* was told in the Naumann documents of which the Wiener Library recently published a summary ("The Naumann Plot: Evidence from the Impounded Documents"). Dr. Werner Naumann, the head of the conspiracy, had shown considerable interest in the journal, whose editor, Arthur Erhardt, received political instructions from him. He also secured the financial basis of that journal, in cooperation with a Fascist group in Paris whose members included Messrs. Maurice Bardeche, Guy Amaudruz, Jean Bauvard, Guy Lemonier and one Albertini, a banker.

Details of these transactions were revealed by one of the arrested (since released), Heinz Siepen, who said that towards the end of 1951 Naumann spoke to him about the financial straits of *Nation Europa*. . . .

How the money was secured is not clear from the documents. It will be remembered that last March Dr. Adenauer briefly referred to the "not inconsiderable" financial support the Naumann group had received from Fascist bodies in France, Belgium and Britain.

Progress in France and Holland

New French Fascist papers are mentioned in the May 1953 issue of *Défense de l'Occident,* the monthly journal published by Maurice Bardeche, the French philo-Nazi (see last Bulletin, p. 5) who cooperates with *Nation Europa,* Coburg. In March the organization "Citadelle" began to publish a monthly called *Fidélité* which, under the direction of Charles Luca, circulates mainly in the working class districts of Paris. Another organization, "Jeune Nation," is now issuing regularly its paper *Peuple de France.*

The progress made by some Fascist papers is recorded in the Paris *Rivarol,* 21-5-53. Its own circulation at the end of 1952 was 47,200 compared with 39,700 in October 1951. Its contemporary *Aspects de la France,* during the same twelve months, increased from 25,000 to 31,550 while *France Réelle* sold 14,300 copies.

The French traitor Marcel Deat who is believed to be living in Argentina, has published his diaries from 1940 to 1944 under the title "Combat contre l'Impossible."

In Bruxelles a journal entitled *La Quinzaine* was started by Ossian Matthieu, who frequently contributed to the notoriour weekly *Europe-Amérique* there.

A new Dutch Nazi Party was recently founded, according to a *Frankfurter Rundschau* report from Amsterdam, 23-7-53. Its name is "National European Socialist Movement" ("NESB"), and its chief, Paul van Trienen, a former Waffen-SS officer, who had previously launched an organization called "Werkgemeenschap Europa in Holland." He and two of his Gauleiters, A. N. Kruit and J. Wolthuis, were arrested as there was reason to believe that the "NESB" was a revival of the "NSB," the philo-Nazi organization led by the traitor Mussert. The "NESB" deputy Gauleiter for Amsterdam, M. W. Bredero, protested against the "illegal arrests" and asked for assistance from sister organizations in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Flanders, according to Het Parool, Amsterdam, 24-8-53.

Apathy of Italian Anti-Fascists

In the recent Italian General Election, several former leading Fascists were returned, chief amongst them Signor de Marsanich, who once held office under Mussolini and is now secretary of the M. S. I. Party. The *Times* Rome correspondent, 26-6-53, writes: "It was the apathy shown by the last Parliament in failing to approve a Bill prolonging the constitutional ban on Fascist participation in public offices that enabled these members of the defunct regime to return to public life."

One of the German branches of the Fascist international, which calls itself "German Social Movement within the European Social Movement," has begun to publish a series *Die Europäische Nationale,* edited by Karl Heinz Priester, chairman of the G. S. M. The first issue is entitled "Germany—East-West Colony, or Equal Partner in a Free Europe?" The claim is made that Europe can be saved from Bolshevism only by those who once fought in Russia, not by those who "once made common cause with Stalin and of their own free will handed large tracts of our Continent to the Soviet Union." It is also argued that Europe required as its Lebensraum the East and Africa. An appendix gives a detailed account of the German Social Movement's organization and activity.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The Wiener Library Bulletin, London)

Eyebrow-Lifting Department

STRANGE DIPLOMACY

From the N. Y. Times 11-19-53:

"The feeling here that the French are under United States and British pressure as they seek to formulate their European policy was illustrated by reports of today's cabinet meeting.

"According to a story told on apparently good authority, President Vincent Auriol complained that he had first learned from newspapers that Sir Winston Churchill had proposed the meeting of the heads of the United States, British and French Governments in Bermuda, Dec. 4.

"M. Auriol was reported to have remarked that Dr. Konrad Adenauer, West German Chancellor, who was not invited was nevertheless officially told of the proposed meeting before the President of the French Republic. . . ."

★

QUID PRO QUO

From a Dispatch to the N. Y. Times 10-11-53:

"Proposals for further liberalization of trade with the Western world and restoration of Germany's 'traditional trade relations with countries beyond the Iron Curtain' have been presented to the Bonn Government.

"The West German business community, which strongly supported the Government in the September general election, made these proposals and many others. . . ."

"Among the recommendations was the following:

"The anti-cartel regulations of the Allied occupying powers should be replaced 'as soon as possible' by a German law that would not prohibit cartels but only prevent their 'misuse.'. . . ."

★

BUYERS' MARKET

From a Report by S. Freidin and W. Richardson to the N. Y. Post 10-11-53:

"Bonn: The other day a war decorations committee voted to forbid wearing military decorations encrusted with the swastika. That hasn't ended the case. Veterans' committees, outside of government channels, have attacked the whole idea. Besides, dealers reproducing decorations say that the only way their customers want them is with the original swastika. . . ."

★

GERMANY AND THE ATOM

(From a Report by Robert S. Allen 9-4-53.)

"Western Germany is all set to spring, almost fully equipped, into the fateful field of atomic energy.

"The Germans have a stockpile of more than 15 tons of uranium, a large staff of gifted scientists and skilled technicians, and considerable laboratory and other essential equipment—all quietly assembled in the last three years. . . ."

HEIL HITLER!

From Mark Alexander in The New Leader 11-2-53:

". . . A most revealing sidelight to all this was a survey made by Egypt's Life-type magazine, Al Mussawar. The magazine asked prominent politicians throughout the Arab world: 'How would you appraise Hitler's activities, eight years after his death? If he should now appear again, what advice would you give him?'

"Anvar el Sadat, head of the Egyptian Air Force and Number 3 man in the ruling junta, answered:

" 'Dear Hitler, I welcome you back with all my heart. You have been defeated, but in fact one should regard you as the real victor: There will be no peace in the world until Germany again takes first place. Your main mistake was in opening too many fronts, but everything has been forgiven, for you are a shining example of belief in one's fatherland and people. You are eternal, and we shall not be surprised if we see you again, or a second Hitler, back in Germany.'

"Dr. Taraf el Din, Egyptian Health Minister said:

" 'You will remain a shining example to the German people. Your great life has been worthy of a great end. The best people will always remember the grandeur of your splendid life, and they will mourn the fact that you have been defeated by the forces of evil. All the lies and calumnies voiced by your despicable enemies cannot lessen your great name.'

"These replies were more or less typical, and they are in deadly earnest. They reflect the prevailing muddleheadedness (to put it mildly) of the Egyptian leaders, who have learned nothing, forgotten little since 1940. It should be noted, moreover, that Hitler's anti-Jewish policy is nt a special attraction for the Egyptian leaders: none of them even mentioned it. Fascism as a whole seems to have an irresistible attraction for the Arab chiefs."

★

FRIENDLY ENEMIES

From an AP Dispatch 11-1-53:

"Former German Field Marshal Friedrich Paulus, the loser at Stalingrad more than ten years ago, was quoted today as saying in a formal statement before being repatriated to East Germany: 'I came to the Soviet Union as an enemy, but leave as a friend.'. . ."

★

GERMAN JUSTICE

From the JTA, 11-24-53:

"A German court at Giessen has acquitted a former S.S. Lieutenant, Cuno Guettler, of murder in the shooting of 87 inmates, many of them Jews, against the orders of his superiors. His defense was that he committed the murders while drunk. The court ruled that since the German statute of limitations on drunkenness runs out after five years and the crimes were committed in 1945 the murderer could go free."

INVESTORS' "PARADISE"

From the Manchester Guardian Weekly 9-10-53:

". . . It is argued that Germany is emerging now as one of the safest European investment propositions and if there is anything that might perhaps save Western Europe from a German economic and financial hegemony (even if the military aspect is settled) it is some kind of European arrangement.

"It is an open secret that at least 10 per cent of all French capital is in safe deposits and numbered accounts in Switzerland, and that the Swiss bankers' chief worry is where to invest this capital with a reasonable amount of security. It would indeed be tragicomic if this capital helped to revive German economic might while French parliamentarians dithered about the nature of legal guarantees that would be needed in order to safeguard France's interests. . . ."

* * *

THE SPIRIT OF MUNICH

From a Reuters Dispatch 11-6-53:

"Theodor Oberländer, Minister for Refugees in the Adenaure cabinet, has called for a solution of the Sudenten-German question 'in the spirit of the Munich Pact' of 1938. . . .

"In a declaration in the official Government Bulletin published Nov. 6, Herr Oberländer urged a 'strengthening' of German areas bordering on Czechoslovakia 'for a solution of the Sudeten-German question in the spirit of the Munich Pact and for an all-European solution.' . . ."

* * *

A GERMAN MEMORIAL

From a JTA Dispatch 7-7-53:

"Protests were made to the Baden-Wuerttemberg Minister of the Interior against the recent dedication at Castle Staufeneck of a memorial stone for the dead of the Military SS. It pointed out that this memorial constitutes 'a provocation for democratic-minded Germans, for victims of Nazism and everyone abroad.'

"A Social Democratic meeting in Stuttgart also adopted a resolution voicing indignation at the 'provocatory attitude" at Castle Staufeneck of former SS officers, 'these unregenerate gravediggers of Germany.'"

* * *

PRACTICING AGAIN

From the JTA, 11-19-53:

"The Hesse Bar Association has readmitted to legal practice Dr. Friedrich Krebs, Nazy Mayor of Frankfurt, during whose administration 35,000 Jews were hounded out of the city. The bar's decision overruled an earlier action refusing Krebs permission to practice."

* * *

THE CHANCELLOR IS CONSULTED

From a UP Report 9-16-53:

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was consulted before the United States announced it would ship atomic artillery to West Germany. Chancellor Adenauer told his parliamentary faction in Bonn today that Roger M. Kyes, United States Defense Secretary, had given advance notice to Theodor Blank, defense minister."

NO COMMENT

From the JTA, 8-11-53:

"The Wiesbaden Court of Assizes yesterday sentenced Dr. Gerhard Peters, a German chemist, to six years' imprisonment following his sixth conviction on charges of supplying a deadly cyanide gas to Nazi concentration camps for the annihilation of 450,000 Jews and other inmates.

"The prosecution had demanded a 16-year sentence. The court allowed half of the six-year sentence to be deducted for time spent in pre-trial custody. The prosecution of Peters began with one of the earliest war crimes trials in 1945 and has been appealed to various courts including the German Supreme Court and the case has always been ordered re-tried because of the leniency of the sentence, which in the past varied between four and one-half years and five years.

"During his trial, Peters admitted being told by an S.S. officer that "Zyklon B" gas, produced by his "German Corporation for Vermin Extermination," was used to exterminate Jews. Yet, he continued to supply huge quantities of the product to the Auschwitz gas chambers. The corporation, an affiliate of the international I. G. Farben cartel, continues to do business in Frankfurt to this day.

"Throughout his various trials, Peters showed that he was an unreconstructed Nazi. Nevertheless, many prominent Germans have signed clemency petitions in his behalf and he was released from prison several years ago after the intervention of Minister-President Zinn, a prominent Social Democrat. Many observers doubt that Peters will ever serve his sentence."

* * *

NAZIS AT WORK

From a Report to the N. Y. Times 8-22-53:

"In four raids in Amsterdam and one in the town of Groningen, the Dutch police struck today at centers of Nazi activity and arrested three leaders of an association composed largely of wartime collaborators. . . ."

* * *

THE ELECTION RETURNS

From a Dispatch to the Christian Science Monitor 10-28-53:

"More charges of ex-Nazis infiltrating the West German Government appeared certain as Chancellor Konrad Adenauer announced the appointment of Hans Globke as head of his chancellory. Globke has been under fire from the Social Democratic Opposition because he wrote a legal commentary to the notorious Nazi 'Nuremberg racial laws,' which discriminated against Jews and other 'non-Aryans.'"

* * *

HIGH HOPES

From a Report to the Christian Science Monitor 9-26-53:

"West Germany hopes to conclude soon a $250,000,000 loan with United States banks to finance reconstruction of war-devastated cities. The money would be used for building houses for millions of refugees and other homeless Germans."

A VETERANS' RALLY

From M. S. Handler to the N. Y. Times 7-23-53:

". . . In Hanover, 15,000 war veterans, including a great number of veterans of the Waffen S. S. (the military branch of the Elite Guards), congregated for a joint rally. Bands played the martial tunes of the old Wehrmacht.

"Herman Ehlers, President of the Bundestag and one of the leaders of Chancellor Adenauer's party, and Franz Bluecher, Vice Chancellor and leader of the Free Democratic Party, shared the platform with a number of former generals and admirals, including Herbert Gille, former general of the Waffen S. S.

"Herr Ehlers and Dr. Bluecher heard Herr Gille extol the virtues of the Waffen S. S. and reiterate a new doctrine that the concept of European integration and unity had been born in the Waffen S. S. Herr Gille's assertion was a variation of a story circulating in Germany that the first European army was the so-called international force of Quisling units that Hitler sent into the Soviet Union—Italians, Rumanians, Spaniards, and so forth.

"Herr Gille's claim of Waffen S. S. authorship for the European integration policy and the presence of government leaders at the Hanover rally brought no reaction from the Allied High Commission, which let the incident pass. . . ."

"German shipbuilders nose the U. S. out of second place among the world's shipbuilding nations. Lloyds Shipping Register shows that at the end of September West Germany had under construction a record 651,527 gross tons of shipping. That compares with 2,190,329 tons abuilding in Britain and a total of 564,822 tons for the United States. Low prices and fast delivery have brought orders by the dozens to shipyards of the former enemy nation. Two years ago the German ranked eighth in shipbuilding tonnage."

(Wall Street Journal, 10-26-53)

"Another bit of evidence that Europe is not as happy about the rearmament of Western Germany as is sometimes presumed on this side of the Atlantic comes out of Bern, Switzerland.

"The Swiss Federal Council, the country's cabinet, has refused to license a $560,000 order for small caliber anti-aircraft guns, shells and accessories placed with a Swiss firm by the German Federal Republic's frontier defense authorities.

"Always ready to turn a new franc, the Swiss reject business only when they are convinced that their neutral status might be endangered. In this case, knowing the temper of Western Europe outside of Germany better than some American politicians, they intend to forego the profit rather than incur the least trace of animosity. There could be no clearer indication that western Europe is not overjoyed at the prospect of German rearmament."

(Editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, 9-19-53)

Monster or Crusader?

In 1946 West Germany poured 2,500,000 tons of steel. In 1949 she poured 9,000,000 tons and equalled French production. In 1951 she turned out 13,500,000 tons, and this year she has been pouring at the rate of 14,500,000 tons, some months surpassing the British. Next year she expects to come close to 18,000,000 tons, and take over as the largest steel producer in Western Europe by a clear margin.

This is the Frankenstein monster which faces the allies. We have created a nation which we cannot yet completely trust and which is out of our control.

That lack of control was demonstrated this week in two different ways. The more apparently dangerous was the return from Communist captivity of Paulus, former German Field Marshal, who spoke out for friendship with Soviet Russia in terms which will fall on some friendly ears.

He implied that Germany, to achieve her dreams, must make peace with the other great land power on the continent—Russia. This has long been a popular thesis of some German political and military leaders.

The other incident was Chancellor Adenauer's sweep of Hamburg, which gives him a clear majority in the government, a bloc large enough to put through any constitutional changes which may be needed for rearmament—or other purposes. Since we have backed Adenauer, we cheer. But we have sober doubts too.

It is only a few years ago that Germany came close to conquering the world—the most successful attempt made by brute force in the history of man.

There is every indication that Germany is united behind Adenauer because he has been able to deal with the allies with astounding success and because he—like all Germans—is dedicated to the return of a strong, unified Germany.

Germany is out of our control now. She says she is dedicated to the cause of the Free World. We hope so, for Germany is already a powerful weapon. But we are not yet sure which way she is pointed. And our lingering doubts are French nightmares.

(An Editorial—*Boston Herald*)

AN AMERICAN STATESMAN

"I have had an hour's talk with one of them, who has the ear of the President and Secretary of State. He spoke of a recent tour he had made in Western Germany. He was 'alarmed' by the speed of Germany's return to power, and by the danger that neither German nor Continental democracy would prove strong enough—without the U. S. and Britain—to assure that this giant would continue long harnessed to freedom. The rapidly ascending aviation speed records impressed him, too, as proof that the U. S. needed to raise its sights from the European to the Atlantic level if it is to build for the future. May Washington listen to this far-sighted adviser! Then certainly Napoleon will stay safely buried under his golden dome."

(Clarence Streit in Freedom & Union, 11-53)

Inside Germany

RECONCENTRATION

"... The tendency in the Federal Republic will undoubtedly be towards the re-creation of the old industrial conditions and the reversal of all Allied legislation. This has been fairly clearly shown in the cases of the "Gross-Banken" — the three big banks which virtually control the German financial world. These three—the Deutsche, Dresdner, and Commerz—were split into nine regional banks and the 'trust busters' were thoroughly satisfied.

"Recently the three successor units of the Deutsche Bank issued their separate annual reports. Save for the purely financial statements the reports of the three—the Hamburg, Dusseldorf, and Franfurt branches —were absolutely identical. A common policy had, in fact, been worked out and "reconcentration" could, if it were so decided, be carried out tomorrow."

(The Manchester Guardian Weekly, 11-26-53)

SANCTUARY ON THE NILE

"... a German engineer from Wupperthal, Arnold Schleicher, confirmed the presence of other important Nazi Party leaders in the Middle East. Herr Schleicher, in recent years, worked in Egypt as agent for a West German firm engaged in the construction of a dam on the Nile River. During this period he came in touch with the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, in whose company he encountered a considerable number of formerly prominent members of the party, all of whom had been sought by the Allies as war criminals, and who admitted holding Egyptian nationality."

(From the Christian Science Monitor, 11-30-53.)

VETOED

"The French on the Allied Military Security Board for Germany have vetoed nearly $500,000,000 worth of military orders which the United States wanted to place with West German factories. . . .

"The American Government planned to place the orders, through the Mutual Security Administration and military off-shore procurement programs, to get West Germany's defense production under way for the time it joins the European army.

"The French, however, have insisted on their full veto power over German military production until a peace treaty is ratified . . ."

(Art Noyes in N. Y. Daily News 8-5-53.)

NEW ARRIVALS IN GERMANY

"Eleven former German generals released as prisoners or war by the Soviet Union arrived in Germany today asserting that seventy-one more former generals would be free shortly.

"The former generals estimated the Soviet Union was still holding up to 140 former German generals and staff officers. . . ." (N. Y. Times 10-4-53.)

A POINT OF VIEW

"Friedrich Paulus, former field marshal general in command of German troops at Stalingrad, appeared today to be about to enter East German politics. . . .

"In his statement he (General Paulus) said that from his experiences in two world wars he had learned that the German people could not fulfill their destiny through the 'concept of power,' but only through lasting friendship with the Soviet Union and the other 'peace-loving peoples.'

"He thus echoed the old school of thought in the German General Staff that Germany must found its policy on alliance with the other great land power on the European Continent. It is a point of view that lingers in some German military minds. . . ."

(From N. Y. Times 11-1-53.)

DRIVE TO THE WEST

"The Penhoet shipyard at St. Nazaire, France, has placed an order for several thousand tons of heavy ships' plates with a West German rolling mill, the first such order to be given by France since the opening of the joint coal and steel market. It was learned . . . that the German company will ship the steel by waterway, and therefore was able to offer a c.i.f. price more than 10 per cent below that of the French and Saar competitors. French companies are now said to be debating how they can meet this German competition in their coastal areas."

(Journal of Commerce 11-16-53.)

FOR SERVICES RENDERED

"West Germany's heavy industries, which financed the successful general election campaign for Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union and its coalition allies, made known the economic policies they expected the next Adenauer Government to adopt and implement. . . ."

(N. Y. Times 9-12-53.)

A NEW PEAK

"The motor vehicle industry of Western Germany, according to the German Federal Republic 'Bulletin,' reached a production peak last June, when 46,425 vehicles were produced, of which 36,497 were passenger cars. This brought the total for the half year to 222,804 units.

"The June figure surpassed by 4,500 the previous monthly record, set in October, last year.

"Auto production, which has been steadily increasing since the end of the war, is now expected to level off, the 'Bulletin' stated. . . ."

"Of the total 1952 production, 428,393 vehicles, it was reported, almost one-third was exported."

(An ONA dispatch 9-16-53.)

THE GREAT EUROPEANS!

"German industrialists have launched a concerted campaign to block a cherished French project for construction of a Moselle River Canal to give the French steel industry in Lorraine a cheap water link to the Atlantic Ocean....

"The French assert they would be able to save up to 50 or 60 per cent on transportation costs of steel exports, circumventing the costly railway charges over the present routes to the port of Dunkerque, France, and Antwerp, Belgium. Likewise, they say they would make an immense saving in hauling large amounts of Ruhr coal to Lorraine....

"The French point out that the canal would be of direct benefit to the Germans by increasing their hydro-electric power establishment and by building up industry in the Moselle Valley....

"Since the French consortium began to push the plan harder this fall, German industrial circles have begun major attacks on it in the press. This week they presented their objections to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer."

(Gaston Coblentz in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-20-53.)

* * *

"A dispute over freedom of international shipping on the River Rhine is threatening to cause bad feeling between Holland and West Germany....

"One of the latest Dutch moves has been officially to accuse West Germany of adopting a 'national' attitude rather than an 'international' one, and of violating a long-standing European treaty.

"The trouble arises from a refusal by the West Germans to permit Dutch and other foreign barges to take on cargoes at German Rhine towns and discharge them at other German towns....

"At the last meeting at Strasbourg of the Central Rhine Commission, a body set up in the last century to administer the Mannheim Acts, the Dutch received the support of the other Rhine states...."

(Gaston Coblentz in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-23-53.)

"WE'LL DO BETTER NEXT TIME"

"Eleven of Hitler's former generals and admirals say he was the big reason Germany lost World War II.

"A 472-page German book by some of the Third Reich's top military and civilian experts, published Dec. 2, gives the Fuhrer's military talents a rough going over. Here are some of the collective views in the book, entitled, "Balance of World War II."

"Hitler started with an under-strength Air Force, a Navy, even worse prepared, and 90 per cent of Germany's business tied up in peacetime production.

"He toyed with an impossible plan for invading England, but let slip an easy chance to seize Africa and the Middle East.

"He outblundered Napoleon by his campaign in the Soviet Union.

"Although German invention perfected jet fighters ahead of the Allies, Hitler passed them up, although they might have wrecked Allied air power...."

(From an A.P. dispatch, 12-3-53)

RE-EDUCATION

"'Until the German people overcome their intense will to forget the Hitlerian outrages for which they are responsible,' Germany has no right to full equality with other civilized nations, Dr. Norman Salit said.

"Dr. Salit, president of the Synagogue Council of America, returned after a month-long study of Western Germany. . . .

"Salit said, 'I am convinced that the leaders of Germany today recognized that Germany bears great guilt in the matter of the Hitler crimes. . . .

"'The people, however, as distinguished from the leaders, show an intense will to forget. They apparently show no contrition over what tragedy they wrought during the past decade. By and large they do not want to be reminded of Nazi atrocities which they seek to minimize.

"'They appear to be untroubled by the frightful horrors of the concentration camps, seeming to feel that only Jews were involved and to them Jews are not important.'. . .

"Salit said there is no overt anti-Semitism in Germany today, but that German employers will not hire Jews. . . .

"The first national Jewish leader to visit Germany on a government invitation since the rise of Hitler 20 years ago, Salit said he was 'disappointed with the piecemeal way in which West Germany is re-educating its people.'"

(N. Y. Post 11-17-53.)

* * *

A JOLLY EVENING

"Students of Germany, particularly of the Nazi era, must have read with some surprise a Reuter report, printed in the London Times, 8-6-53, of an address delivered by Colonel Geoffrey Fawns, British Resident Officer in Brunswick, to a gathering of former Waffen-SS who (it was stated) gave him warm applause. Colonel Fawns was said to have explained why Britain must keep out of a European political federation, the European army, and similar projects. This was understood to have been the first time that a British official had made a speech to former members of the Waffen-SS...

"...Colonel Fawns' address went unreported in the general German press. Only the 'Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung' made an effort to save it from oblivion. It stated, June 25, 1953, that the Colonel had been asked at the meeting why the Waffen-SS was still regarded as second class humans, and the gallant gentleman had replied: 'I am glad to spend such a jolly evening with second class humans...'

"Colonel Fawns stated further: '...If competent quarters hold the opinion that former members of the Waffen-SS are not eligible for the future European army, then it is up to the Federal Government to change that opinion. Britain would put no obstacles in their way.'"

(From the Wiener Library Bulletin, London, 8-53.)

SALES PROMOTION

"The Communist Hamburger Volkszeitung has claimed that 25 West German industrial concerns in Lower Saxony have formed an association to promote trade with the Soviet zone.

"It said Nov. 12 the association would send representatives to East Berlin shortly to negotiate with Soviet-zone economic officials. Volkszeitung said that the West German companies were of 'small and medium size,' producing machines, electro-technical equipment, optics, boats, and textiles.

(From an AP Dispatch 11-12-53.)

CONSULTANT

"A former leader and district governor of the Nazi Party, Albert Forster, is today known to be playing an important role as consultant to the Soviet and East German Communist authorities. Herr Forster, it will be recalled, was the man who became known in the late 1930s as Hitler's chief rabble rouser in Danzig. . . .

"According to some circles it is not unlikely that Herr Forster will in the near future make a political comeback similar to that of Field Marshal von Paulus who has assumed the supreme command over the East German armed forces . . ."

(From the Christian Science Monitor, 11-30-53.)

LIKE OLD TIMES

"The General Motors Corporation announced yesterday that it had signed an agreement with Henschel & Sohn G.m.b.H. of Kassel, Germany, for the manufacture of Diesel locomotives. The agreement provides for collaboration in the design, manufacture and marketing of Diesel locomotives of standard types. The locomotives will be built in Henschel & Sohn's Kassel plant. . . ." (N. Y. Times 10-27-53.)

THIRTEEN HOURS WORK A DAY

" 'It is hard to believe that after losing two wars we should be living so well today.'

"The living room in Hans Sauer's home is new, cheerful and shiny clean. The furniture gleams with high polish. Through the window, he can see his garden, blazing with purple and yellow flowers. He said again, 'it is hard to believe.'

"Hans Sauer is a German bricklayer. He is short and hard-muscled. He is 52, and his working day, he says, averages about 13 hours, although he is paid for only the usual eight. . . .

"Yet, today, he says, 'we are living better than we were before the war.' " (AP Dispatch 10-12-53.)

THE TWO DANGERS

"Up to the present the British Governments, both Laborite and Conservative, have been guided in their thinking on Germany by United States policy. . . .

" 'I think we are about at the point at which we must keep the Russian danger in mind without losing sight of the fact that there has been a German danger in the past and may well be one again,' one veteran diplomat observer said."

(Drew Middleton in the N. Y. Times 9-18-53.)

A SYMPOSIUM

"In June, the Protestant Bishop of Lower Saxony, Dr. Hanns Lilje, invited a number of Germans to a four days' symposium on 'Hitler,' to be held in the new Protestant Academy at Loccum near Hanover. The 120 writers and journalists who accepted the invitation included active members of the anti-Hitler resistance, quiet opponents, refugees and Nazi fellow-travellers.

"Dr. Lilje was complimented on his 'courage and bold initiative in making such a risky problem the theme of his conference.' Why risky? one might ask, feeling somewhat uneasy. Is it still, or again, risky to speak the truth about Hitler in Germany? One report gave a glimpse of the post-war German mind by stating the bishop's reasons; he had 'felt alarmed at the anti-democratic resentments growing among the Germans,' which, it was said, were also noticeable in the discussions, when adopting the stratagem successfully used by Hitler's propagandists both inside and, even more, outside Germany, several speakers sought to gloss over the barbarism of Nazidom by stressing its 'social achievements.'

"The meeting dealt with three problems: 'How was it possible for Hitlerism to conquer our nation? Why was any resistance against it unsuccessful? What lessons can we draw from our experience?'

"One of the main speakers was Walter Goerlitz, joint author of a recent Hitler biography tainted by much of that German nationalism which led straight into Nazism . . .

"Professor Gerhard Ritter, editor of 'Hitler's Table Talk,' thought the Nazi success was assured by 'the Germans' impatient longing for national unity, and for overcoming the class war,' also by the burden of reparations . . .

"One Gerhard Günther saw in Hitler 'the liquidator of the 19th Century'; he asserted that 'man wants not to be free but to live in order'—a very German distinction indeed.

"Hans Zehrer, notorious already in the late 1920s when he worked for the nationalist journal Die Tat told the gathering that 'Hitler acquired power by rights because he alone felt a historic mission in which he fanatically believed . . .'

". . . a view very much like Zehrer's was put forward by a theologian, Professor Hentrich, who asserted that 'Hitler was an instrument of God sent for a purpose which we are unable to grasp and understand . . ."

(From the Wiener Library Bulletin, London, 8-53.)

WHAT'S IN A NAME

"The Ludendorff Publishing House (Munich) which puts out some of the most incendiary anti-Semitic propaganda issued in Germany today, has changed its name to the 'Mondial Publishing House.' Observers believe that the shift in nomenclature is due to an effort to forestall measures which the Bavarian Government may have been preparing so as to curb the Jew-baiting excesses of the neo-pagan Ludendorff movement." (JTA Dispatch 7-26-53.)

From The French Press

What Should Be Known About the So-Called European Army

By BERNARD LAVERGNE

(Professor, at the Faculté de Droit de Paris)

The treaty has not yet been ratified by the various States, and Germany is already preparing to break it in a most dangerous manner. I have just learned from a reliable source that everything is ready: cadres, men and material, to form in about three months' time, homogenous Army Corps (and not Divisions) in contempt of the treaty. The United States is in agreement with Germany to violate the proposed treaty. The secret accords of the treaty (any well-informed person knows that they exist, and I myself know two high personalities who have had them in hand) provide that after three years Germany will have not TWELVE, but TWENTY-FOUR Divisions. . . .

If Germany Withdraws

One should know not only what the European Army will do if Russia attacks, but also what the United States and Great Britain will do IF GERMANY ONE DAY SECEDES AND WITHDRAWS HER TROOPS FROM THE EUROPEAN ARMY, OR IF GERMANY SHOULD LAUNCH AN AGGRESSION AGAINST RUSSIA. London and Washington have refused to comment on these crucial points, which compels one to say that while the structure of the European Army is set up, it is not clear by what principles of action it will be guided. . . .

The United States and Europe must rearm moderately. But it is necessary to envisage also the eventuality that a strongly rearmed Germany in five or ten years hence . . . may attack Russia. What will we do in that case? To my knowledge, this problem has never been envisaged by our Government. If, to govern, is to provide against any possible eventuality, we must say that at least on this point our leaders don't govern at all.

Article 2 confirms the "exclusively defensive" character of the European Community and states that any armed aggression directed against any of the members in Europe will be considered an aggression directed against all the members.

Unfortunately, this assertion THAT THE PLAN IN QUESTION WILL HAVE ONLY DEFENSIVE CHARACTER, IS ONLY ACADEMIC; the participation of Germany changes its aspect completely.

Two years have gone by now since Chancellor Adenauer . . . admitted the following: "THE RETURN OF THE LOST PROVINCES BEYOND THE ODER-NEISSE LINE IS THE PRINCIPAL REASON GUIDING THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO FAVOR THE INTEGRATION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN AND ATLANTIC POWERS PACT. The integration of a sovereign Germany in the Western Defense system with permissible military participation is the only sure and rapid means to recover our lost provinces." That is clear! One must be blind not to see that the intended Defense Community, wherein Germany would exercise hegemony, could only be an organization of diplomatic blackmail or of military aggression against the USSR. It is obvious that the Germans adhere to it only with this objective in mind! . . .

(Condensed, La Tribune des Nations, 11-6-53)

The Chancellor's Successors

"The recent meeting held in the auditorium of the *New York Times*, at which Mr. James Warburg, the eminent American banker who is of German origin, was the principal speaker, has created somewhat of a sensation and brought about, even in Germany itself, an undeniable feeling of uneasiness. Although recognizing the integrity of Dr. Adenauer, Mr. Warburg clearly warned against the successors of the present Chancellor of whom he says that they constitute no guarantee that Germany would not involve the Allies in a war with Russia to reconquer the East-German territories or —and this might be more likely according to the speaker— that she would attempt to arrive at the same result by betraying the Western Powers and making common cause with the Soviet Union."

(Journal de Geneve, Switzerland, 11-6-53)

Will a New German-Soviet Pact Be Consummated?

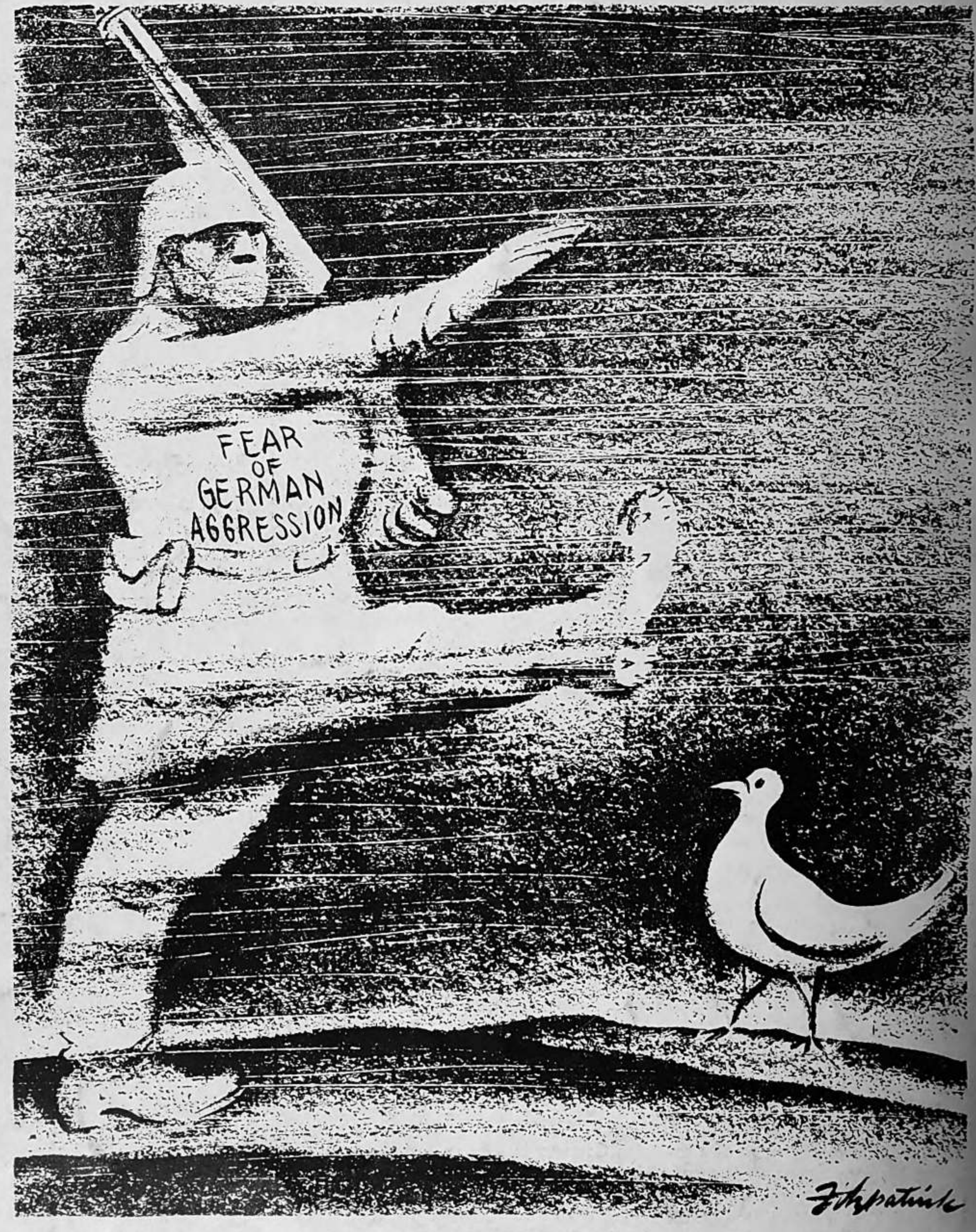
If the facts in question were not referring to extremely grave events, one could write that the exchange of diplomatic notes between the East and West is a perfect burlesque number. Never before in history have the Chancelleries kept up such a dialogue of deaf men. Since the famous conference at th Palais Rose, Moscow is repeating that the U. S. S. R. will discuss the matter of co-existence only at the time when the project of German Rearmament will have been abandoned. On their side, the Western Powers assert that they made the decision already to examine the possibilities of co-existence after the Rearmament of Germany. As we have stated on several occasions the Allies, in consulting Chancellor ADENAUER each time they send a letter to Moscow, and in authorizing him to modify its contents, are in effect convincing the Kremlin that the Chief of the Bonn Government is in reality "the Strong Man" of the West, and that it becomes evident and expedient that one should negotiate with this arbiter of the rival East-West Powers.

Since all of the diplomatic play in Washington, Paris and London consists in "pleasing ADENAUER," Moscow can easily triumph in this field, since the U. S. S. R. holds the treasure which ADENAUER covets, and that it is possible to give him in exchange for a reversal in alliances.

It is high time that this aspect of the German question be brought into the open, as it identifies itself unpleasantly with the diplomatic maneuvers of Hitler in the years 1937-1938, and which resulted in the German-Soviet Pact, after the "Entente Cordiale" had accepted the ANSCHLUSS, the Sudetenland Affair, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the annexation of MEMEL.

It is true, ADENAUER has not yet come to the question of annexation of territory, but he has diplomatically monopolized the victory of the Allies, since there remains nothing of the Defeat of Germany in 1945.

(Informations et Conjoncture, Paris, 10-22-53)


FEAR OF GERMAN AGGRESSION
Fitzpatrick

IF THAT GHOST WOULD DISAPPEAR—

(Courtesy, St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

No. 44
SUMMER ISSUE
1954

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
ociety for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985
No. 44 Summer Issue, 1954

German Realities—1954

U. S. policy makers contend that a powerful remilitarized Germany would be a reliable and indispensible bulwark against the aggressive forces of Communism led by Soviet Russia. It was with this in mind that the Society submitted to members of Congress, during the spring of 1953, its analysis of the German problem in relationship to Western Europe and Soviet Russia. In the introduction to our analysis it was stated:

". . . However great Germany's economic and military potential may be, it does not follow that Germany's real interests are commensurate with ours or those of our Western allies. A country no matter how strong, cannot be a trustworthy and effective ally if its interests are basically opposed to the other members of the proposed alliance. The effective and enduring strength of any coalition must ultimately rest on a common heritage and a harmony of interests shared by the major participants. Allies must be reckoned in terms of reasonably certain performance—not in terms of wishful thinking.

"A realistic assessment of the qualities of the proposed major ally—in this case Germany—is essential in determining whether Germany will serve the Western alliance or disintegrate the cohesiveness of the West . . ."

The memorandum submitted below provides additional evidence in support of our original appraisal.

I.
GERMAN-SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In our analysis we cited facts to show that Germany's "natural economic ties are with Russia and the East." It was further stated that the rapid rebuilding of Germany's industrial potential increased the pressure for the resumption of these economic ties. Additional information has now come to light lending further support to this view:

(a) The Christian Science Monitor (4-17-54) carried a report revealing that three months after the Contractual Agreement with Bonn had been drawn up, a secret conference was held in Copenhagen in August 1952 between authoritative representatives of German business and delegates representing Soviety Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan. *"The conference was called at West German initiative with the knowledge of the West German Government, presumably Chancellor Adenauer himself."* This sensational disclosure was made by Foreign Minister Molotov during the Berlin Conference. As far as we know, Molotov's revelation did not appear in the American press until it was reported in the Christian Science Monitor. According to the C. S. M. correspondent *"talks between Moscow and Bonn, or rather Düsseldorf, the economic center of the Ruhr, have been going on for about three years."*

In this connection the United Press (10-14-53) reported that West German businessmen had closed their first postwar foreign trade deal with Russia "with the blessings of the West German government at Bonn." The U. P. reported, *"West German financial experts insist if the cold war were ended, West German trade with the Soviet bloc would jump up a billion dollars in 12 months."*

(b) In an interview with the magazine World (May 1954) West Germany's leading industrialist and convicted war criminal Alfred Krupp said:

"In the long run West Germany cannot continue her economic advancement without being reunited with East Germany, because both parts of Germany must be considered an organic whole. An expansion of trade volume (with East Germany and Soviet-bloc countries) would without doubt contribute considerably to a solution of West Germany's export problems."

(c) Hitler's financial adviser and accused war criminal

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Hjalmar Schacht, now a private banker in Düsseldorf, told Fortune Magazine (April 1954): "Germany's future? Trade with the East. Wonderful market, Russia . . ."

(d) There is a close similarity between the views expressed by Krupp and Schacht on the one hand and those of Chancellor Adenauer. Thus, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (7-7-53) reported the Chancellor as stating that it was to Russia's interest to resume friendship with Germany. In this connection he noted:

"Already today the states of the European Schumann Plan have formed a market of 157 million people. Thus, these countries are for the Russian economy a highly interesting trading partner. The German and Russian economies once before complemented each other in a magnificent way. The economy of an integrated Europe including Germany could offer even more. The greater the economic meshing (between Western Europe and Russia), the greater the political security."

(e) The executives of one of Germany's largest shipbuilding companies, the Howaldt Works of Kiel, recently went to Moscow to negotiate with Kremlin authorities for the construction of ships with a total estimated value of 28 million dollars.

(f) The Associated Press (6-2-54) reported that the first West German trade delegation to Russia since the end of the war would leave for Moscow shortly. Representatives from Germany's leading industrial, trade, and banking circles will negotiate with the Russians for the "greatest possible volume of trade."

II.

GERMANY'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST CHINA

Trade with Communist China is regarded as vital to Germany's interests. The importance of the China market is discussed frequently in the German newspapers and financial journals. Thus, according to "Handelsblatt," the leading economic journal in the industrial Ruhr, many German businessmen view the China mainland as "the greatest future market in the world" (New York Herald Tribune 3/21/54). The following newspaper items highlight the growing importance of Germany's trade with Communist China:

(a) The Associated Press (2-5-54) reported that Red China's trade delegation located in East Berlin "was swamped with offers from West German businessmen seeking to trade with China."

(b) The Associated Press (4-2-54) reported that West German exports to Communist China have increased ninefold in the last year. *"The main German exports to China are iron goods, machinery, electrical goods, high precision and optical instruments, and pharmaceutical products . . ."*

(c) It has been reported that "ten thousand West German firms registered with East German Chamber of Commerce, hoped to do at least 40 million dollars worth of business with China." (New York Post 4-5-54)

(d) During the Geneva Conference, a group of leading German businessmen were scheduled to meet with Lei Jenmin, Communist China's Vice-Minister for Foreign Trade. According to the New York Herald Tribune (June 5, 1954) "the West German group is coming with the knowledge of the Adenauer government . . ."

III.

POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE SOVIET BLOC

The resurgence of Germany's economic dealings with the Communist East has prompted prominent German leaders to suggest closer political ties. It will be recalled that the consummation of the notorious Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 had been preceded by marked reactivation of trade between Russia and Germany:

(a) While German businessmen were negotiating their first postwar trade agreement with the Soviets in October 1953, Chancellor Adenauer granted an interview to the United Press in which he stated: *"If the Soviet Union desires a special one (separate political agreement) with Germany, let them have one."*

(b) Karl G. Pfleiderer, a leading member of the conservative Free Democratic Party which is part of Chancellor Adenauer's governmental coalition, has publicly advocated diplomatic ties with the Soviet bloc. In a speech in the Bonn parliament he urged that West Germany end its isolation from the part of the world that extends "from Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Sophia and Bucharest through Moscow to Peking in the Far East."

(c) This proposal received strong support as reflected in a statement by West Germany's leading conservative newspaper, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. This paper stated in part: *"It lies in the nature of (West German) 'independence' and 'equal rights' that our Foreign Ministry cannot in the long run be prevented from sending representatives to the Eastern States."* (New York Herald Tribune 4-12-54)

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung was repeating a view which it held as early as April 1, 1950, when it said:

"Germany was always the bridge between the East and the West. . . . The Allies are not able to come to an accord with the Russians. . . . What is then more natural than for us to say in view of the present pressure: If until now, within the framework of world events, the others were not able to make an intelligent agreement, then it is our duty finally to arouse ourselves in order to obtain at least an economic understanding. . . .

"In doing so we will not turn to the little bosses of the Eastern Zone but directly to the big boss in Moscow. There is where decisions are being made."

(d) Chancellor Adenauer himself told the press in Hamburg (A. P. 5-17-53) that diplomatic relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union "might be established in the not too far future." When asked to elaborate he replied, *"one should not make an excursion into high politics."*

(e) The New York Times (June 5, 6, 1954) reported important speeches by Hans Luther and Heinrich Bruening, former German Chancellors, before the powerful Ruhr industrialists at their exclusive Rhein-Ruhr Club. Both speakers called for the scrapping of the so-called pro-Western policy, a rapprochement with Russia and the restoration of the Stresemann strategy, i.e., the playing off of the East and the West against each other so as to strengthen Germany's world position.

IV.
UNDEMOCRATIC TRENDS IN GERMANY TODAY

In our analysis it was stated that "extreme nationalism and adherence to authoritarian concepts are controlling factors in German public opinion." It was also noted that traditional German political ideology is a much more logical ally of Russian Communism than of Western Democracy. In this connection there has been a general upsurge of extreme nationalism and militaristic propaganda. This ominous development is partially reflected in the widespread campaign to free Germany's war criminals, to absolve Germany's war guilt and to glorify German militarism. Moreover, it has been observed that key figures in Germany's political life have aided and abetted this campaign.

(a) The Associated Press (3-14-54) reported that at the annual convention of the so-called German Soldiers Union representing one hundred thousand former members of Hitler's Wehrmacht, a resolution was unanimously passed demanding freedom for the "still imprisoned innocent German soldiers." The meeting was addressed by leading German figures. Hermann Ehlers, President of the German Bundestag, told his audience: "We German soldiers have the right to be shown the same respect that is given abroad to those who have done their duty like us." Former Admiral Gottfried Hansen denounced the Allies for imprisoning these war criminals. Franz Josef Strauss, a member of Chancellor Adenauer's cabinet, told the cheering audience that there must be "continuity" of tradition between German soldiers of World War II and the German soldiers of the future."

(b) The Christian Science Monitor (3-5-54) reported that the Germans intended "to honor Nazi war criminals." Mention was made of officials of the town of Hamelin in Germany who announced that they would exhume the bodies of 91 executed Nazi war criminals including the leaders of the Belsen concentration camp. The German authorities said that these criminals would be given "a worthy final resting place" in the city cemetery. According to the Christian Science Monitor public sentiment "seems in favor of the transfer." One German newspaper referred to the Nazis as "alleged" war criminals.

(c) The development of extremist sentiment and activities is also indicated by the deliberate campaign to arouse irredentism among the Germans.

(1) Old militaristic songs such as "We March Against England" and "Victoriously We Shall Defeat France" are being sung again at the meeting of German veterans.

(2) Sudeten Germans are encouraged to agitate for the seizure of a part of Czechoslovakia which had been handed over to Hitler on the basis of the Munich Pact. Theodor Oberlaender, Minister for Refugees in the Adenauer cabinet, has insisted on a solution of the so-called Sudeten German question "in the spirit of the. Munich Pact." (Reuters 11-6-53)

(3) Minister President Karl Arnold of the State of North Rhine-Westfalia has demanded the return of territories which are now part of Belgium and the Netherlands. (Associated Press 3-8-54)

(d) German justice has not been uneffected by the abovementioned undemocratic trends.

(1) In December 1953, the West German Supreme Court decided to reject an application from the Dutch for the extradition of a number of Dutch Nazi war criminals who had broken out of a Dutch prison and sought refuge in Germany. The decision of the court was based on a decree issued by Hitler in May 1943 granting German citizenship to foreigners who joined the SS.

(2) The Associated Press (3-31-54) reported that 20 former Nazi policemen who had admitted massacring 110 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, were acquitted by a German court on the grounds that their "scant formal education" prevented these criminals from realizing "that they committed a misdeed." Some of the defendants are still in the police force in Dortmund and are eligible for promotions and pensions.

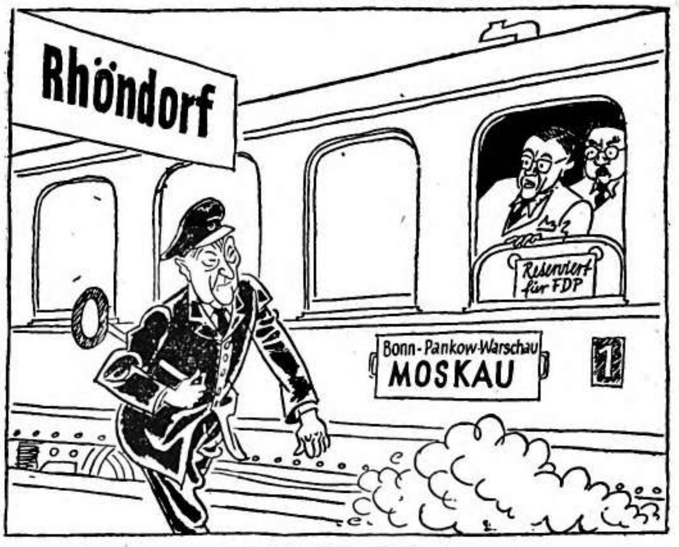
(e) The German press has also been adversely affected by these dangerous trends. It is a fact that important sections of the German press today are controlled by the very same elements who gave aid and comfort to Hitler and the Nazis. The following are examples:

(1) Giselher Wirsing, a ranking senior officer in the SS and an old friend of Ribbentrop, has been appointed "political adviser" to the editor of "Die Welt" which until a year ago was under British control. (New York Post, February '54)

(2) The former Nazi editor Zogelman is now chief editor of the German newspaper "Fortschritt" which speaks for big business interests in Düsseldorf.

(f) Propaganda and intrigue against the Western democracies are rising. Such notorious supporters of Hitler as Franz von Papen and Otto Skorzeny maintain close contact with the Nazi geopolitical center in Madrid for the purpose of facilitating the dissemination of anti-American and anti-democratic propaganda throughout the world. Herr Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's financial adviser and accused war criminal, has also been busy in bolstering Germany's interests abroad at the expense of the Western democracies. He has been particularly active in the Middle East where German militarists and businessmen help fan the fires of anti-Western sentiment. Simultaneously with these activities neo-Nazis are working hand-in-glove with Communist propagandists in Germany.

READY FOR THE EAST EXPRESS...



BONN - MOSCOW

(*Stuttgarter Nachrichten*)

These machinations were exposed at length in the Reporter magazine (4-13-54) under the title, "Germany: Where Fascism and Communism Meet."

(g) Anti-Allied sentiment within Germany is by no means confined to the "lunatic fringe" of the extreme right or extreme left. Thus, the leader of the Socialist-Democratic Party, Erich Ollenhauer, attacked the Allied High Commissioners alleging that they had made it *"coldly and brutally clear to us that we have not such sovereignty as entitled us to decide upon such constitutional amendments."* Dr. Thomas Dehler, chairman of the Free Democratic Party (part of the Adenauer coalition) declared, *"every German must be pained at the thought that changes in our constitution still depend upon the will of the Allies."* (Christian Science Monitor 4-26-54)

V.

FORMER NAZIS AND HITLER SUPPORTERS IN THE BOON GOVERMENT

There has been a marked influx of former Nazis in leading positions in the German government.

(a) Members of Chancellor Adenauer's cabinet who were Hitler supporters and Nazis are: Waldemar Kraft, Minister without Portfolio; Theodor Oberlaender, Minister for Refugees and Expellees; Gerhard Schroeder, Minister of Interior; Victor Emanuel Preusker, Housing Minister. The Nazi background of these persons was reported in the New York Times (4-17-54).

(b) The head of Dr. Adenauer's Chancellery is Hans Globke who was legal adviser to the Nazi minister of the interior in the Hitler regime. Dr. Globke helped write the official commentary on the Nuremberg racial laws.

(c) The counselor of the Bonn Ministry of Justice is Dr. Franz Massfeller who wrote the official commentary to the Hitlerite laws "for the protection of German blood and honor." He participated in the Wannsee Conference which was concerned among other things with the question of instituting compulsory sterilization.

(d) Former Nazis are infiltrating government departments to an alarming degree. A case in point is the Bonn Foreign Office where 66 per cent of its leading personnel, according to Chancellor Adenauer, are former Nazis and Ribbentrop diplomats.

VI.

GERMAN MILITARISM AND THE E. D. C.

It has been stated that a military contribution by Germany through the European Defense Community (EDC) is essential to the defense of the West against Communist aggression. However, in our 1953 analysis it was pointed out that the EDC would not be legally binding for a united Germany. Hence, in the event of German unification, the West will be confronted with a remilitarized, united Germany which can make alliances on its own terms and conditions. Certain aspects with regard to the proposal to remilitarize Germany deserve to be examined here:

(a) It has been publicly stated by leading German officials including Chancellor Adenauer, that the major costs for the rearming of Germany must be borne by the United States (statements by Chancellor Adenauer, Associated Press 12-6-52; U. S. News & World Report 12-26-53). On the other hand, the German finance minister has recently proposed a drastic reduction of the tax burden. For example, he has suggested that corporate taxes on undistributed income should be cut from a rate of 60 per cent to 45 per cent (Business Week 3-20-53). Commenting on these tax proposals, the financial editor of the New York Journal-American exclaimed: "Who won the war?", and further pointed out that taxes on U. S. business will top those obtaining in Germany (3-12-54).

(b) On June 22, 1953, the New York Times reported that Chancellor Adenauer "was giving serious consideration" to a proposal that former high officers of Hitler's Waffen SS or Elite Guard be permitted to serve in the proposed German army. This in spite of the fact that the Waffen SS was declared to be a criminal organization by the International Tribunal at Nuremberg. In reply to an inquiry relative to the employment of Nazis and members of Hitler's Waffen SS in the proposed German army, the U. S. State Department did not indicate opposition to the employment of such individuals per se.

(c) The granting of respectability to war criminals may be seen by the fact that a calendar distributed by the Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung (a newspaper published by German militarists), carried an article contributed by the Blank Office which is responsible for the rearming of Germany. This very same calendar had as its frontispiece "a flattering page portrait of the former Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, now serving a lifeterm in the Spandau prison at Berlin as one of the major military associates to Adolf Hitler. (New York Herald Tribune 12-9-54).

(d) The chief military adviser to Chancellor Adenauer, General Heusinger, has publicly eulogized the war criminal General Jodl hanged at Nuremberg. The State Department has not requested Heusinger's removal because it is satisfied that he is "reliable."

(e) The war criminal, former Fieldmarshal Albert Kesselring who was responsible for the massacre of Italians when he commanded the Nazi troops in Italy, was granted permission to tour an American airforce base in Germany. Kesselring is the head of the revived militaristic organization, the Stahlhelm, which actively collaborated with the Nazis before the war. (Associated Press 2-7-54)

> **"For more than a year the United States has been exerting pressure for the ratification of EDC—and where has it led to? To an ever more ominous deterioration of the relations between France and Germany . . .**
>
> **". . . If West Germany is rearmed in this climate of bad feeling which is now developing, the foundations of the Bonn government will be weakened severely. Americans must not deceive themselves as to the durability of the Adenauer regime . . . There is no clear certainty about the future of the coalition which supports Adenauer, or about the succession to that truly great man.**
>
> **"A German army—with Germany at odds with France and with offers from the Soviet Union—could not be relied upon to maintain Germany as a democratic republic or as an ally of the West. For the temptations would be tremendous."**
>
> ***(Walter Lippmann in the Chicago Sun-Times, 4-1-54)***

(f) The efforts to accord unwarranted lenient treatment to German war criminals is indicated by their premature release by clemency boards in which the Germans themselves participate. Though the release of these war criminals is a matter of great public concern, the Allied authorities decided to cease publication of the names and the reasons for granting clemency. The Allies, prodded on by Chancellor Adenauer, have sought reconsideration of the status of the major war criminals located in the Spandau prison in Berlin. The New York Times (4-6-54) commenting on this action, stated:

". . . The decision to reconsider the status of these men culminates a long series of actions by the western powers to ameliorate the condition of German war criminals. The moves have been made in response to German pleas for clemency and to clear the way for West German participation in the European Defence Community."

VII.

RECARTELIZATION IN GERMANY

It is a matter of record that the German cartels and trusts played a notorious role in undermining normal commercial relationships among the nations and in helping Germany to secretly rearm after World War I. Today, in spite of Allied laws and regulations, the German cartels and trusts are reviving.

(a) Wall Street Journal (8-27-53) carried a special report declaring that German trade and industry "are returning to their traditional prewar patterns of cartels and trusts."

(b) German heavy industry is in the forefront of the movement to revive the prewar steel and coal cartels of Europe. By dominating these cartels prior to World War II, the Germans were able to exercise a decisive influence on the economies of her future victims.

(c) The New York Times (4-13-54) reported that the Ruhr coal and steel industrialists are campaigning "to scuttle" the Schuman Plan organization. The German industrialists are beginning to fear that the Schuman Plan organization may thwart their efforts to dominate Western Europe. As reported by the New York Herald Tribune (4-9-54), the Germans regard themselves as "being dominant among the partners in industrial power but as having only a limited ability to influence the group's (Schuman Plan organization) policies." The German cartelists' resentment toward the Schuman Plan organization as a roadblock to their ambitions was also reported in the U. S. News & World Report (4-30-54) and in the New York Times (5-4-54).

(d) Though the Allies adopted policies which were designed to break up the cartels and giant monopolies, effective implementation has not been achieved in many important cases. Now the responsibility has been turned over to the Germans and they are in the process of passing phony legislation on the subject.

VIII.

CONSEQUENCES OF GERMANY'S RESURGENT POWER

(a) The authoritarian and aggressive spirit is on the march again. Postwar moods of defeatism and ingratiation, often mistaken as signs of progress toward democracy, have been replaced by bluster and arrogance. Important sections of the German press reflect this ominous trend. Thus, there have been frequent warnings in German newspapers to the effect that unless Germany has its way, it will not collaborate with the West.

The Hamburger Anzeiger demands that the Bonn government *"make it clear to the western powers much more energetically than before, that the intensity of our friendship for them will depend on the intensity of their efforts to solve the German problem."* (Quoted in Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune 3-1-54)

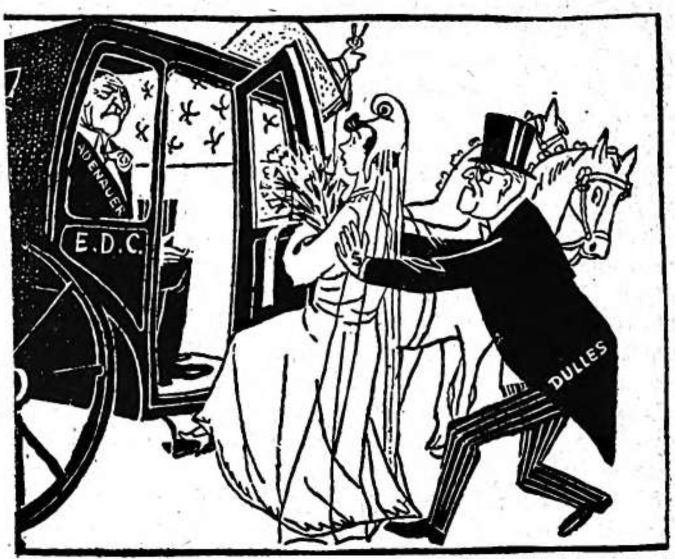
The Rheinische Post (12-8-53) which is a mouthpiece of Chancellor Adenauer's party, warned the West that unless the French become more tractable, Germany may support the Tauroggen policy. Tauroggen refers to the time when the Germans, in a sudden turnabout, allied themselves with the Russians to defeat Napoleon.

Under these circumstances it is a source of wonderment that German technicians have been permitted to work on "the U. S. Army's new top secret 200 mm atomic cannon in West Germany." (Associated Press 2-28-54)

(b) It is no coincidence that the opposition to European unity marked by divisions among the Western Allies and domestic strife, has grown in direct proportion to the increasing efforts of the U. S. policy makers to place Germany on the pedestal of power. European unity is being destroyed on the rock of Germany's resurgence. Yet, our policy makers persist in expending time, effort, and money trying to reconcile the irreconcilable.

Conclusion

Never before in our history has the United States based so much of its policy in Europe on a people who have time and again demonstrated their unreliability and untrustworthiness. The challenge of Communist expansion can be overcome through the coalition of freedom loving peoples who share common interests and purposes. That such a coalition is practical and necessary goes without saying, but the present policy of expediency can only end in disaster.



(*De Tijd*, Amsterdam)

Dulles: "Hop in, Marianne, Dr. Adenauer's getting impatient."

European Unity or German Hegemony?

Strasbourg — 1944

Believing that Germany could not win the war, influential German industrialists met secretly at Strasbourg on August 10, 1944, to devise postwar strategy. Representatives of such powerful interests as Krupp, Roechling and Brown-Boveri who attended, were told that "contacts and alliances with foreign firms" must be established as rapidly as possible. The Nazi Government promised to "allocate large sums to the industrialists so that each could establish a secure postwar foundation in foreign countries." It was further decided that "existing financial reserves in foreign countries must be placed at the disposal of the Party so that a strong German Empire can be created after the defeat."

Strasbourg — 1952

Eight years following this meeting another conference took place in Strasbourg under the auspices of the Council of Europe. This was not strictly a German get-together. On the contrary, there were representatives from most of the major Western European countries. However, the Germans led by Johannes Semmler, played a very prominent role in the working out of another "Strasbourg Plan" which could very well be employed to further the objectives of the 1944 Strasbourg meeting.

In this connection the background of Johannes Semmler is significant. He was well known to the Allied authorities during the early days of the occupation, chiefly because he had violently attacked the Western Allies for alleged looting of the German economy and urged his compatriots to oppose the occupation. Semmler denounced the United States as having deliberately attempted to starve the Germans. He declared that the German iron industry was "a hundred percent British institution." He added that the Germans "will have to get the British out of the habit of pilfering the German economy after having done so for three years. . . ." The French did not escape Herr Semmler's notice and they too were accused of "robbing" the Germans.

Allied authorities immediately retorted to Semmler's blasts and described him as an "unmitigated liar." The New York Times (2-3-48) reported that Semmler's speech "might have been written in Belgrade by the Communist Information Bureau, so clearly did it follow the Communist line." Yet, it should be noted that Semmler is an influential member of Chancellor Adenauer's party.

Regarding Semmler's activities during the Nazi regime, the New York Times (1-28-49) reported that his record was one of the closest collaboration with the Nazis and that he worked "at high financial levels in the 'trusteeship' of properties seized by the Nazis in Upper Silesia, France and Austria." Besides his important contributions on behalf of the Nazi cause, Semmler was a "heavy investor of Brown-Boveri." (New York Times 1-15-48) Thus, the interests of Brown-Boveri were not only represented in the secret Strasbourg meeting of August 1944, but were also present at Strasbourg in 1952.

Germany's Role in the Strasbourg Plan

The Strasbourg Plan, prepared with the influential assistance of Herr Semmler, is in essence an attempt to create a Third Power Bloc. It could, therefore, fit in very nicely with the ideas of the geopolitical master minds who believe that Germany must create and control a Third Force which would dominate Europe and be utilized if necessary, against the interests and security of the United States.

In the introduction to the plan it is stated that the chief *"problem is to what extent can Europe and the countries connected with it form a third economic group standing midway between the Communist and the dollar areas and be able, by closer economic co-operation and combined effort, to maintain a balanced trade with them."*

The "European Review" (February '54) which speaks for the Strasbourg Plan, is more candid. *"The real question is how this inevitable discrimination against dollar goods by the non-dollar world is to be achieved."* To further implement this objective, the Plan advocates the creation of preferential tariffs between Western Europe and the British Commonwealth which would, in the last analysis, work toward isolating the United States economically.

With regard to investments, the Plan states that attention should be drawn *"to those European countries who have no overseas political responsibilities and examine what contributions they can make to the development of Africa. . . .*

"A country like Germany would seem in a special position to contribute in kind. It is well known that the pattern of its export trade is based on capital goods such as tractors, cranes, bridges, dredges, machine tools, etc., which are particularly needed for the development of new countries. It can even be said that the discovery of markets for its capital goods' industries is an absolute necessity for Germany, and, if we leave out of account political considerations which are not within our province, it should be stressed here that this equipment of new countries overseas is the only possible alternative which German industry possesses to the equipment of countries in the Soviet sphere of influence, which were in the past an important market for German industry. . . ."

There is no question that its authors contemplate that every consideration and advantage be afforded the Germans to penetrate the territories and possessions of other Western European countries. Failure to give the Germans Carte Blanche in this respect would force them to turn to the Russians. That this is sheer blackmail is self evident despite the rather colorless language employed by the planners.

Africa

In elaborating on the plan, Herr Semmler once again emphasizes "the economic potential of the area under consideration" which is not "inferior to the economic power of the United States or the Soviet Bloc." In this connection, of major concern to Herr Semmler is the importance of exploiting the African continent. Without identifying the Western European countries which have no colonies, Mr. Semmler alleged that they could be of great help in developing that region. He spoke about the scientists and technical resources as well as surplus population that could be sent to this region. Mr. Semmler said that the Germans were willing to help but this could only come about if "restrictions" with respect to Germany's activities in this area were abolished.

One region in Africa which was very dear to the heart of Herr Semmler, is the Belgian Congo. Last year, SS Colonel Skorzeny, one of Hitler's trusted henchmen, paid a visit to the Congo where he surveyed the possibilities of German investments. About the same time, the German Minister of Economics Erhard conferred with the Belgian Minister of Colonies, M. Dequae, concerning a detailed plan for German-Belgian cooperation in the Congo. This German plan contemplates the sending of German equipment and technicians to develop the natural resources in the region. There is a great need for capital as well as technicians to further develop the resources of the Congo and the Germans hope to take advantage of this situation. Dr. Semmler has played a most important role in this project. Moreover, he was behind Dr. Erhard's efforts to obtain the Belgian Government's cooperation.

The German bait may be summed up as follows: "We don't want to acquire any shares in your companies (Belgian). All we want is to sell you our technicians, knowledge and ability."

It appears that the ringleader of the Belgian syndicate is the Société Générale. This organization, which controls the most important mining companies in the Congo, collaborated with the Germans during World War II. Consequently, it may be expected to work hard for the acceptance of the German plan. In this connection, it has been said that M. Dequae himself is extremely pro-German.

Herr Semmler's remarks on Africa impressed many who attended the conference. One member quoted approvingly Anton Zischka who has been a leading spokesman for German imperialism in Africa for many years. Another German, Herr Birkelbach, said, *"Why not discuss the possibility of having the German contribution to the defense of the West not in the shape of armed forces but, as an act of European solidarity, toward undeveloped territories."* Then he spelled out what the Germans could do. "Through the agency of a European Investment Bank, and without receiving any direct property rights in the respective areas, Germany, instead of arming divisions, could put part of its productive capacity at the disposal of the defence of the West in this broader sense. . . . I propose that Germany should take a share in the armament burden by means of an overseas development program in the form of action by the European Community which would be administered by a European Investment Bank."

It follows from this rather quaint proposition that, if the Germans get their way, their objectives may be attained within the framework of the Strasbourg Plan.

Just about the time that the Strasbourg Plan was published, the press carried reports of increasing German penetration in North Africa. The New York Herald Tribune (9-7-52) observed "that this newest German move into North Africa constitutes a serious threat to United States exports as well as the American investors." In the forefront of this German drive, according to the Herald Tribune, is a "top German expert on North Africa," Johannes Semmler.

The Meeting At Westminster

The Strasbourg Plan has fired the imagination of many well intentioned persons in Western Europe. It has raised the hopes of European unity which in itself is, of course, an excellent idea. But many of these people seem to forget that the German idea of unity is not exactly similar to the one held by their neighbors. Yet, the skillful handling of the Strasbourg Plan by Herr Semmler created a most favorable impression. As a result, 200 representatives from various countries convened at Westminster in February of this year to re-affirm the basic purposes of the Plan.

The London Economist noted, however, that of the eight massive reports submitted for preliminary reading at the Westminster Conference, none were written by representatives of Commonwealth countries. Furthermore, out of 218 delegates only 15 (excluding the U. K.) were members of the Commonwealth. In short, the representation as well as much of the action came from European countries. The German representatives appeared to have played the leading part. Once again Herr Semmler was prominent in the deliberations, particularly with respect to the drawing up of investment proposals based on the original Strasbourg Plan. The United States was singled out as "a grave source of general instability." This led to the conclusion that "Europe and the Commonwealth compose a market large enough and stable enough to have a world influence comparable to that of the United States and the U. S. S. R." It was not even necessary to read between the lines to conclude that the prime target at Westminster was the United States and that the German delegation orchestrated all of the moves.

The Looters Made Respectable

Symbolic of the implications of the meeting was the fact that its chairman was Hermann J. Abs. Herr Abs should be known to readers of PREVENT WORLD WAR III. He was one of Hitler's chief paymasters and, as head of the Deutsche Bank, directed the looting of German occupied Europe. For his criminal activities U. S. authorities had recommended that he be apprehended and prosecuted. He escaped punishment. However, when he launched on a "good will" mission to the United States in 1951, he was publicly exposed by Senator Gillette and had to return prematurely to the Fatherland.

Other members of the German delegation at Westminster read like a list from Rogues Gallery: among them, Heinrich Kost, Karl Albrecht, Hans Gunther Sohl, Dr. Gunther Henle. These men were also instrumental in providing the sinews for Hitler's war making power. Yet, the "European Review" (February 1954) reported, *"All were impressed by the able and charming chairmanship of Herr Hermann Abs. Men like him are helping to build a better Germany and a finer Europe."* If a "finer Europe" and a "better Germany" are going to be created by the likes of an Abs, a Semmler, or a Kost, then why in heaven's name was it necessary to oppose Hitler in the first place? Is there any essential difference between the aims of Abs and of Hitler? As mentioned above, European Unity is a wonderful objective and we have no doubt that the majority of non-German delegates at Westminster are striving to secure the welfare of Europe. But they must be made aware of the German Trojan Horse. They must be made aware of the Pan-German dream which did not die with Hitler. Ten years ago the Abs, the Semmlers, etc., paid Hitler to carry out the hopes of Pan-Germanism. He failed. Today they pay lipservice to the European Movement.

Echoes of Pan-German Propaganda

Generally speaking it appears that the Germans were disappointed as to the outcome of the Berlin Conference last February. Yet, they must have derived much satisfaction from the breast beating spectacle put on by the chief protagonists Messrs. Dulles and Molotov who vied heatedly for their favor.

The Dulles-Molotov Theory

It seems that in each successive East-West Conference this rivalry becomes more desperate—and more unprincipled. Thus, at Berlin Dulles and Molotov tried to atone for "sins" committed against Germany. The greatest "transgression" of all was to impose upon a "helpless" people the "iniquitous" Treaty of Versailles. For this, the Allies are officially branded as having sowed the seeds of World War II. In Mr. Molotov's words:

". . . The insolvency and shortsightedness of the authors of the Versailles Treaty soon became apparent. Far from guaranteeing the security of Europe, the Versailles Treaty was one of the basic contributing factors to the second world war. That was largely due to the fact that it was an oppressive treaty as far as Germany was concerned, that it was detested by the German people and was, therefore, doomed to inevitable and ignominious failure."

Secretary Dulles was just as vehement in his denunciation of the Treaty.

"War," he stated, "has constantly bred war because with rare exceptions the victors of war have been so animated by a spirit of vengeance and hatred that they have been blinded and have themselves unwittingly become the cause of new war."

The Nazis Said It, Too

Following this generalization, our Secretary of State declared that the Treaty of Versailles was marked by a spirit of "vengeance and hatred" and that Germany was the victim of "humiliating discriminations" and "restrictions." He further stated that the "system of Versailles was "bankrupt" and had "bred war."

To the Germans, the Dulles-Molotov version of history is nothing new. Indeed, Hitler and the Nazis rode to power on the very same theme. Even on the eve of World War II the Nazis continued their diatribes against this Treaty. Speaking on the Day of the Luftwaffe (3-1-38) Marshal Goering shouted:

". . . The chains of Versailles and the cowardly parliamentary system had destroyed the last remnants of Germany's fighting spirit and buried every hope of Germany's ever again becoming a strong power in the world."

Approximately one year later Goering's Luftwaffe was raining its bombs on Poland and Holland.

Goering's fulminations against Versailles, supported by Germans of all political colorations, has now been given the stamp of respectability. Who knows, but at the next conference, the chief negotiators may propose that an official apology be extended to the Germans for the Nuremberg war crimes trials!

The Issues Involved

We do not wish to imply that the Versailles Treaty was a perfect instrument. However, the attacks against it have been a favorite propaganda weapon of German militarists, Pan-Germans and assorted totalitarian elements within Germany.

That the Soviet propaganda machine is unscrupulous goes without saying. That it will, if need be, echo the line of German militarism can be expected. We were perplexed and disturbed, however, that our Secretary of State should join Mr. Molotov in this dubious project. Believing that the best kind of propaganda must rest on facts and not the distortion of facts, we wrote to the Secretary of State a detailed letter wherein we challenged, point by point, his interpretation of the causes leading to World War II. Unfortunately, Mr. Dulles did not reply. Yet, the issues involved can be crucial. In a very real sense, the character of a future peace treaty for Germany will be influenced by the Western Allies' views on the nature of the treatment of Germany after World War I. To set the record clear in this respect may help us in avoiding the illusions and errors of the past. It is in this connection, therefore, that we publish below the main points we made in our letter to Secretary Dulles:

Vengeance and Hatred?

Was the Treaty of Versailles really marked with the spirit of vengeance and hatred?

Professor James T. Shotwell, one of the foremost authorities on this subject, writes in his book "What Germany Forgot," 1940:

"An examination of how the Treaty was actually made shows what a travesty of history it is to picture those who made it as a set of vindictive men intent only upon the ruin of the German people." (Page 84)

German Propaganda At Work

Dealing with German propaganda concerning the Treaty of Versailles, Professor Shotwell writes:

"In all the history of propaganda nothing outrivals the success of the German effort against the Treaty of Versailles." (Page 82)

In this connection Professor Shotwell further states:

"Germany, however, neither knew nor cared to know how the Treaty of Versailles came to be what it was. The easiest explanation was that the Allied statesmen, although nominally under Wilson's leadership, had been carried along by Clemenceau to a policy of postwar reprisal, the sole purpose of which was the destruction of Germany. This interpretation of what had happened was unquestioned by all Germans, and was taught in the schools to the coming generation who were to translate this belief into a denial of democracy and all that it stood for." (Page 89)

It is a notorious fact that this propaganda against the Versailles Treaty was not only used by all the Germans from the Communists to the Nazis for their own nefarious aims, but it was also employed by the international Communist movement seeking to discredit the Democratic West. According to Professor Shotwell, this cunning propaganda had a significant result:

". . . The Treaty of Versailles became by an almost miraculous paradox the instrument for saving German militarism by blinding the nation to the true nature of war when fought under the conditions of modern history and applied science. Everything could be blamed upon the peace terms." (Pages 3, 4)

Even many of our most astute students

of international affairs were taken in by the German propaganda against the Treaty of Versailles. Writing in his column on May 16, 1944, Mr. Walter Lippmann admitted that he too had been a victim of "popular fables, quite contrary to the historic record about how the last war ended."

The German Economy Under Versailles

Implicit in Secretary Dulles' strictures against the Treaty of Versailles is the charge that Germany's economic life had been gutted by the Treaty. However, Professor Shotwell writes:

"Whatever we think of the financial and economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, by the end of the first decade after the war, in 1928, Germany was apparently relatively about as well off as its former enemies." (Page 106)

Statistical evidence shows a tremendous upsurge of German production:

National Index Number of Industrial Production

Year	Great Britain	United States	Germany
1925	100	100	100
1929	113	114	122

Compared with 1923, the production of steel ingots had risen in 1929 as follows:

Germany	Great Britain	France
158%	13%	83%

The tremendous industrial plant which Germany built up while she was "burdened" by the "Diktat of Versailles" was characterized by Fritz Thyssen in his book "I Paid Hitler" as follows:

". . . Germany after 1918 was overindustrialized. This was the logical consequence of the development which had taken place since 1870 . . ." (Page 63)

By 1928, according to the German economist K. F. Bieligk, the productive capacity of the main branches of German industry was between 30-40 per cent greater than in 1913. He further observes that the "enormous investments of capital enabled German industrialists to build up the most modern productive apparatus in the world."

The industrial strength of Germany was reflected in the upsurge of her export:

Percentage Shares in World Exports

Year	Germany	Great Britain	United States	France
1925	7.3	12.3	15.9	7.3
1931	12.1	9.4	12.6	6.3

The enormous increase in her exports under the so-called bankrupt Versailles system was reflected in Germany's National Income and Gold Reserves: In 1924 the National Income was 45,700 million marks; by 1929 it had risen to 76,098 million marks. Gold Reserves of the Reichsbank by the end of 1924 were 818.7 million marks, by 1930 it had risen to 2,281.7 million marks.

The Reparations Fraud

It has been alleged that the Reparation Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles had a deleterious effect on Germany. However, it has been estimated that from November 1924 to June 1932 Germany paid about 10,000 million marks in reparations. In the same period her national income totalled about 564,260 million marks. Therefore, reparation payments amounted to approximately 1.7 per cent of her income over this period.

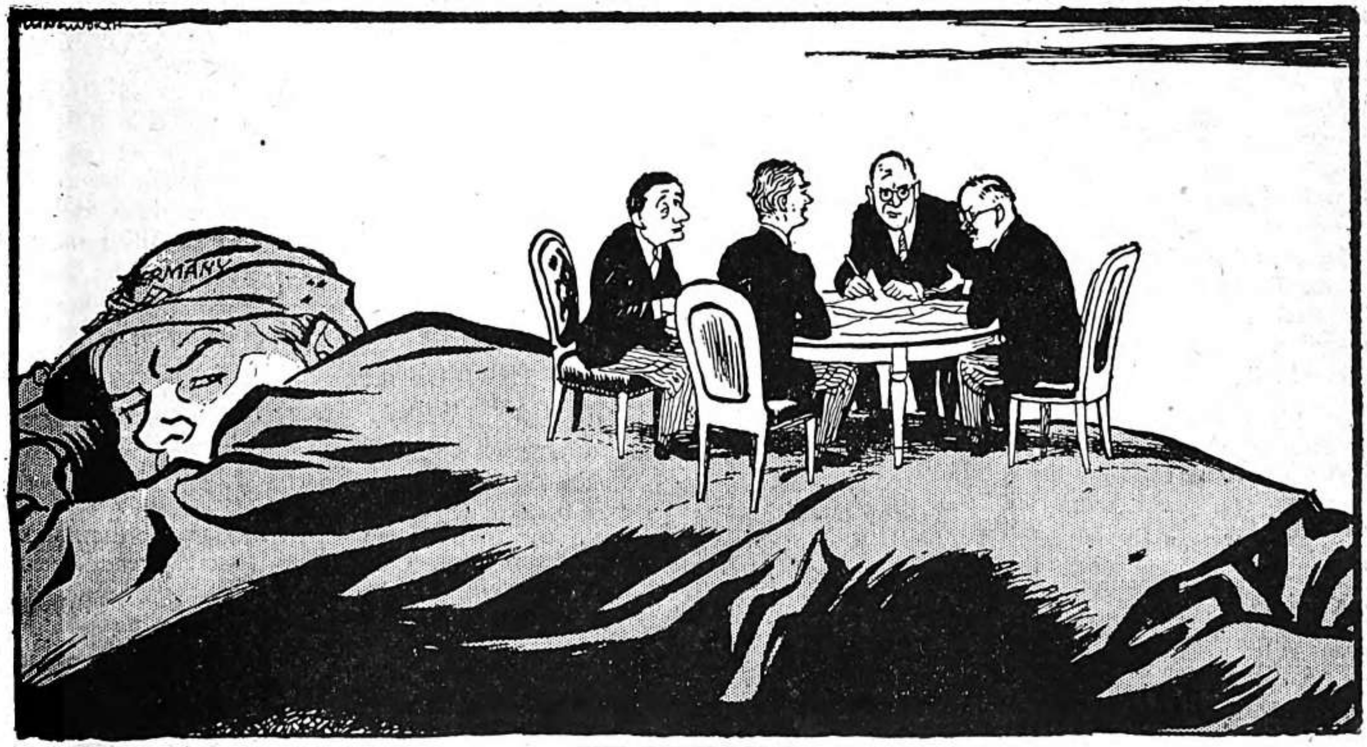
The economist Carl T. Schmidt, discussing German reparations in his book "German Business Cycles 1924-32," writes:

"The reparations burden was a special factor making for productive expansion . . ."

Thus, the reparations obligations acted as a spur to German industrial expansion. It is also a well known fact that Germany received much more from the Allies than she was supposed to pay to them. C. R. S. Harris in a report published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, estimates that Germany borrowed from abroad three times as much as she paid in reparations.

Another Farce

The demilitarization clauses of the Versailles Treaty turned out to be a farce.



THE FIFTH MAN

(*Courtesy "Daily Mail"*)

Mr. Lippmann in his article mentioned above, states:

The Allies "did not even attempt to destroy German militarism. What they did was to take away part of the German army's obsolescent weapons and to demobilize it partially. But the core of the army which was the caste of the professional officers and non-coms, was left undisturbed. It was they who created the present German army and prepared the plans of mobilization and the strategy of this war."

This is confirmed by General John H. Morgan who served on the Interallied Control Commission in Germany after World War I. In his book "Assize of Arms" he describes in detail how the demilitarization clauses of the Versailles Treaty were in effect scrapped:

". . . This momentous decision of ours was never made public," Morgan continues, "and the world was left to imagine that this vital article of the disarmament section of the Treaty had been enforced and that Germany had been 'totally disarmed.' She never was. But the price exacted for signature of the ill-fated 'Pact' of Locarno (1925) was not only the withdrawal of the Control Commission and the evacuation of the Rhineland, whereby we surrendered the keys to the fortress. The moment we had made that surrender, she raised her price. She demanded silence. She got it."

"The fable of Germany's 'total disarmament' became an article of faith with the English pacifists and England was reproached by Mr. Lloyd George and others with not having laid down her arms and taken Germany to her bosom . . . It was the forebearance of the French and British Government, in dispensing with the execution of Articles 169 and 168 of the Treaty of Versailles, that was largely responsible for the swift and amazing renaissance of Germany's military power . . ."

Colonies

It has been stated that Germany suffered considerably by having been deprived of colonies under the Treaty of Versailles. Professor Shotwell in his book states:

"It is a deep-seated conviction of Nazi Germany that the recovery of the colonies is necessary for its economic life; yet, Germany's trade with its colonies in 1913 was less than one-half of one per cent of its total foreign trade. The colonies were yielding little, and their yield could not be materially increased without a vastly larger capital outlay than post-war Germany could have put into them. As for their supplying the raw materials which Germany needed, it might at least occur to some of the most vehement opponents of that section of the Treaty that one can get raw materials only where they exist and that Germany's colonies lacked most of its essential needs. Moreover, those Germans who have waged the strongest battle for the return of the colonies have done so on the theory that they should become closed preserves for Germany itself and be treated as tributary sources of supply mainly for military purposes. That the choice lay between that kind of an extension of military economics over the seven seas and a mandate system set up by the Treaty of Versailles is too often forgotten by those who would tear up the provisions of the Versailles Treaty in this regard." (Pages 109-110)

It has been stated that Germany was humiliated by those clauses in the Treaty of Versailles which alluded to her war guilt. However, the provisions calling for the prosecution of German war criminals were, for all intents and purposes, emasculated and rendered ineffective with the concurrence of the Allies.

The Cause of World War II

Was the Treaty of Versailles the cause of World War II?

Acceptance of this thesis would absolve the Nazis and German militarists of their aggressive actions including their treacherous deal with the Soviets in 1939. In this connection the role of the Western Allies is summed up by Mr. Sumner Welles in his book, "Seven Decisions That Shaped History":

". . . Over the same French opposition that we see today, Great Britain then not only permitted but actually connived at German rearmament. We Americans poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Germany in the form of loans. It was these policies which were directly responsible for the second world war." (Page 214)

A Hollow Ring

German propaganda against the Treaty of Versailles was a hollow ring in view of the fact that its major provisions were either ignored or rendered ineffective. In other words, the Treaty was never really put to the test. Moreover, it is not true that Germany's power was permanently weakened even where provisions of the Treaty were implemented.

On the contrary, by 1936 Germany was already on the road to building the world's most formidable war machine. The alleged burdens imposed by the Treaty of Versailles were not a deterrent, but the propaganda against the Versailles Treaty served as an effective smoke screen for a resurgent, aggressive Germany.

A Guide to Peace

In the light of these facts we are at loss to understand why Secretary Dulles saw fit to make the blanket charges against the Treaty as though it were the real cause of World War II thereby, in effect, absolving the aggressive actions of Germany.

On April 16, 1919, Woodrow Wilson told the American people:

"Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war. Justice is what the German Delegation asks for, and says that Germany has been promised. Justice is what Germany shall have. But it must be justice for the dead and wounded, and for those, who have been orphaned and bereaved that Europe might be freed from Prussian despotism. There must be justice for the people who now stagger under war debts which exceed £30,000,000,000 that liberty might be saved. There must be justice for those millions whose homes and land, ships and property, German savagery has destroyed.

". . . Somebody must suffer for the consequences of the war. Is it to be Germany or only the people she has wronged? Not to do justice to all concerned would only leave the world open to fresh calamaties. The Allied and Associated Powers therefore believe that the peace they have proposed is fundamentally a peace of justice. They are no less certain that it is a peace of right fulfilling the terms agreed upon at the time of the Armistice. . . . The Treaty is frankly not based upon a general condonation of the events of 1914-18. It would not be a peace of justice if it were. But it represents a sincere and deliberate attempt to establish 'that reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind,' which was the agreed basis of peace."

What Woodrow Wilson said then should be our guide in making peace with Germany today.

Editorials

"WE MUST FIND THE WAY"

While world attention has been focused on the crisis in Indo-China, there is a portentous stirring in Germany which may turn the Indo-China affair into a sideshow. On the surface, it all started when a prominent leader of Chancellor Adenauer's coalition government, Karl Pfleiderer, urged that West Germany establish political and diplomatic ties with that part of the world extending "from Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Sophia, and Bucharest through Moscow to Peking in the Far East." (New York Herald Tribune 4-11-54)

The response to Herr Pfleiderer's sweeping proposal was decidedly favorable. In this connection Germany's leading conservative newspaper, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, said:

"We should not deceive ourselves about the fact that the idea of diplomatic ties between Bonn and Moscow will be met with discomfort by the Western occupying powers. But we must find the way. It lies in the nature of (West German) 'independence' and 'equal rights' that our Foreign Ministry cannot in the long run be prevented from sending representatives to the eastern states. . . .

"Thus, Dr. Pfleiderer's demands points to a goal that is one of the most important tasks of German foreign policy." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 4-12-54)

A few weeks following Pfleiderer's statement Chancellor Adenauer told the press that diplomatic relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union "might be established in the not too far future" (A. P. 5-7-53). As was to be expected, Dr. Adenauer's voice gave added vitality to the ground swell of opinion in Germany supporting such ties. However, when it seemed clear that the Allies were becoming perturbed, he sought to assuage their ruffled feeling with his usual finesse. Through his press service statements were issued that were intended to give the impression that the Chancellor would have nothing to do with the Pfleiderer plan.

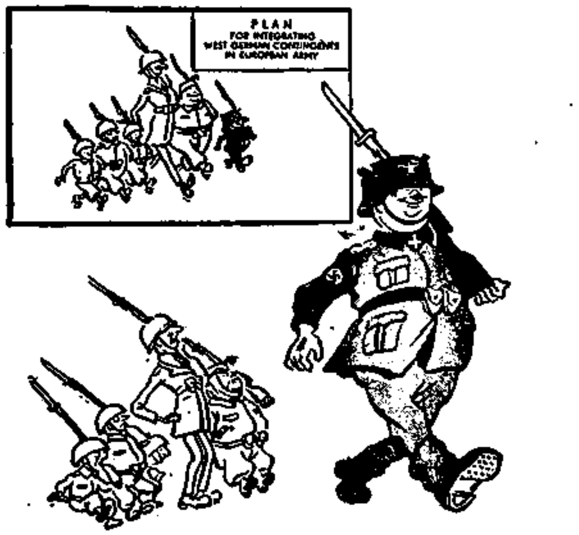
Judging from the way this incident was reported in the American press, it appeared that Adenauer had single-handedly staved off the mounting pressure for close ties with the Communist bloc—another triumph for America's "staunchest friend." This is precisely what he had desired the American people to believe. Yet, the fact of the matter is that Adenauer has toyed with this idea for some time. Indeed, it is implicit in his plan to create a Third Force in Europe to be dominated by Germany. In October 1953 Adenauer told the United Press that "if the Soviet Union desires a special (separate political) agreement with Germany, let them have one." Therefore, we cannot go along with the theory that Adenauer is the West's uncompromising hero rejecting the blandishments from the Communist East. What appears to be "differences" between Adenauer and Pfleiderer is in our judgment a division of labor. Both politicians are working toward the same goal and it would be far more accurate to describe Herr Pfleiderer's proposition as a trial balloon not without the covert blessings of Herr Adenauer.

It would be a dangerous illusion to believe that Pfleiderer's views do not represent important political and economic forces in Germany. The fact of the matter is that powerful interests are reassessing Germany's position vis-à-vis Soviet Russia. This new development is reflected in the speeches of Hans Luther, and Heinrich Bruening, former German Chancellors, before the powerful Ruhr industrialists at their exclusive Rhein-Ruhr Club in Düsseldorf. According to the New York Times (June 5, 6, 1954) both speakers called for the scrapping of the so-called pro-Western policy, the return to the Rapallo policy of "understanding" with Russia and the restoration of the Stresemann strategy, i.e. the playing off of the East and West against each other so as to strengthen Germany's world position.

It is significant that Adenauer did not specifically and categorically condemn the substance of the speeches made by the former Chancellors. He merely stated that it was regrettable that "men of such excellent reputations" should make public views which could create "a certain distrust in Germany's reliability."

Adenauer's thinking with respect to relations with the Communist East was clearly defined in one of his rare moments of frankness. In July of last year he declared that it was Russia's interest to resume friendship with Germany. He then stated:

"Already today the states of the European Schuman Plan have formed a market of 157 million people. Thus, these countries are for the Russian economy a highly



Who Is Integrating Whom?—a French View

interesting trading partner. The German and Russian economies once before complemented each other in a magnificent way. The economy of an integrated Europe including Germany could offer even more. The greater the economic meshing (between Western Europe and Russia), the greater the political security." (7-7-53)

It is generally accepted by students of international politics that economic ties help pave the way toward closer political relations between states. This is how the U. S.-German Chamber of Commerce (Monthly Bulletin, February 1954) put it:

"Political allliances presuppose commercial relationships. The more intensive and effective the economic connections, the easier is political integration."

Indeed, the prewar history of Russo-German relations show that it was the resumption of economic ties between Russia and Germany that created the pre-conditions for the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939. That this economic factor is becoming more prominent was admitted by Adenauer himself when, in explaining his proposal to renew diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union, he said: "Our trade with the Soviets has been intensified lately." In this connection let us not forget that three months following the approval of the Contractual Agreement, leading German industrialists, with the knowledge of Dr. Adenauer, were holding secret negotiations with top members of the Kremlin in Copenhagen. Similarly, in the 1920s German diplomats and industrialists operated along the same lines so that for every important agreement made with the West there was a corresponding understanding with the Russians.

It is no longer a secret that the Germans are making an especially strong bid to regain the markets in the East. The New York Times (5-15-54) reported that the so-called East Committee consisting of powerful German industrialists under the sponsorship of the Adenauer Government, had sent delegates to Moscow to negotiate a trade agreement valued at $60 million. Describing the attitude of Germany's industrialists, the Industrie Kurier, organ of German Big Business, wrote:

"The decisive factors in judging the future possibilities should not be political arguments and propagandistic wishful thinking, but the economic realities."

These developments have apparently disturbed the New York Times especially since "one key objective in the Allied program for postwar Germany has been to create conditions that would make impossible a new German-Soviet alliance at some future date" (5-16-54). Unfortunately, however, the postwar program for Germany has been in direct contradiction to our avowed objective. The more we press for the realization of that program, the remoter becomes the possibilities of attaining our goal. Indeed, it appears that we are unconsciously helping to create the opposite effect, namely the conditions for German-Soviet cooperation leading eventually to an alliance.

By resurrecting Germany's industrial potential far in excess of peacetime requirements; by tolerating the resurgence of German militarism and chauvinism; by undoing the original denazification and decartelization programs; by granting unwarranted leniency to German war criminals we have laid the groundwork for the restoration of the old Germany. In short, the very same forces which bred authoritarianism in Germany and demonstrated more affinity with the totalitarian East than with the democratic West are more and more resuming the direction of Germany's destiny. By the same taken, the revival of the old Germany imbued with the spirit of Pan-Germanism is dealing shattering blows to the cause of European unity and thereby opening the gates toward further Communist expansion in the West. It is no coincidence that the breakdown of European unity marked by divisions among the Western Allies and domestic strife, has grown in direct proportion to the increasing efforts of the United States to place Germany on the pedestal of power. European unity is being destroyed on the rock of Germany's resurgence and remilitarization. Yet, our policy makers persist in expending time, effort and money trying to reconcile the irreconcilable.

The U. S. program in Germany has strengthened every factor that would impel the Germans to strike out on their own as they did in the past. This was the central thesis of the sensational book published last year, "Germany Plots With the Kremlin" by T. H. Tetens. The author cited facts supported by documentation, which showed that it is precisely the policies pursued by the United States which are making it possible for Germany to turn to the East again. Those policies have hardly been aired in public. They are treated as though they were part of the Sacred Scripture, never to be questioned, always to be obeyed.

Our policy makers have been so immersed in the idea that we must not "lose" Germany to the Russians, that they apparently have been willing to sacrifice our most reliable friends in the process.

FAITHFUL FRIENDS

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer told his Cabinet today that it would be intolerable for West Germany to wait indefinitely for its sovereignty.

. . .

A grant of sovereignty also might put a brake on the trend that is developing among West German politicians and industrialists to reassure the Federal Government's foreign policy in the sense of establishing diplomatic relations with Moscow or of adopting a policy of neutrality between the East and the West."

(M. S. Handler, The New York Times, 6-16-54)

DEUTSCHLAND UEBER "ALLIES"—OR ELSE!

Of late, the main theme of the German propaganda machine may be summed up in the metaphorical expression "Don't rock the boat." It is an appeal which carries ominous undertones and is directed to U. S. public opinion with particular force. The line runs something like this: "We are trying to behave, but this will require more billions from the USA, the rebuilding of our armed forces, adequate markets for our goods, colonies, the return of our 'lost' territories both in the East and West, and a voice in European and world affairs consonant with our strength." In substance, this means that unless the Western Allies "come across—and fast," there is no guarantay that democratic, anti-Soviet West Germany will stay that way.

Perhaps, the origin of this shakedown racket can be traced to the Ruhr industrialists who let it be known to the American press three years ago that they had to have a billion dollars per year from U. S. taxpayers—or else! Regardless of where it was first conceived, it has now become the favorite propaganda weapon of Germany's political leaders, including Chancellor Adenauer. The Chancellor has been particularly annoyed at the French for their faliure to ratify the EDC and their obstinacy with respect to recognizing Germany's "rights" in the Saar. He has intimated that if France maintained a "non-cooperative" attitude, there was no telling how the Germans would react. He pointed up this threat indirectly when he told a press conference on July 31, 1953: "Within this defense community, the so-called 'military dynamic' of the Germans will be limited and kept on the right line." As one reporter put it, Chancellor Adenauer knows very well that Germany's "military dynamic" is much more than a quotable phrase.

In the Adenauer story which was featured in Time Magazine (1-4-54), the Chancellor expressed his fears that, if "Europe collapes," the revival of German militarism is possible.

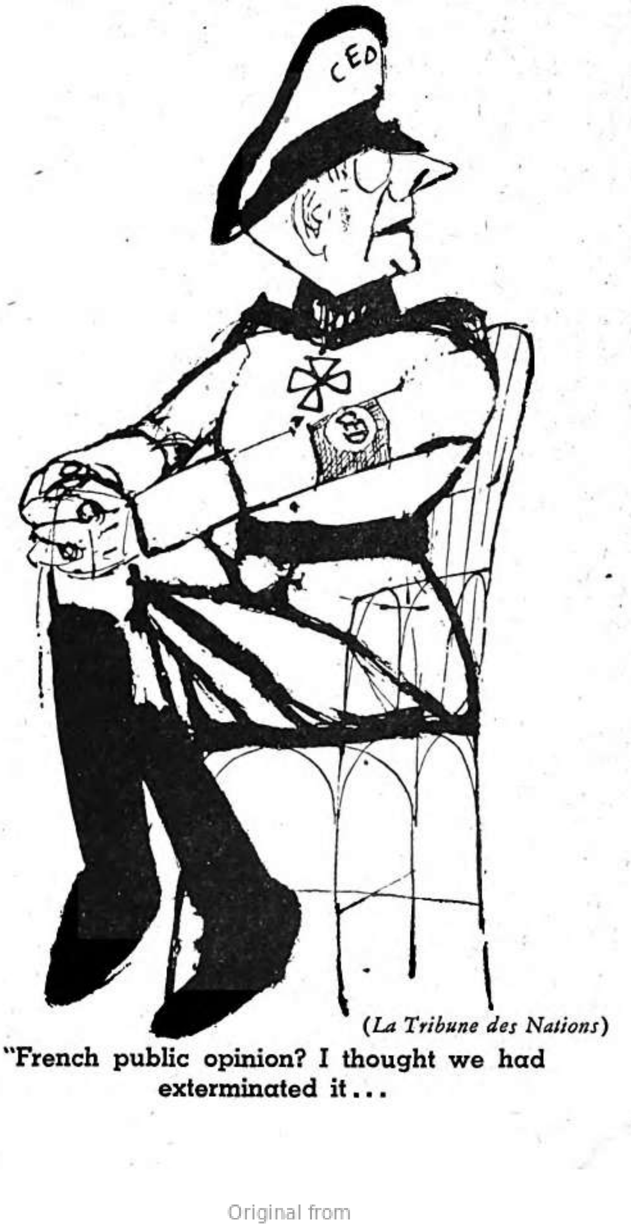
"I never minimize this possibility if Europe fails," Dr. Adenauer told the Time reporter. "If France refuses to accept reconciliation with her former enemy, how we would accept the effect of such a reversal, I do not know. . . . The whole population would be affected. We cannot say what would happen, but we have had experience in the past."

The "collapse" of Europe, in Dr. Adenauer's view, is equated with the continued demilitarization of Germany and the preservation of policies which were intended to prevent Germany from dominating her neighbors. Naturally, his forebodings concerning the imminence of Europe's collapse are intended for American consumption.

On April 6, 1954, the New York Times reported that the Chancellor had "sounded the alarm" to the "dangers" besetting his government. If the Allies continued to stall with respect to the granting of full sovereignty to Germany, the Chancellor declared, then no one could predict the dire consequences.

Dr. Adenauer returned to this general theme in his statement to Life Magazine (5-10-54). Germany, he averred, stands in the forefront of resistance to Communism. If Germany does not "resist every pressure," he said, "there will be no halting the Communist flood." Germany's "historic task" is to build up the resistance to Communism. The Chancellor then hinted that, if any European country denied Germany her "rights," there could be no effective opposition to Communism. The meaning of this veiled threat was clarified by Chancellor Adenauer's Rheinische Post (12-8-53). The paper declared that unless the Allies gave the Federal Republic "full sovereignty" in all fields including the military, then the Germans may return to the Tauroggen policy, i.e., the German-Russo alliance which resulted in the defeat of Napoleon.

On the basis of Adenauer's statements especially attuned to American ears, as well as of other German leaders and important sections of the German press, it is clear that the Germans are trying to confront the Western



(*La Tribune des Nations*)

"French public opinion? I thought we had exterminated it . . .

democracies with "either—or" propositions. The Germans will condescend to defend the West against Communism, but if the West does not accede to every Germand demand, then the Allies must face the prospect of a Russo-German tie-up. In any event, the responsibility rests with the Allies. Thus, the Hamburger Anzeiger states that it is necessary for Germany *"to make it clear to the Western powers much more energetically than before that the intensity of our friendship for them will depend on the intensity of their efforts to solve the German problem."*

This "new" line has found its echo in the United States. It has been repeated by leading policy makers as well as by newspaper correspondents and alleged experts on the German problem. Here are some examples chosen at random:

(1) "If we do not want a revival of German militarism and excesses of nationalism, we must ourselves admit the natural and proper desire of the German people to be equals in the family of nations. . . . Our problem consists, most of all, in finding a worthy outlet for the great energy and the vitality of the German people. . . ."

(*John Foster Dulles,* 2-3-54)

(2) ". . . A collapse of this policy through the refusal of the French National Assembly to ratify the agreements would force the West German political parties into a position where they would have to "reappraise" West Germany's foreign relations.

"Such a reappraisal could only produce the alternative of a nationalized rather than an international orientation of this country's foreign policy. . . ."

(*M. S. Handler, N. Y. Times,* 4-1-54)

(3) "In Europe, France is so bemused by the improbable prospect of a settlement of the Indochina war at the forthcoming Geneva conference that it may not ratify the European Defense Community before the Germans finally lose patience and blow the whole project of European unity into the air by seizing the independence of action which it is well within German capacity now to seize."

(*Joseph C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor,* 3-6-54)

(4) "Collapse of EDC, if France failed to ratify it, will widen the breach between West Germany and France. A West German Army, if a national force outside EDC, may revive the old German spirit of nationalism. West German leaders, in that atmosphere, are not likely to be as pro-Western as Adenauer.

"Adenauer's policies are in some danger of going out with Adenauer.

"The West, in that case, will have to start all over again wooing Germany."

(*U. S. News & World Report,* 4-16-54)

(5) ". . . A suggestion of the arrogance of old is rising correspondingly. The Ruhr industrialists complain of the restrictions put upon them by their participation in the European coal and steel pool. . . .

"Adenauer now has wide support throughout Germany, but if Europe is not united, if the dream is frustrated, then no one can say what the resurgence of Germany will mean. That is why so much turns on the days and weeks just ahead."

(*Marquis Childs, Chicago Sun-Times,* 3-11-54)

(6) ". . . Today's Western opposition to German participation in EDC and other natural German desires recalls the first act of the past tragedy. If the Germans are made to feel unwanted again, it should surprise nobody if they again turn from the path they now follow under Adenauer. . . . Today, true enough, there is practically no evidence of a German turn away from the West; but, in the years ahead, such a turn would become more possible in proportion as the West denies Germany just and equal partnership."

(*Norbert Muhlen, The New Leader,* 4-12-54)

(7) ". . . If EDC dies, Moscow is going to benefit from the resultant anger in Washington and confusion in the capitals of free Europe. Above all, there will be frustration in Bonn. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer . . . admits to mistrust of the instincts of his moody fellow Germans if they are rebuffed and isolated. And if Dr. Adenauer is replaced before the Federal Republic's diplomatic future is committed on a long-range basis, new and embarrassing trends might well develop."

(*C. L. Sulzberger, New York Times,* 4-4-54)

(8) ". . . If France does not ratify the EDC Treaty, the entire issue of German-French pacification will be in doubt. It would defeat in Germany the forces which, under Adenauer's leadership, believe that peaceful cooperation with France will guarantee security and prosperity in Europe. . . ."

(*Karl Brandt, Associate Director, Food Research Institute, Stanford University,* 12-23-53)

The above statements are so similar in content and even in phraseology that one would almost be tempted to believe that they received their original inspiration from one source. In any event, the fact remains that the Germans are working overtime to frighten literally the Western Allies, particularly the United States, into submitting to their demands.

The employment of scare tactics is an old habit with German leaders. The Kaiser and Hitler were masters at this game and it now seems as if the leaders of the Federal Republic are resorting to the same stratagem.

In an article published in the Reporter Magazine (2-16-54), Charles W. Thayer writes that a foreigner who knows the Germans well, said: "They remind me of a schoolboy who has just won a good race and is looking around for his prize. He has lots of applause but no medals and he's getting just a little bit frustrated and angry." Inquiring how serious this alleged frustration is, Mr. Thayer reported the comment of a high American official: "We are heading toward a crisis in the next few months. It is either ratification of the treaties soon, or chaos." This is precisely what the Germans would have us believe, namely that "chaos" or renewed ties with the Russians may be the final consequence of the "faltering" policies of the West.

One does not have to give special praise to a child with a decent character to insure that he continues to behave. The foreigner mentioned by Mr. Thayer, seems to imply that if the Germans are bribed with all kinds of concessions, they will stay on the "straight and narrow path." We are not that optimistic. On the contrary, the more we give, the greater will be their appetite. Certainly, this is one of the lessons of history.

By stressing this new propaganda line, the Germans have inadvertently proved how dangerous it would be to let them have guns. It seems that they cannot face difficult problems without resorting to threats or to extreme measures. Thus, while many other major states maintained democratic government even when they were confronted with the grave problems arising out of the depression of the 1930s, the German turned to dictatorship. Judging from this "new" line it appears that the Germans would not hesitate to re-awaken the spirit of militarism and totalitarianism if it suited their purposes. Can we rely on such a people as a sincere and stable ally of the Western democracies?

> **"Spain was chosen by the Pentagon as the terrestial anchor in Southwestern Europe of the Radford Line because of the assumption that geography and General Franco combined to make the country a strategically strong and a politically safe base for the 'long haul' and the New Look in the Mediterranean . . .**
>
> **"But the Pentagon should have considered psychology, too, particularly the historically obvious fact that it is in the nature of a dictator's appetite to grow with eating . . .**
>
> **"So the Pentagon's assumption didn't go far enough. It didn't take fully into account the Caudillo's Oliver Twistian taste for more power and his talent—shown in the deals of Adolf Hitler—for bold blackmail to satisfy it. And therefore it fell short of the possibility that Spain's man of safety might become a danger in the Mediterranean.**
>
> **"The targets of the renewed claim to Gibraltar and the new effort to split the Northern Zone of Morocco away from the Sheriffian Empire seem to be Britain and France . . .**
>
> **". . . The real target of the synthetic campaign of irredentist nationalism and of the bold blackmail is the United States herself.**
>
> **"Franco doesn't expect to make the British give up Gibraltar or the French to take lessons in colonial democratization from him.**
>
> **"What Franco wants from the US is to be considered the equivalent of Konrad Adenauer, to be the second of a politico-military pair of Pillars of Hercules bestriding together the whole of Western Europe . . ."**
>
> ***(Frank Gorrell, The New Republic, 2-22-54)***

THE CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST

During his recent trip to Washington the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, Dr. James Conant, gave a glowing report about Germany's economic power to a group of senators at a private meeting. According to the noted Washington columnist, Robert S. Allen, Senator Styles Bridges sought Dr. Conant's view with regard to reports that the West German Government was subsidizing German firms to compete with American companies. "Conant," writes Mr. Allen, "said he knew nothing about that." (5-11-54)

The U. S. High Commissioner's reply will come as a surprise to many American businessmen. They know from first hand experience that the Bonn Government has been up to its neck in promoting German exports at all costs—leaning heavily on subsidies of one kind or another to do the trick.

Numerous articles have appeared in U. S. newspapers and magazines dealing with this subject. Unfortunately, space does not permit us to refer to all of the evidence which we have before us. However, in view of Dr. Conant's denial we think it is important to cite a few concrete examples of how German competition operates on the world market.

The Wall Street Journal (12-15-53) carried a lengthy report on this subject entitled "Ruhr Speeds Invasion Of Foreign Markets, Pinching U. S., Britain." It was stated that a check with American manufacturers of heavy industrial equipment, electrical equipment and machine tools "shows that many of them are feeling the squeeze of German competition." In Pittsburgh, the sales vice president of a leading heavy equipment producer complained: *"The U. S. gives a grant to the German government for rehabilitation, then the German government goes to the manufacturers in Germany and says, 'We want the turbine business in South America.' So the companies go into South America and offer ten-year credit terms because they have a guarantee by the German government that any losses will be taken care of. The American companies can't meet these long terms on their own. They don't have government guarantees against loss. It's just ruining American foreign business."*

Business Week (1-23-54) discussed the resurgence of the German shipping industry. This development has had an adverse effect on Western European competitors and on the position of American ship builders.

What is the secret of Germany's success?

"A big factor behind this progress has been the Bonn government's tax policy. That, at present, exempts shipbuilding investments from taxation if the proceeds are plowed back into the industry. Since 1950, this state encouragement has produced 40% of the total investment in German shipbuilding. Backstopping the tax aid is a direct government subsidy to the tune of 70 million marks yearly."

Reporting from Mexico, a correspondent for the Christian

Science Monitor (4-20-54) revealed that the Germans were looming as a direct threat to American commercial interests in that country. A U. S. steel goods sales representative discussed this question and admitted that "U. S. industry can't meet the competition of German government subsidies." He elaborated on this point as follows: "To get back on its feet in the foreign trade market, the West German government is in effect subsidizing sales of German goods abroad at cost. With high wages, high taxes and no government subsidy, U. S. manufacturers can't meet the prices or offer the same liberal payment terms."

It is true, the German industry through its cartels and trusts has constantly pushed German exports in a way that has undercut the competitive position of other countries including the United States. Nevertheless, the Bonn government has played the decisive role in these operations. "The Federal Government, by granting subsidies . . . has been instrumental in financing . . . the shipbuilding boom, which last year put the country in the world's second place with nearly 700,000 tons; and the huge increase in exports, from $2 billion in 1950 to $4.4 billion in 1953." (Wall Street Journal 5-25-54)

In this connection, the Federal Republic's Finance Minister, Fritz Schaeffer, admitted to the Wall Street Journal correspondent that exports have been "artificially stimulated" through the use of government funds.

While Dr. Conant's denial first drew our attention, we were also intrigued by the fact that it was Senator Bridges who broached the subject. We assume that he did so because he must be concerned with the impact that German competition is having on American industry. Four years ago things were different. In the Summer 1950 issue of Prevent World War III we ran a piece entitled "German Dumping On The March." In that article it was stated that there "is a group of individuals in the United States who believe that German economic power, world security and American prosperity are all one word." It was noted that several Senators had complained that the limitations on Germany's industrial potential "was a pro-British conspiracy which fitted in with the world wide revolutionary plans of the Communists." One of the Senators was identified by name—Styles Bridges of New Hampshire.

Commenting on Senator Bridges' allegations we stated that he like all other Senators, "is elected by his constituents to safeguard the American people and the institutions of free enterprise which have made this great nation of ours." We then predicted that Senator Bridges' brimming-over enthusiasm for the revival of Germany's economic power "may one day place him in a very embarassing position in the eyes of our businessmen and the unemployed workers who will have to suffer so that Germany gets a more exclusive place in the sun." There is nothing that we would wish to add at this time.

GERMAN RE-ARMAMENT AND DEFENSE OF EUROPE

When, shortly after the outbreak of war in Korea, France proposed the integration into a European Defense Community of her armed forces with those of Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, the proposal was seen as more than a limited response to immediate fear of Soviet Military power. It *was* that, but it was more; it gave positive promise of a European renaissance, a leap into the future—away from the frustrations of ruinous European nationalisms.

The US cannot be accused of failing to wish the new project well. If there is fault, it lies perhaps in the largeness of American enthusiasm; for in recent months resistance to ratification of the EDC has increased in proportion to US pressure on its behalf.

Resistance there is—from Left to Right; and no amount of angry impatience will lessen it. In the last analysis any workable European Community must have not merely parliamentary ratification but active support of the peoples concerned.

Additional US military assurances to the French, who are weakened by war in Indo-China and worried both by cracks in their African empire and the resurgence of their traditional foe, Germany, might be required if France is to join the EDC.

But if EDC ratification must await firmer US military pledges (under which resistance to aggression would not occur only when *we* chose, or at places of *our* choosing), could the present Congress be counted on to approve binding advance commitments of such a nature?

There are different views toward rearmament of Germany, inside or outside an EDC framework. Yet, they share certain common assumptions:

(1) any supranational arangement such as EDC must come to terms with deeply rooted national prides; (2) *some* form of collective defense is still needed in Western Europe; (3) if the US persists in demanding adoption of the present EDC formula, European resentment is likely to stiffen further; and (4) preoccupation with the present Communist threat should not blind us to the possibility of Germany's again endangering the peace of the world. . . .

(Condensed, Courtesy, The New Republic)

". . . A lot of things about the German people disturb me. One is their resistance to change, and their stubborn belief that only Germany can judge what is good for Germany . . . Another is their great national pride, which they think they have partly overcome with their superficial acceptance of EDC and their compulsory experiment with occupational internationalism. But they still laugh at the French, still lament the Italians, and look upon their own position as unchallengeable . . .

"The Germans admire America for its production and wealth. I think they pity us for our political ineptitude—and I wonder how they arrive at this feeling, for certainly the German record is nothing that gives them the right to judge . . ."

(John Gould, The Christian Science Monitor, 5-13-54)

The Unrepentant German

by

TERENCE PRITTIE

Some people who know Germany well believe that the Germans experience extreme difficulty in being honest with themselves. Wars, revolutions, and Nazi dictatorship have left them with a rooted aversion to admitting that they have ever been in the wrong and an unhappy doubt as to whether they were ever in the right. Germany, by inference, is one of the last countries in the world where one should expect a straight answer. Questions are usually answered obliquely, with cross-references to what So-and-so has said on the subject and what the official angle may be. The individual German too often divests himself on the responsibility of even having an opinion of his own. Instead, when cornered, he will argue. An interesting result of this attitude of mind is that no authentic German history has been written, since the First World War, by a German. The period remains unexplained, save by tendentious and woolly memoirs which evade the facts with the self-effacing agility of a lizard.

That is why Ernst von Salomon's book "The Answers" is so significant as well as fascinating a document. This book was published two years ago in the original German text, under the title of "Der Fragebogen"—referring to the questionnaire which members of the Nazi party and other Germans had to fill in under Allied direction. The book had a mixed reception and some critics admitted frankly that they did not know what to make of it. "Der Fragebogen" dealt, in autobiographical form, with twenty-five years of the author's life up to his release from an American internment camp in 1946. Each question of the 131 in the "Fragebogen" was answered, sometimes in a word or sentence, sometimes with a long and occasionally disjointed account of a part of von Salomon's life.

The book was full of wit and hatred, uncanny perception and violent prejudice, enlightenment and muddle-headedness. That was not what made the critics' task so difficult. But the book was a deliberate effort of a clever man to write th truth. Naturally, the critics were embarrassed.

Who, first of all, is Ernst von Salomon? He was born in 1902. his "von" indicates his family's social standing. He became a member of the Prussian Cadet Corps, was too young to serve in the First World War, but joined the irregulars who fought pitched battles along Germany's eastern frontiers long after the Armistice. He became an officer and acquired a taste for the lawlessness and violence which were hallowed in most German minds by the ideal of the inviolability of "the Fatherland." The end of the "unofficial" war in Silesia left men like von Salomon with nothing to do. Like others of his kind he matriculated from guerilla warfare to civil murder.

In 1922 he helped to kill Walter Rathenau, quite simply because he did not approve of his policy of "Erfüllung" or fulfillment of the Treaty of Versailles to which Germany was a signatory. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and when he came out he wrote several books (one of them, "The Outlaws," was almost a best-seller), dabbled in journalism, rusticated near Biarritz, worked for the Rowohet publishing house, and wrote film scripts up to and during the Second World War. Finally, as the murderer of Rathenau he was arrested by the Americans and imprisoned for eighteen months.

Von Salomon's decision to write the true story of these years of alternating indolence and activity had all sorts of unforeseen results. It seriously upset those Germans who wanted their country to "settle down." Von Salomon made a mockery of democracy—which, whatever its shortcomings, was the only creed available to 50,000,000 West Germans.

The word "democracy" is one that I have only very rarely, and with great reluctance employed. I do not know what it is and I have never yet met anyone who could explain its meaning to me. . . . But I fear that Hitler's assertion—that his ideological concept was the democratic concept—will prove a hard one to refute.

It is so easy to thumb one's nose at something which one does not want to understand! Contempt for individual freedom and for the rule of law were the basic teachings of that Nazi party which von Salomon—mainly for reasons of social and intellectual snobbery—did not join.

Glorying in being a Prussian—"which I would have become if I had not been born one"—von Salomon treats democracy in the same way as certain apes advertise their distaste —by turning their posteriors towards the subject of it. The spectatcle in both cases is unedifying.

Von Salomon was an early convert to German "dynamism." A contented and "simple" Germany was for him "unthinkable." It would merely mean that the Germans were "forgetting their past history" (which they have never learnt!) and have presupposed that the world would not "intrude its problems on the Germans" (which the world has been most disinclined to do, until the Germans have first obtruded theirs on viciously aggressive neighbors like Luxemburg and Denmark). Dynamism presupposed action. What kind of action? "It was pure chance that I took part in the murder of Rathenau: it happened quite automatically because I had become attached to Kern. . . . In fact Rathenau was the only Jew whom we murdered," or "The only course open was to eliminate every Erfüllungs politician. To eliminate in that context is, of course, to kill. What other means were there at our disposal?" To that type of mind the answer is "none," and murder may well be "automatic." Murder is such an excellent substitute for democracy anyway.

Salomon would have one believe that the bloody Kapp Putsch was an "attempt to serve the State." He depicts Henlein as a Sudeten patriot trying to save his people from nazism at a time when Henlein was conniving with Hitler to provoke a Czech crisis.

He heartily subscribes to the ideals of the Austrian Nazis —not because they were Nazis but because they wanted the Anschluss. He applauds the breaking of the Versailles Treaty and he national plot not to limit the armed forces to 100,000 men. Law and order meant nothing to such a man, yet Salomon tries to show that he was a genuine and representative Prussian. The horror of his book is that he seems to prove his case.

After the "elimination" of six million people in the concentration camps it has been widely accepted that the Germans are cruel. The word is badly chosen. They are callous, for they are less inclined to encourage deliberate brutality than to be perfectly indifferent to it. Let me quote von Salomon to show what I mean.

Of the S.S. leaders two were outstanding. . . . One of them, a Standartenführer, has been finally sent to Hungary by Himmler to solve the Jewish question. He solved it in the most drastic fashion, which proves that with a certain amount of skill even tasks of this sort can be mastered in a way which will make the morally self-assured and presumptuous Americans express their profound admiration.

What irony! What verbal felicity! Only—just 200,000 Hungarian Jews were "eliminated" by the Nazis and one word, just one word, of regret would not have been out of place. Von Salomon claims to have been shockingly treated by the Americans, but they did not "eliminate" him. He was only a self-confessed murderer. The Hungarian Jews committed no crimes, and were ruthlessly slaughtered.

Von Salomon remains an unregenerate nationalist who never became a Nazi. That is what makes his book so important. For it has been assumed that the end of nazism must mean the beginning of a new German democracy, that—by inference—the only threat to the latter is a Nazi revival. Von Salomon suggests an alternative, and no one need be fooled by his cynicism.

This is the book of a clever German who chooses over his wounded self-esteem. It is a reminder that German nationalism is a more potent enemy than nazism.

It is a warning to all those who blandly assume that because you put a different uniform on a German he turns into a different person. Europeans may be grateful for this warning. Germans will think otherwise for, as they may see it, von Salomon has lifted the grating at the end of the gutter and exposed too much to the prying eye of the outside world.

(*Courtesy, Manchester Guardian Weekly*)

"The potentially most dangerous elements in Germany are 40,000 Nazis who have gone underground and the thousands of veterans who have emerged to fight democracy in Germany . . .

"Yet 40,000 have chosen to remain hidden under their aliases. And among them are some 8,000 who were prominent in the Hitler era. Many of them, under these aliases, again are active in the economic and public life of Western Germany."

(Martin G. Phillips, The Worldwide Press, 4-23-54)

OPERATION SECRECY

While secrecy in government is today being defended on grounds of national security, we find it difficult to imagine any legitimate basis for the decision of the United States High Commission in Germany to release top-ranking Nazi war criminals before their sentences have expired without revealing their names. If there are good reasons why some war criminals should be pardoned or their sentences commuted, there should be no hesitation in identifying them. If no such grounds exists, the criminals should not be released.

The commutation of the sentences of Nazi war criminals has been one of the most shameful aspects of American and Allied occupation policy in Germany. The Germans have made release of war criminals one of their most insistent demands. They are determined to discredit the Nuremberg trials, to wipe out German guilt for the horrors of Nazism, and to undermine the concepts of crimes against humanity. The Allies—our own government foremost among them—have continually yielded to these pressures in order to court German favor and goodwill. As a result, Nazis found guilty of and sentenced for some of the most brutal of crimes have been released long before they had served their sentences. They have been welcomed as heroes and martyrs by large sections of the German populace and they have been functioning freely and openly within Germany. Each time there has been some protest, almost invariably from outside Germany, with little appreciable result. Today a new and much more far-reaching measure of appeasement through the further release of war criminals seems to be in the offing. And the U. S. High Commission evidently regards the potential reaction as so explosive that it is going to keep the names of those released a secret.

This policy is a disgraceful and frightening one, and calls for immediate investigation. It can mean only that the rehabilitation of the worst of the Nazi war criminals is to be accelerated even beyond the present indecent pace. Whatever the short-term benefits of such appeasement may be, its long-range consequences are certain to be disastrous. The most reactionary elements in Germany are being strengthened and encouraged. They are being given leadership with American halos replacing their Nazi helmets. . . .

Secrecy as to the identity of the war criminals being released will only serve to confirm the growing suspicion that the much advertised democratic character of the new Germany is little more than public relations veneer and that beneath the surface, reaction is daily gaining in strength and influence.

(*Courtesy, Congress Weekly*)

". . . In general, the people are either passively or positively antagonistic to a revival of the old Wehrmacht, either the Prussian or the Hitlerite model (though the masses might swing over if the bands began to play) . . . in the background of Dr. Adenauer's right-wing coalition partners are generals who believe that the Nazi New European Order and the Viking Division of the Waffen SS were the models for the anti-Communist Europe of tomorrow . . ."

(The Economist, 3-6-54)

The Diplomacy of Leadership

by

LIONEL GELBER

Mr. Gelber is a recognized authority on international affairs. He taught at the University of Toronto and served with the RCAF during the war. His earlier books, "Peace By Power" (1942), "Reprieve From War" (1950) were acclaimed by scholars. His most recent book, "The American Anarchy" (1953) is a brilliant analysis of the American scene and requires careful study and thought.

. . . Europe has been railing against Americanization since the 1920's. But this hitherto was visualized as American influence on folkways and popular culture—from the movies to the consumption of Coca-Cola. In the epoch of Senator McCarthy a more serious note is struck. For Europeans either overestimate his grip on the liberties of the country or underestimate that pro-Society conspiracy out of which—liberals having pooh-poohed it—he made capital. McCarthyism has an impact which confirms, as it heightens, a concept of America that antedates Senator McCarthy and may outlast him. At rock bottom, in reacting against Americanization, Europeans have been fleeing from realities which are inherent in the twentieth century itself. The United States is the chief exemplar of mass production; to retain its freedom in the modern contest of large-scale entities, Western Europe may have to transform its economy on the American model. And since they prefer old traditions to new exigencies, West Europeans decry that symbol of bigness which is America.

But the problem is not solely one of Western Europeans accepting with good grace the social consequences of large-scale organization. They are tied, for their own safety, to the might of the American colossus. Yet they are loath sometimes to adopt measures urged upon them by the United States. And while these may be rejected on their merits, such reluctance also springs from the manner in which they are put forward. As she leads the Grand Coalition of the free, the United States must perceive that conventional diplomacy is not enough; that the diplomacy of leadership calls for qualities of tact and insight as unprecedented as the conditions to which they must be suited.

Mr. Clement Attlee, as leader of Her Majesty's Opposition in Britain, is, among responsible allied statesmen, the one who has been most outspoken in expressing doubts over the conduct of American foreign policy. But it is a Cambridge don, D. W. Brogan, who, in a brilliant essay, has come nearest to explaining the American temper. He traces it to the illusion of American omnipotence—the belief, when matters abroad go amiss, that it is not their intractibility which is to blame but, since nothing is beyond the capacity of the United States, treason or knavery at home. It is from this angle that Americans look upon the fall of China to Mao tse-Tung. It is submitted here, however, that Mr. Brogan's illuminating analysis is, as it stands, somewhat incomplete; he has, as it were, told only half the story. For there are two illusions of the same species involved; and the second, which derives from the first, is the illusion of American omniscience. By the former the potentialities of American control over hostile forces are exaggerated; by the latter it is the susceptibilities of America's own friends and allies which may, at awkward moments, be ignored.

If the sagacity of the United States in foreign affairs matched her strength, the illusion of American omniscience would be no illusion. But does it? That she can do more than her partners is true; that she knows better than they what should be done ain't, as the song goes, necessarily so. And her assumption is of very recent vintage. It takes for granted that good judgment dawned overnight with primacy. The United States rose to world power under McKinley; but from the days of the first Roosevelt to those of the second, the American people, except for the interlude of World War I, would not recognize the extent of their own stake in the preservation of our free world order. If membership in the United Nations, if the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, NATO and mutual aid, security pacts with Pacific and Latin American countries have been a valid contemporary approach, then, by their mere existence, they condemn a previous generation which spurned such undertakings. These, moreover, are all co-operative endeavors and it is as such that they must be handled. The paymaster as he pays the piper may feel that he ought to call the tune. But for harmony in his own camp he should not be tone-deaf.

That the fault is a bipartisan one might be illustrated by episodes which have occurred under Democrats and Republicans alike. Nor has it been confined to the Executive branch of the American government. Senator Knowland as Republican floor leader is spokesman in the Senate for the present Administration. And it backfires on America's own national interest when a public figure holding so important a post demands that, if China's seat passes from the Formosan to the Peking regime, the United States resign from the United Nations. For he does not intimidate the foes of America thereby; he simply tells her friends that the United States will play the game according to her own rules or not at all. Nor do the Democrats exhibit the diplomacy of leadership when their Senate leader, Senator Lyndon Johnson, declares that he will not vote again for foreign aid (and at least one more year of this is envisaged) if Atlantic allies still hesitate to commit their destinies to the European Defence Community. It is, in other words, presumed by American politicians that they not only command a range of intricate questions which affect the well-being of close and honored associates. They suggest that every partner of America, if it would cherish the partnership, must bow low before an omniscience acquired, as it were, at one swoop and with scant preliminary evidence.

Public utterances which show little respect for the spirit of coalition diplomacy will not enhance respect for America herself. And when American membership in the United Nations, when the future of the United Nations itself, would hinge on China's seat, that is letting a lesser issue—whatever its rights or wrongs—determine a greater. To throw out the baby with the bath water is to take, in the name of morality, a course that is not even sound morally. Nor is there a consistency on moral issues among American politicians which will impress non-Americans. If China is an aggressor—and she is—is Franco Spain innocent of official crime? Yet the United States may enter into an agreement with the latter while striving to debar the former, after hostilities cease, from the international body. Such alternations of principle debase principle. They imply, moreover, that whatever the United States does is right because she does it. And a mood of that kind, when she deals with partners who are as morally aware as herself, could ruin any coalition.

But it is not only Senators, with their potent voice in working out American foreign policy, who may put up the backs of America's allies. The Executive branch have also been impelled by the illusion of American omniscience; have, under Democrats and Republicans alike, been headstrong in trying to impose their will on their own associates. Under both parties the American government has, since World War II, been too intent upon international co-operation for it to threaten a reversal of major trends when these cannot always be accelerated at the speed or in the manner desired—even though Mr. Dulles, on his first visit to Europe after taking over the State Department, appeared to be on the verge of doing just this. "We know," he himself later asserted before the eighth General Assembly of the United Nations, "that we have no monopoly of wisdom or virtue." But how well is that known? For the significant thing about this remark was that the Secretary of State addressed it to the allies rather than the foes of the United States, that American coalition diplomacy in Europe and Asia had reached a pass in which such a statement could be delayed no longer.

Nor did this deter Senator McCarthy who, in his quest for conformity on trade with China, would resort to economic coercion within the camp of the West itself. Talk of that kind the White House and the State Department were bound to repudiate. Yet unless the European Defence Community is ratified, Mr. Dulles himself now warns, there will be "an agonizing reappraisal" of Washington's European course. The military implications of so grave an intra-allied threat may not be clear. As Atlantic coalition diplomacy it was but another example of *gaucheries* which undo with one hand the good done by the United States with the other.

The French, to go back a few years, have, for instance, never quite recovered from the shock inflicted by Mr. Acheson in the autumn of 1950 when, without prior notice, he demanded the rearmament of the new West German Republic. Unison with Britain and France in German affairs had hitherto been the ABC of American postwar policy. It was they and not the United States who were twice maimed in one lifetime by Teutonic aggressions. The principal allies of the United States are neither suppliants nor satellites. Morally they enjoy a perfect right to be consulted by the leader of the Western coalition before any major departure in their joint efforts is broached. Intellectually their national experience must equip them with a comprehension of the German problem which surpasses that of Americans who have, on the highest levels, dealt with it. Potsdam, through a series of improvisations evoked by Soviet ill-will, had been undermined. The West European allies of the United States realized that Mr. Acheson's insistence was a logical conclusion to the establishment of the Bonn Republic and to the revival of the Ruhr's heavy industry—that bedrock of German intransigence in aims and arms. Yet here was omniscience taking it upon itself to force the pace, to know best complexities and subtleties for which it was prepared by nothing in the American record or the American situation.

At a time when West Germans are lacking in militancy and have voted in large numbers for a Western orientation under Chancellor Adenauer it is, nevertheless, American self-assurance rather than Gallic forebodings which seem to have been vindicated. But Stresemann was not immortal and neither is Adenauer. The material foundations of German power have been restored; used in accordance with one tendency today, they can be used in accordance with another tomorrow. Perhaps the West German Republic should be rearmed. It may be that a Slavonic onslaught cannot be countered locally without twelve German divisions; it is possible that in a European Army these divisions would not betray their trust . . .

Most of what the Germans want for the fulfilment of ultimate national ambitions lies beyond the grasp of the West and within the orbit of the Soviet Union. And this is a brute fact which American policy makers have side-stepped. What the United States had to give the Bonn Republic has virtually been given; soon the West Germans can be wholly on their own. Soon, too, the heirs of Adenauer, thanks to assistance thus received, will be able to negotiate with Russia from strength; no Balkan puppets, they could be more independent than Mao tse-Tung. Washington and Bonn may hope otherwise. But as long as the Communist regime is on top in Russia it will not ever really abandon Eastern Europe; in an era of East-West deadlock, it is therefore only by linking up with the Soviet Union that the West Germans may repossess land, brethren and trading opportunities which would return to them again their place in the sun.

The German Right, in tune with rooted tradition, has always been aware of this. When the Social Democrats oppose the entry of the Bonn Republic into the European Defence Community, they keep open the way for German unity on Russian terms. Can so dire a contingency be prevented by any federalizing device which would recast the politics and productive forces of Western Europe? It is one of those risks that are more incalculable than calculated. In the eyes of Washington the French might be unduly apprehensive; but in the eyes of Paris the Americans, for all their vaunted realism, have not yet grappled with the inmost European realities. As expedients to canalize that Germanic dynamism which Mr. Acheson was so eager to release, the French invented both the Schuman Plan and the European Defence Community; but while expending blood and treasure in Indo-China and while holding North Africa for NATO, they may, on second thoughts, have wished the West European coal-steel pool to succeed before plunging ahead with a European Army which entails German rearmament. Nor, in this context, did the uprising of East Germans against Russian overlords on June 17, 1953, prove that all Germans will march inevitably with the West. It may only have demonstrated that against a foreign yoke—as from Jena to the 1920's—Germans always rebel.

French misgivings over the contents of American policy in Germany have thus been accentuated by the rush in which it was pushed through. Nor is it only the aggrandizement of West Germany itself which causes worry. West Europeans suspect that the United States may inadvertently facilitate German mastery by leaving them to face it alone. Even if there were no more Bismarcks, no more Rapallos, no more Nazi-Soviet pacts, even if a resurgent Germany could be counted on to cling loyally to a European Defence Community, such a project may presage a weakening rather than a strengthening of the West. For its underlying postulate might turn out, from the American standpoint, to be a neo-isolationist one.

Omniscient about what others should do, Americans themselves are still far from clear about the scope and duration of their own permanent responsibilities. Germany in two world wars demolished irretrievably the European balance of power; peace is maintained in the global arena by an American-Soviet equilibrium. European allies of the United States and Canada may, if steadily underpinned, be a very substantial regional adjunct of this new global equipoise. Yet the risk of a remilitarized Germany is to be taken on three hypotheses, resting on continental rather than transatlantic power, which are either obsolete, naive, or ominous. Of these the first would presuppose that that Humpty-Dumpty, Europe's own balance of power, can somehow be set up by itself once more. The second is the premise that within it a nationally resurrected Germany will observe with fidelity the restraints of a European Defence Community. And the third is that, as a result of all this, the United States may be able to disengage her own land forces from Western Europe, from the most vital sector of the world front. Such a European policy might contrast with that pursued in Korea, or ineed elsewhere on the Pacific, where the United States has been undertaking fresh obligations; in the light of other British and French commitments it would be tantamount to putting on Germany the onus of European defence. What nourishes it, in brief, is the conviction that the historically uncontrollable can, on the mere American say-so, yet be controlled. And it is anxieties thus stirred up which predispose West Europeans to look with less skepticism than Americans on conciliatory gestures by Moscow.

The British now agree with the United States on the role of Germany in the defence of the West and are willing to go as far as other interests allow to reassure the French. Nevertheless when the British balked at joining the Schuman Plan, American censure revealed Washington again exhorting others to take steps of whose full consequence it had small inkling. What the European Defence Community is expected to accomplish in its sphere, the Schuman Plan had been designed to do in the realm of basic resources: to absorb German energies, as fostered by the United States, in some larger grouping. And taken together all such ideas (excellent in themselves) point to a European federal union—whether it be founded on a coal-steel pool, a West European Army, a West European Parliament (as distinguished from the Council of Europe) or some blend of the three. The difficulty is, however, that as a counterweight to its domination by Germany, Britain would also have to belong to it. But this means that the United Kingdom must merge its ancient sovereignty in an over-all West European one. As a component of a federal union, Britain would have to sever direct overseas ties with her own dependencies, with equal partners of the Commonwealth, with the United States herself.

The United States, that is, instead of knowing all the answers, has been advocating objectives which are incompatible one with the other. It is to her national interest to favor a strong Britain in a strong Commonwealth. But neither can be strong, and the United Kingdom itself could not adequately reinforce Western Europe, if it were cut off from the worldwide sources of its regional power. Britain has for centuries had one foot planted in Europe and one outstretched across the seas; entry into a supranational union would require of her not so much a shift in stance as the amputation of a limb —and a corresponding loss in total vitality. Americans themselves should, as federalists, have been quick to see what the integral character of such a project would entail; as practitioners of a world policy they will have to think in global rather than continental terms. For here is a dilemma to which a solution on the American pattern could only defeat the American purpose. . . .

(*Condensed, Courtesy, The Antioch Review*)

"At the Berlin Conference last January no serious attempt was made to explore the possibility of creating a safely neutralized Germany. Mr. Molotov was never forced to answer the question:

" 'Will Russia permit truly free, all-German elections if the Western Powers forego a German military participation in Western defense?' . . .

"From month to month our bargaining position grows weaker—and not only vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. If Mr. Dulles' long-delayed reappraisal results in nothing better than a decision to jettison France and to place American reliance upon a rearmed West Germany, the Germans will soon be dictating to us the kind of settlement they will accept; this will certainly not provide adequate guarantees against either betrayal or renewed aggression. Moreover, the decision to rearm West Germany outside of the European Defense Community means the breakup of the whole NATO alliance, creating a military vacuum behind the rearmed West Germany upon which we shall then depend.

"There remains only one alternative: not a rearmed, neutral Germany which can play East against West, but a disarmed, reunited Germany neutralized under adequate safeguards . . ."

(James P. Warburg, The N. Y. Times, 6-11-54)

Japan—A Reliable Ally?

"South Korea informally charged yesterday that, once 'the treacherous Japanese' have been rearmed, they might join the Communists . . .

"The attack on Japan, Korea's traditional enemy, was contained in a statement issued by the Republic of Korea's Govment's Office of Public Information . . .

" 'The Korean theory is that if the United States insists upon rearming the treacherous Japanese, she (the United States) should insure herself and other free peoples from another program of conquest by the Japanese when they think the time is ripe . . .'

"Yesterday's Seoul statement said the Japanese expected and deserved punishment for the Pearl Harbor sneak attack; were surprised by American application of the Golden Rule and accepted the humane treatment while convinced 'Americans were foolish.'

" 'Gullible, foolish Americans who a decade ago were hated with a burning fury, the Korean statement went on, today fondly believe the smiling, beady-eyed, low-bowing Emper worshippers are sincere in their protestations of repentance for their misdeeds—or rather the misdeeds of their wartime leaders. Part of their line to to convey the impression that the average Japanese opposed the war but had no choice than to follow the leader.

" 'The Japanese and their Western hirelings would have America build up Japan as the bastion of democracy, as the fortress that should stand between Soviet Russia and North America to protect the very people the Japanese sought to subjugate and humiliate, dominate and enslave.

" '. . . the Japanese know they have not fooled everybody. Enslaved nations see through (Japan's) policies all too clearly. Such countries as Australia and New Zealand are alert to future dangers. But the United States attributes to other peoples the same high ideals and honorable motives that guide her international relations.' "

(*A. P.*, 3-7-54)

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"Japanese ultranationalists are emerging from a nine-year hibernation.

"For the first time since Japan's defeat militarists, exterrorists, peasant leaders, and rightwing intellectuals have banded together in a Council for the National Salvation Movement, whose twin aims are the restoration of Emperor worship and of Japan's former hegemony in east Asia.

"The council has a star-studded cast of leaders of attempted putsches during the chauvinistic 1930's, including the assassins of two Premiers. . . .

"Observers believe, however, that the ultranationalists expect their influence on the expanding Army to grow in a more basic and subtle way. Already they are receiving substantial support from 'patriotic' industrialists. Already some members have infiltrated the ranks of the officers. But the major influence exerted by the ultranationalists on the Army is expected to come, as formerly, through the peasant recruits which will form the backbone."

(*Takashi Oka in The Christian Science Monitor*, 4-19-54)

"Japan is rapidly turning back toward systems of behavior outlawed or frowned upon during the long post-war Allied occupation, according to mounting indications here. . . .

"The most recent indication of a would-be return by the Japanese to systems that predated not only the Pacific war but also the nation's military totalitarian era is seen in a growing trend toward Governmental centralization and abdication of much of the local autonomy on which the Allied command insisted as the basis for a western-style democracy. . . .

"The swing away from Western innovations is somewhat more difficult to trace in the social conduct of the Japanese, but there are at least some indications that the same trend to the older systems is at work. One is the growing revival of the Shinto religion, which, with its worship of imperial and national ancestors, was one means the militarists used to work up nationalist feeling among the Japanese masses. Shinto was separated in the early days of occupation from Government support.

"The official subsidies have not been restored. It is now made known, however, that the Government spent some 200,000,000 yen ($55,000,000) last year to support the shrines as 'national monuments' and 7,000,000 Japanese engaged in raising more than treble that amount for the reconstruction of grand shrines at Ise. . . ."

(*Lindesay Parrott in The New York Times*, 1-18-54)

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"Since the end of the Occupation there has been a marked growth of nationalist groups in Japan. Some of the old prewar patriotic groups have been revived, and new groups have been formed. The trend has not as yet reached important proportions, but a nationalist reaction is bound to come in Japan. It may be a new nationalism based on Japan's culture; or nationalism may be captured by the militarist-minded and the chauvinist. The revival of reaction may become a troublesome problem for the Japanese. . . .

It is not impossible that the ultranationalists and the Communists might join forces, and such a union would produce a real danger to democracy in Japan."

(*"The New Japan," by Royden Dangerfield, Foreign Policy Association, December*, 1953)

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"In Germany the combines and cartels are returning; in Japan the great economic monsters, the zaibatsu, broken up by General MacArthur during the occupation, are re-forming. So much for the good intentions of the Allies in trying to save the occupied countries from great concentrations of economic power and to re-establish 'free enterprise.' As soon as independence is regained the old forms reassert themselves. . . . The industrial giants are reviving, with all that that means in the exercise of economic power over Government and people."

(*The Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 12-24-53)

"Masanobu Tsuji, one of Japan's most brilliant military strategists in World Warf II, has warned the United States to pull its troops out of Japan as soon as possible or 'the day will come when she will regret it.'

"He also warned 'a strong anti-American feeling prevails and is increasing in this country.' . . .

"Mr. Tsuji devised the strategy behind Japan's lightning invasion of Malaya and the capture of Singapore in late 1941 and 1942.

"He was listed as a war criminal by the Allied command, but was never captured. He has become a national figure since the end of the occupation. . . .

"An influential member of Japan's lower house, he said he has sent a letter to Vice-President Richard M. Nixon warning against American policy toward Japan.

"Mr. Tsuji said he made four points:

"1. The United States should withdraw its troops from Japan and not compel this country to rearm.

"2. The United States should admit the war crimes trials were a mistake.

"3. The United States should say what it expects to gain by Mutual Security Administration aid to Japan.

"4. The United States should reconsider and revise its policy toward Asian countries. . . ."

(*Associated Press,* 12-22-53)

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"Academic freedom in Japan is facing its greatest postwar challenge. . . .

"The new laws would make it a criminal offense for a teacher in a public primary or middle school to advocate the cause of a particular political party, either within or without the classroom. . . .

"The chief proponent of this legislation has been Education Minister Shigeo Odachi, whole-heartedly backed by Premier Shigeru Yoshida and the majority Liberal (conservative) Party. . . .

"Mr. Odachi directed the wartime national police network as Home Minister. Before this he was prominent in the puppet governments in Manchukuo and Occupied China, and served as Mayor of Singapore under the Japanese occupation.

"His Vice-Minister, Yoshio Tanaka, former thought police chief in Nagasaki, also served as chief of the Thought Section of the Education Ministry and as a high official of the Manchukuo government.

"Finally, the chief of the Primary and Middle School Bureau, Shinichi Ogata, another former thought police chief in several prefectures, served under Mr. Odachi in occupied Singapore. Thus these gentlemen at some time or another, all participated in the notorious pre-surrender system of thought control, and for this reason were purged from public office during the American occupation of Japan.

"Since taking office last May, Mr. Odachi has pressed, not only for restrictions on teachers, but for revision of the social studies courses to place more emphasis on Japanese history and geography. A textbook describing the Japanese conquest of Manchuria as an aggression was disapproved, and a plan is afoot to revive the prewar system whereby the Education Ministry, instead of independent publishers, would compile all primary and middle school textbooks. . . ."

(*Takashi Oka in The Christian Science Monitor,* 4-2-54)

"Japanese war criminals convicted of wartime atrocities and international crimes against the Allied powers, who have been held in prison here, are dwindling rapidly in number due to extensive paroles, releases, amnesties, and completions of sentence.

"The prospect is that most of those convicted of crimes against the United States will gain their freedom in a few more years.

"The Japanese, moreover, feel strongly that all remaining war criminals should be released as soon as possible. . . .

"At first the war criminals were considered a powerful object lesson to the Japanese nation and they were roundly condemned by Japanese. This may have been mingled with relief that these few were bearing punishment for many others never brought to trial.

"Now, however, the lesson is wearing thin, and the imprisoned men gradually are coming to be regarded as special martyrs—the violence of their wartime activities long since forgotten. . . .

"It is clear, moreover, the Japanese do not regard the men in Sugamo as ordinary criminals. This is evidenced by the fact they are given virtual hotel treatment by Japanese standards, are permitted to vote in national elections, and even are visited by campaigning politicians. . . ."

(*Henry S. Hayward in the Christian Science Monitor,* 3-17-54)

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"Japan is in trouble. Unlike Britain and Germany, it hasn't used the last five or six years in a really determined effort to rebuild its economic strength. . . .

"This harsh reality has jolted Prime Minister Yoshida's government into launching an austerity program—a salvage operation based on restriction rather than expansion. . . .

"Others think the drastic kind of reforms needed by Japan won't come until after a serious financial crisis. . . .

"Leadership in Japan might then be taken over by a radical militarist like ex-Colonel Masanobu Tsuji or a devotee of state capitalism like Shinsuke Kishikishi, who was once top economic planner for Manchukuo. Both would tend to favor the state controls and cartel policies that were used in Japan during the expansionist period of the 1930s. . . .

"An influential sector of the industrial and trading community is eager to expand trade with Red China—not only for the sake of the trade itself, but also as a sort of bargaining level with which to pry better economic treatment out of the West.

"What's more, a neutralist element is gaining strength fast in Japan. . . .

"Both the industrial group and the neutralist group see the Red Chinese market as the major escape route for the Japanese economy. They see Japan as the 'factory of the Orient,' the 'Switzerland of Asia.' "

(*Business Week,* 2-13-54)

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"Japan is moving progressively away from the free enterprise system proclaimed here after the advent of Premier Shigero Yoshida's conservative government in 1948. . . .

"Instead there is being established a 'guided economy' with the government again proposing or imposing controls over the importation and marketing of many key commodities. . . ."

(*Lindesay Parrot in The New York Times,* 4-10-54)

How Dead is Hitler?

by
SEFTON DELMER

A most sacrosanct dogma of U. S. foreign policy is the assumption that present-day Germany is a reliable and increasingly democratic bulwark against totalitarianism. Unfortunately, the American press in general tends to believe in the infallibility of this notion. As a result, full reporting on the pros and cons of this crucial problem is not always available to the American people.

A recent case in point is the absence of any reference in the press with respect to the sensational articles written for the London Daily Express by Sefton Delmer, its chief foreign affairs reporter and one of Europe's leading journalists.

Mr. Delmer has a world wide reputation. He was among the first newspapermen to report the disturbing symptoms in the 1920s which gave rise to Hitler. His present exposé created an uproar in Germany.It was the cause of bitter debates in the British House of Commons. Yet, none of Mr. Delmer's findings were reported in the American press. Because we believe that an informed public opinion can best help shape a sound foreign policy, we deem it our duty to reprint below the full text of Mr. Delmer's startling exposé.

A general was the first to make the request. "Please don't mention my name," he said to me. "If you do I shall be on the boycott list.

"Industrial firms will refuse to have anything to do with me if my views become known. Government agencies will give me no orders. My business will be ruined."

That does not sound very courageous I agree—particularly from a holder of the Knight's Cross and one of the most distinguished younger officers of Hitler's General Staff.

But it is a sentiment that I have had to hear with amazing frequency from Germans.

They are afraid of the new clandestine discipline that the German militarist machine is once more beginning to impose, even before its revival has been officially authorized by the Allies.

Yes, here I am, barely nine years after Hitler's suicide and militarist Germany's catastrophic collapse. And I am finding many of the same disturbing symptoms and portents I had to report before Hitler took power.

Under the Mantle of Innocence

Under the mantle of innocent Chancellor Adenauer, many of the same tendencies appear to be developing which, in the pre-war days of the equally innocent Foreign Minister Stresemann and, later, Chancellor Bruening, foreshadowed the coming of Hitler.

Look at the patriotic hue and cry now launched to throw out the "traitors and collaborators" from the Civil Service, from the newspapers and news agencies and radio.

Who are these traitors and collaborators? Opportunists who fawned on Hitler in the days of his power and helped him to reduce Germany and half Europe to ruins? No.

On the contrary. They are the *anti-Nazis.*

First and foremost among them are the emigrés—Germans who had escaped abroad before or during the war.

These men joined in the fight against Hitler during the war and won the confidence of the Allies. When VE Day came we brought them back to Germany and installed them as key men in the new democratic machine that was being built up.

The New Purge

Our intention was that they should be a guarantee against the revival of Hitlerism and militarism. Now all kinds of pretexts are being put forward for their removal. Anything goes, from inefficiency to alleged membership of the Communist underground.*

Also due for removal in this new purge are men with a genuine record of anti-Hitler resistance during the July 20 bomb conspiracy of 1944—and men who gave unfavorable evidence against German war criminals at their trials.

Former German officials dismissed or imprisoned by Hitler for anti-Nazi activities are by law entitled to rehabilitation, compensation, and reinstatement.

But every possible trick of official red tape is being used to delay indefinitely the decision on as many such claims for reinstatement as possible.

Unhealthy Symptoms

I have part of the confidential dossier concerning a former Prussian police officer who was imprisoned by Hitler, and then, after his release, went abroad as an instructor for the Chinese Army.

"By helping the Chinese to fight the Japanese," says the confidential report of a German general who sits on the reinstatement committee, "this man kept the Japanese from attacking Soviet Russia and helping the German Army in its struggle. As a soldier I deplore his conduct of contributing to the country's disaster."

Don't tell me that these cases, of which I could give so many more examples, are merely a healthy symptom of reviving Germany's national self-confidence, essential if this great soldier-nation is to help the West put up an effective barrier to Soviet imperialism.

I say they are a sign that:

(1) The rush to rearm Germany, prompted by the war in Korea, has already given back enormous clandestine power to the same militarists' and industrialists' clan that was behind the disastrous wars of aggression of Bismarck, the Kaiser, and Hitler.

(2) These men, despite their smooth protestations of "Europeanism" and devotion to the Western ideals of democracy, are out for themselves and their clique only.

They mean to oust from their positions of importance everyone whom they suspect might not be implicitly obedient to their orders.

(3) They regret nothing of the past but their defeat and the mistakes in leadership which caused it.

There can be no more sensational mark of the power of the rising militarists than the open defiance of the Potsdam Pact (*which the Allies signed in* 1945) by the public appearance of ex-Servicemen's associations in Western Germany.

These ex-soldiers associations were rightly forbidden by the Allies under this pact because of the immense share the associations had in the rise of Hitler and the growth of militarism.

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* *ALLEGED membership of an anti-Hitler Communist organization called "The Red Chapel" is the charge being trumped up for the removal from the North-West German radio of its controller, Professor Adolf Grimme, and one of his leading officials, Alexander Maass. Both of these men were appointed under British auspices.*

And here they are again flagrantly in power. They meet in vast public assemblies, are addressed by Ministers of the Adenauer Government in fiery speeches containing all the dangerous chauvinistic ingredients beloved of military propagandists here from the Kaiser's day to Hitler.

Militarism on the March

The army has its special ex-Servicemen's regimental associations; so have the air force and the navy. Even the S.S. has its own associations.

They are openly allowed to bear Nazi names like "Parachutist Army Corps Hermann Goering," "Destroyer Squadron Horst Wessel," "Fuehrer Grenadier Division," and even "Fuehrer Bodyguard Division."

More outstanding still is that Chancellor Adenaur, who claims to have repudiated Hitler and militarism completely, should have permitted the formation of the so-called Steel-helmet Association. It looks to me remarkably like a revamping of the old Nazi Stormtroops, even to the jackboots, breeches, and shirts its members wear at political rallies.

As their president they have Field-Marshal Kesselring, pardoned war criminal, who publicly proclaims that he still preserves his full loyalty to Hitler and Goering.

Kesselring is now at work trying to have "war sport training" organized for the younger and more militant age groups among his Steelhelmets.

Ostensible reason, of course, for permitting the reappearance of these ex-Servicemen's associations is the help that they can give in recruiting and collecting members for the new German armed forces at such time as they are to be set up.

As significant almost as these new military and ex-soldiers' associations is the flood of military newspapers and periodicals which have burst all over Western Germany.

These newspapers and periodicals, of which there are more even than in the time of Hitler, are many of them subsidized and guided by the new Adenauer "War Ministry" of Herr Theodor Blank.

Many of their propaganda lines are reminiscent of Goebbels. "In Stalingrad our troops defended not only Germany but Europe," they preach. The restoration of the great Germany of the Hitler era is demanded by them.

They claim that Germany is entitled to the leadership of Europe, and promise that she will obtain it with her armies.

Echoing the Nazis

But then, what is surprising is such language from newspapers when the Cabinet itself contains men like Communications Minister Herr Seebohm, recently in London? He has publicly proclaimed such Nazi militarist views as:—

1. "The German East . . . not only includes the Elbe and the Oder, but also Bohemia and all territories in which Germans once were settled."

2. "In 1945 only the German Army, but not the Germany people, capitulated."

Jobs for the Gestapo Boys

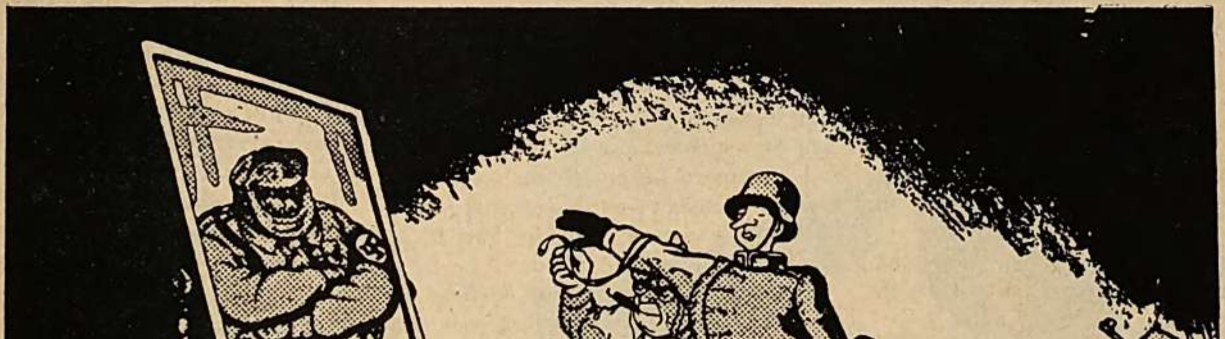
A judge dealing with a case of alleged espionage by former German S.S. men discovered, in the course of the trial, that key men of the old Gestapo are creeping back into power in Western Germany. It so shook him that he caught the next train from Karlsruhe, where the Federal Court was sitting, to Bonn and asked for guidance from the Ministry of Justice.

Was he praised for his action? He was not.

Instead it is now being said of him in Bonn that "Old so-and-so is not the right judge for a case of this kind."

I cannot say I blame those Germans who are frightened of the growing power of the secret camarilla among them.

For it *is* growing. It came out at the Karlsruhe trial that inquiries had been made not by the Federal Republic's official agencies—neither police nor counter-



(*Daily Express*, London)

espionage—but by agents of the unofficial and very secret service led by the top mystery man of Germany today—Major-General Reinhart Gehlen.

Until Germany's capitulation General Gehlen was head of Hitler's anti-Soviet espionage services. He is occuping the same position today unofficially on contract to the American occupation forces in Germany.

Gehlen and Globke

Just to baffle the judge a bit more it turned out that the four main witnesses for the prosecution—Gehlen men all of them—were S.S. men themselves.

"Perfectly logical to set an S.S. man to catch an S.S. man," some would say. "Let's get the most efficient men for the job regardless of the past." On the same assumption I suppose we ought to accept without a qualm that the Gehlen man in charge of this investigation was a former security service chief who had won the highest approval of Himmler for the ruthlessness with which he rounded up the conspirators of the 1944 plot against Hitler.

Well, it had the judge worried. I will confess I did not like it very much either.

And I still do not like it, not even after running into General Gehlen himself and finding him a most agreeable, clear-headed, very intelligent staff officer in the best Prussian tradition.

He was calling at the office of Dr. Hans Globke, Permanent Secretary of State to Chancellor Adenaur, just as I was leaving it and we had a little chat.

Dr. Hans Globke is a tall, bland man with the smoothest of smooth manners, a pair of very shrewd eyes behind rimless glasses. He is generally held to be the most influential backstage wire-puller in Adenauer's Germany.

He certainly has his fingers in the Gehlen pie. With alacrity he told me so himself.

"As soon as the treaties are ratified and we are entitled to have a secret espionage service once more," he said, "the general and his organization will pass officially under the control of the German Government.

"I do not say we shall take his staff over man for man. We shall want to have a say about the staffing. But in principle the Gehlen group will become the official German State organization."

Secret Operations

The doctor smiled mysteriously. "Until then," he said, "we must continue the present camouflage arrangement by which the Gehlen organization is under American control and paid for by the Americans, but under the closest contact with me."

Well, you could not wish for anything clearer and less ambiguous than that.

As for suspicions that the Gehlen crowd is a dangerous body likely to restore the secret rule of militarism in Germany, why, Dr. Globke assured me that he had personally investigated the Gehlen organization. So have a couple of parliamentary deputies. And all three of them had come to the same conclusion: there was nothing Nazi about them.

Furthermore, General Gehlen's activities were strictly confined to espionage and counter-espionage.

Now, of course, I admit that I am not as expert on matters of secret police as the doctor. For many years he was one of the top permanent officials in Hitler's Ministry of the Interior. He had plenty of contact with Gestapo matters then.

But I canont help feeling that he is misinformed about the staff of the Gehlen organization. Perhaps the general himself is not fully aware of the extent to which his group has been penetrated by former S.S. and security men.

Many Germans that I come across who have connections with such things have given me striking instances of this penetration. In the Hamburg branch, for instance, I am told, there are five well-known security service men working.

Misgivings

So I cannot help sharing the misgivings of another German general—who, as I mentioned yesterday, was most anxious that I should keep his identity secret for fear of reprisals against him if it came out that he had talked.

This officer believes that Gehlen is using his influence to see that it is the Nazi type of officer who gains control of the new German Army when it is formed, and not the anti-Hitler "traitors" of 1944.

For my part I think the rearming of Germany at this early stage is bound to have this effect whether Gehlen is active or not.

I am confirmed in that view by all I have seen of the incipient rebirth among the Germans of the old terroristic herd discipline, a hush-hush secrecy in which the germs of democratic freedom are already being extinguished even before the new machine is born.

Diplomatic Blackmail

I wonder whether our Mr. Eden and Washington's Mr. Dulles would preserve their blithe confidence in the usefulness of German rearmament if they could see a memorandum I have in front of me now.

It is a memorandum of Germany's post-Berlin foreign policy prepared by a former S.S. captain and ex-Ribbentrop diplomat, Dr. G. A. Sonnenhol.

The doctor is today the right-hand man of Vice-Chancellor Blucher.

This document has been the basis of a serious discussion of Germany's foreign policy by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Free Democratic Party.

This party is financed by the Rhine and Saar industrialists, numbers many ex-staff officers among its deputies.

Main point of the memorandum is that the cold war between East and West must be kept going by the Germans so that they can play off one lot against the other, reunify Germany, and assert and increase the power of the Fatherland.

It demands the formation of a big German Army "capable of fully exploiting German manpower reserves."

The thinking I find revoltingly reminiscent of that in Himmler's now famous address to the gauleiters at Poznan in August 1944.

On that occasion Himmler held out the possibility of an end to Germany's troubles by a truce with the Allies.

The Germans, he said, would play the Russians off against the West and then intervene triumphantly in the inevitable war, with a German people's army retrained, reequipped, and S.S.ified.

Take a glance at these extracts and you will get the idea.

After arguing that the tension between the victors of 1945 has already been exploited so successfullly that Germany is strong enough to abandon her policy of absolute reliance on the West and blind obedience to its orders, Dr. Sonnenhol says:—

"Our war potential has now become so great once more that such a policy (or subservience) is no longer permissible. . . . Germany's war potential, inconsiderable in comparison with the two opposing Powers, would become decisive if added to one side or the other. . . .

"Fears in the West of a German-Soviet understanding, coupled with the intransigence shown by the Russians at the Berlin conference, give a strong negotiating position to the Government which it can and must exploit."

German Aims

The memorandum formulates a number of immediate requirements for the Government.

The Government must declare immediately its refusal to tolerate any further delay in the formation of German defence forces.

Germany's security must be assured either by the creation of a national German Army, failing a European one, or, as an interim measure, by an increase in the members and equipment of the West German police to three times the strength of the police force in the Soviet zone. (This would give West Germany 36 divisions.)

Next, the Bonn treaty must be revised so as to remove the last restriction imposed on German sovereignty. In particular, all control of German arms production by the security board must be removed.

The restraints forbidding German industry to form trusts and cartels must be abolished. The Western Powers must return to Germans their foreign assets which were confiscated abroad. They must contribute also some financial assistance to help the West Germans relieve the distress in the German Soviet zone.

German trade and industry must be relieved by a special exemption from the restraints imposed on Western nations by the embargo on trade with Eastern bloc countries.

Germany should be given special permission to trade with China and the Soviet world.

Cold-War Profiteers

What is the argument with which all these demands are to be pressed on us? Quite simply: Blackmail.

"We must use the thesis in our discussions with the Western Powers," says Dr. Sonnenhol, "that Germany and the Soviet zone in particular are today suffering as martyrs for the Western peoples.

"Germany renounces the kind of reunification offered her by the Russians for the sake of the other Western countries.

"But Germany cannot be treated as a former enemy if one does not want to run the risk of the German potential one day being placed at the disposal of the Russians."

And just to ram that point home, the memorandum proposes that the West German Government should establish official trade representations in the Soviet Union, China, and the Iron Curtain satellite States. And also, of course, get into direct contact with the Soviet German Government in Berlin.

It is a telling document this, isn't it? And believe me, it is as close as can be to what the foreign policy will be which the Germans are in fact going to follow.

It is not too late yet. We can still veto Adenauer's conscription Bill. We can stop German rearmament dead. That would shatter these monstrous projects of Bonn's would-be cold-war profiteers.

Adenauer's Colleagues

Lord Pakenham wants me kept out of Germany.

My reports from that country, he tells the House of Lords, are "poisonous" and "puerile."

"No fair-minded person," he says, "who" (*like himself*) "has recently visited Germany could go there now and meet people of all sorts and then come away and say the generals were back or the Nazis were getting into the saddle."

If that is what Lord Pakenham thinks, let him look at these three names in Dr. Adenauer's Cabinet list:—

(1) Professor Theodore Oberlaender, Minister for Refugees, joined the Nazi Party in 1933. He occupied the rank of Stormtroop Chief in the Gauleiter's office for East Prussia.

(2) Herr Waldemar Kraft, Minister for Special Assignments, was a colonel in the S.S. and from 1943 onwards an official of Himmler's notorious Secret Police Service. His S.S. membership number is 347148.

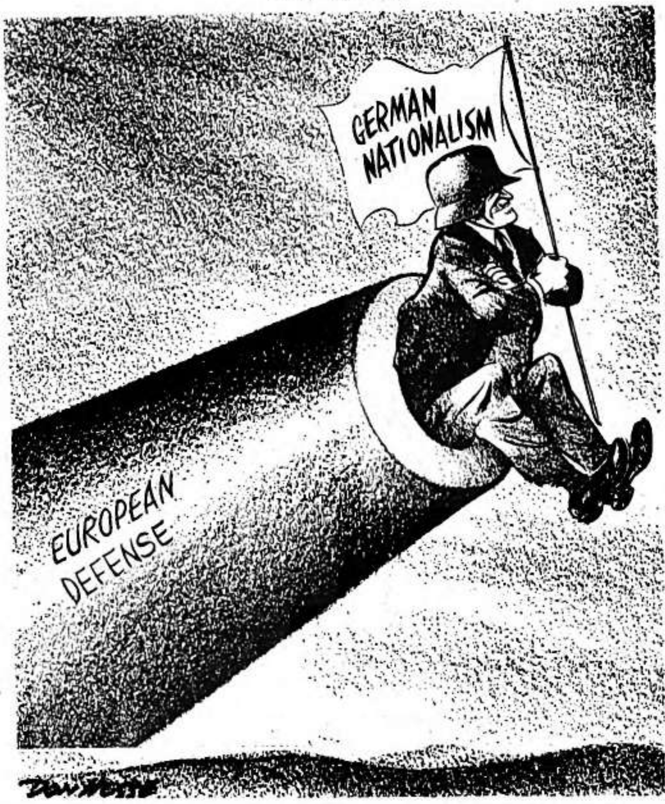
(3) Herr Victor Preusker, the Minister for Housing, joined the S.S. in 1933. For his part in "liberating the German economy from the Jewish yoke" Herr Preusker was presented with a special certificate of honor by Adolf Hitler.

And of course all these Nazi big shots in Adenauer's Cabinet have filled their Ministries with little Nazis.

All the same, I can understand Lord Pakenham's anxiety.

For he himself during his tenure of office as a Socialist Minister was responsible, among other things, for the denazification and re-eductaion of post-Hitler Germany.

THE PLUG



Hesse in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

It is bitter for him to have to admit that his work has failed. I for my part would readily acquit him of personal responsibility for this failure. The most brilliantly conceived policy was bound to collapse. For to achieve success it had to be implemented over a long term.

Only six years, however, after the fall of Hitler the Allies rushed in to rearm Germany for the defence of the West.

As the inevitable consequence Nazis and militarists alike today proclaim that this rearmament of Germany is a posthumous justification of Hitler as the champion of the West against Bolshevism—an ever-recurrent German propaganda line during the war.

The Misguided Lord

But I have another reason for sympathizing with Lord Pakenham in his distress. His visits to Germany are conducted tours. He meets the people the Germans want him to meet, hears the things they want him to hear.

His last trip was under the auspices of the Anglo-German Society. It invited Pakenham to lecture to members in Düsseldorf and Bonn on Anglo-German relations.

I wonder what would have happened if Lord Paenham had visited Germany under similar auspices in the pre-Hitler era say in 1929 or even 1931 or 1932.

Would he not too have denounced me as poisonous and puerile for reporting, as I did then, that the German Reich was breaking the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty, that real power in Germany had once more become vested in the German generals, that despite the denials of the "pacifist and progressive" Foreign Minister Dr. Stresemann, a German air force was being secretly trained in Soviet Russia?

I rather fancy that Lord Pakenham, like so many other wishful thinkers of those days, would have pooh-poohed the warning I gave after my first interview with Hitler in March 1931 that "Germany is marching with giant strides to join the Fascist nations of Europe." Believe me, I am no German hater. I have sympathy for the average German.

But I know too well how easily he falls a prey to the jingoist hallucinations of military grandeur, as opposed to the sober, democratic rule of law.

I have seen his indoctrination. As a small English boy at school in Germany, in the Kaiser's time, I went twice a week to "war classes" where the master pumped into us hate of Germany's neighbors and arrogant pride in Germany's past military achievements.

Together with my fellows, I stood to attention when our moon-faced master with the duel slashes on his cheeks entered the classroom and roared: *"I want to see soldiers, not lousy civilians!"*

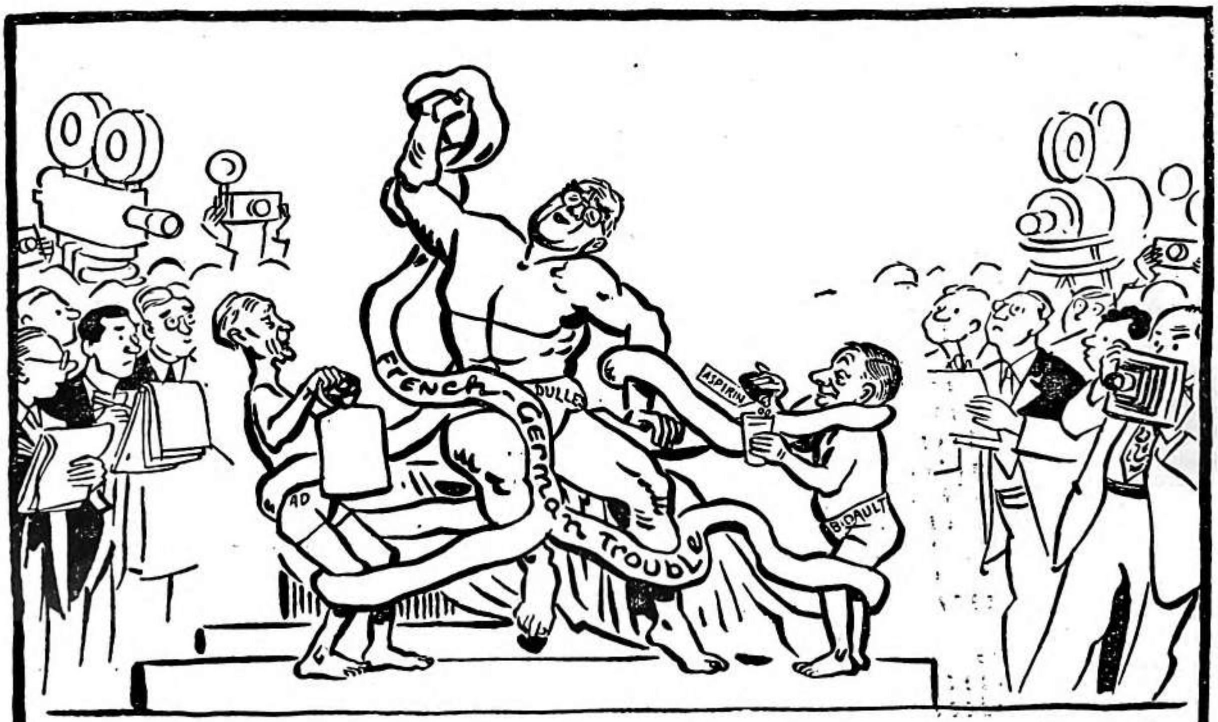
Later, I accompanied Hitler on his election tours, watched him pouring his own fanaticism and aggressiveness into the same simple Germans.

The Price

I realize the danger to Western Europe from Soviet Russia and its satellites, but to bring all this nationalist militarism back under Allied auspices is a price that I consider too heavy.

Particularly in view of the certain German attempt to exploit their position between the two blocs to "hot up" the cold war and blackmail us with potential desertion to the East.

That is why I have taken the trouble to report the new danger symptoms to be found in Germany today.



"LOOK OUT! HE'S MAKING AN AGONISING REAPPRAISAL"

(*Courtesy, The Manchester Guardian Weekly*)

Germans with Guns Can't Be Trusted

by
J. F. GOLAY

J. F. Golay is former head of the U. S. Secretariat of the Allied High Commission in Germany and is now working on a study of the Federal German Republic at Oxford University.

The American public, preoccupied with the menace of Soviet power, has become accustomed to regarding the European Defense Community as the magic solution to the defense problem in Europe and to forget that there are serious risks in rearming the Western part of a divided Germany. EDC was devised by the French in response to an American desire for the rearmament of Western Germany in the days after the beginning of the Korean War, when any addition to the strength of the West seemed worth considerable risk. The pressures of those days have abated and many of the French, for whom Germany is a problem of first priority, are reconsidering their position. We also would do well to think again.

The rearmament of Western Germany will almost certainly mean the end of any chance of reunifying Germany by four-power agreement; but it will not be the end of the problem of German reunification. It cannot be supposed that once the means of conducting a German policy are in their hands (*i.e.,* German divisions exist to support their diplomacy), the Western German government and people will be content passively to submit to the division of their country indefinitely. They will surely embark upon a policy aimed at bringing about reunification and the recovery of the Polish-administered territories. Indeed, the program may not stop there.

There are signs here and there in the Western German press and the pronouncements of politicians that the Germans will not be satisfied with the 1937 frontiers. For instance, Rudolf Lodgman von Auen, writing in the December issue of *Aussenpolitik,* Western Germany's equivalent of *Foreign Affairs,* of which Professor Wilhelm Grewe, Chancellor Adenauer's adviser on international affairs and special representative at the Berlin Conference, is an editor, outlines a "German and European Eastern program," to be realized within the framework of an American "roll-back" policy in Europe, the next phase of which, he says, will be aimed at the "restoration of a genuine balance between East and West."

In the course of the article he maintains that a future German government would be well within its rights under international law to re-open with Czechoslovakia its re-occupation of the Sudeten region in 1945. Where all this will lead, no one can say, but having regard to the past, it seems safest to assume the worst. The present leaders of the Federal Republic may genuinely believe that the promotion of a reunification policy could be kept within the limits of peaceful action. But every lesson of history and of our own experience teaches that in matters of this kind there will, sooner or later, be a resort to force. It is well to remember that since the peace of Westphalia in 1648 finally set the seal on the disintegration of the old Reich, there have been nearly 20 wars in Central Europe arising out of the territorial disorganization of Germany and the territorial ambitions of Germany and her neighbors.

Chancellor Adenauer has more than once said that the establishment of the EDC does not mean closing the door to reunification, but, on the contrary, that it provides the best means for reunifying Germany.

The American High Commissioner, Dr. James B. Conant, has recently echoed this view. It is difficult to see what it could mean unless it is contemplated that force, or diplomacy based upon the threat of force, is to be used at some stage to compel the Soviets to hand over the Eastern Zone—and perhaps other areas. But even if, in the future, the Western German government conducts its policy with circumspection and the fullest regard for its obligation to its European partners, there would still exist in the situation where Eastern and Western German troops faced each other across a frontier the danger that incidents, arising from tension between the pro- and anti-Communist factions, could not be isolated and might lead to general war.

An ancillary cause for concern over West German rearmament (within either the EDC or NATO frameworks) is the fact that, although the German voters decisively rejected the extremist parties in elections last autumn, there are now reports that, as plans and preparations for rearmament go forward in Western Germany, members of the militarist, industrialist and Nazi cliques are finding their way back into places of power and influence, while democratic-minded Germans —those who resisted the Nazis and many of whom were installed in posts of authority by the Allied governments— are being ousted or sidetracked on one pretext or another.

Is it really worth exposing ourselves to these risks for the sake of 12 German divisions? Although the SHAPE generals have assured us that a German contribution is vital to Western security, it is, with due respect to expert opinion, difficult to see how this could be. If the present British and American forces are to remain in Western Europe, then of course 12 German divisions must be counted an addition to strength. But whether they could make a vital difference to the power of the West to resist an invasion in force, where the aggressor was able to dispose of forces three or four times the size of those of the West, seems doubtful.

The main deterrent to Soviet aggression lies in another form of strength. The function of ground forces in Western Germany would appear to be limited to that of discouraging attempts from the East to assimilate the Western Zones of Germany by political and economic penetration, and perhaps by use of Eastern German forces, where in the absence of Western defense troops an ambiguous situation might develop. But if Allied forces are to remain on the continent for this purpose, Western German contingents seem superfluous. On the other hand, if Western German troops are eventually to *replace* Allied forces, as seems likely since neither the United States nor Britain is prepared to give categorical guarantees on this point, then there loom all the dangers of rearming a Western Germany which, without the counterpoise of American and British forces, would be in a position, as the strongest member of EDC, to dominate its partners.

It seems more sensible to leave things the way they are in Western Germany for the present. Objections may be raised as to the cost to the American taxpayer of maintaining these forces in Germany indefinitely. There is no reason why the Western Germans should not make an increased contribution toward the cost. They are well able to do so. They are now paying at the rate of 7.2 billion Deutsche Marks toward the support of Allied forces in Germany, whereas experts some time ago estimated that a fair German contribution toward Western defense should be substantially greater. Furthermore, if the Western Germans had to raise and equip their own forces without outside aid, it would certainly cost them much more than DM 16 billion for many years to come. This arangement would no doubt be unpopular with the Western Germans, who would not care about paying more for troops which are not their own, but after two disastrous world wars, we do not *owe* the Germans an army, and if maintenance of the peace requires that their protection be provided by Allied forces, the Germans should meet a fair share of the costs. Properly regarded, it is no detraction from its dignity or prestige that the German Federal Republic does not have armed forces of its own. Except for security matters, it has had the practical exercise of all the important attributes of national sovereignty for more than two years. This could now be made a *de jure* sovereignty by putting into effect all except the security provisions of the Bonn Conventions.

In the long run, of course, another solution for Germany must be found. At the Four Power Berlin Conference last February, neither the Western Foreign Ministers nor Molotov was prepared to propose or explore solutions which would meet the preoccupations of both sides and which might therefore have had some chance of leading to an agreement. Mr. Molotov's European security plan, which, it appeared, would leave no one secure except the Soviet Union, was matched by the Western Ministers' invitation to Mr. Molotov to agree both to free elections in all of Germany and to the right of a reunited Germany to rearm and ally herself with whom she pleases—a proposal which, in prevailing circumstances, amounts to asking the Soviet Union to agree to the installation of German, American and other Western defense forces on the Oder-Neisse line.

What alternative solutions might have been put forward? It might have been suggested that the stationing of Allied occupation troops should be continued for a definite period, say five years, at the end of which security arrangements and the future status of Allied troops in Germany would be reviewed. In the interval, the reunification of Germany, the formation of a freely elected German government, and the negotiation of the provisions of a peace treaty, except those dealing with security, might have produced conditions making it easier to resolve this problem. In a variant of this proposal, the occupation forces would be withdrawn from the central area of Germany—the Russian forces east of the Oder-Neisse rivers and the US, British and French troops west of the Rhine.

Another alternative which might have been canvassed is the admission of a Germany, reunited on the basis of free elections, to the United Nations and the establishment of a United Nations' defense force for Germany. Such a defense force could be composed as to one-third of contingents recruited from Germany, and as to the other two-thirds, in equal part of contingents of the present occupation powers (say, 100,000 German troops and British, French, American and Russian contingents of 50,000 each). The command of the force could be for a specified period and could devolve in turn upon a national of each of the countries participating, beginning, perhaps, with a Russian and concluding with a German commander. There would be an integrated international command staff. In time the contingents of other member countries of the United Nations might replace some or all of those supplied by the present occupation powers. Such a scheme would make it possible for Germany to be neutralized as a military force in Europe without leaving a vacuum. At the same time, it would enable the German people to play their rightful part in the protection of their independence and homeland. It would look to the day when the occupation powers could be relieved of the burden of maintaining troops in Germany. It would not disturb the present relationship of forces between the power blocs, but would provide a transition to a genuinely international solution of the problem of European security. Finally, it should strengthen the prestige and authority of the United Nations, no small desideratum in itself.

It is easy to find objections to this or any formula of which one might think, for any road to a settlement of the German problem will be beset with difficulties. But if the four powers have the will for a settlement, a solution will be found. The important thing is to keep the way open until the will exists. We cannot do better for the present than to stand where we are in our relations with Western Germany. This is no time for bold moves and "dynamic" policies, which can only have the effect of deepening the division between East and West, creating fresh causes of tension, and closing more of the avenues by which agreement might ultimately be reached. To be sure, the Soviets started the whole thing and were the first to re-establish armed German forces. But is the West compelled to make the same mistakes? Going the Soviets one better is not a policy; it is a one-way ticket to disaster. The Western powers must be strong, but they must also be wise —wise enough for themselves and, if necessary, for the Germans and Soviets as well.

(Courtesy, The New Republic)

". . . It is being gradually realized that it is extremely difficult for the United States to meet the power of unfriendly dictatorships by trying to rush democracy in the under-privileged areas of the world.

"Even top American diplomatic sources have admitted privately there is not much chance of maintaining democracy in Germany over any length of time . . ."

(John C. Metcalf, The Gazette & Daily, York, Pa., 2-17-54)

Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster—85th Birthday

On June 1, 1954, the Carnegie Endowment International Center was the scene of the celebration of Professor Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster's 85th birthday. The co-chairmen of this important event were two outstanding American scholars—James T. Shotwell, the President Emeritus of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Alvin Johnson, the President Emeritus of the New School for Social Research.

Those who paid homage to Professor Foerster on this occasion, experienced the thrill of listening to the great tributes rendered to this world renowned philosopher, historian and humanist by such outstanding intellectual leaders as Albert Einstein and Lewis Mumford. Together with the speeches made by Professors Shotwell and Johnson, these laudatory remarks reveal the profound influence that Dr. Foerster has exercised during the course of his 60 years as a courageous fighter for peace, truth and freedom.

Professor Foerster was born on June 2, 1869, in the very heart of the State of Prussia. Thus, his life and experiences extend from the days of his childhood under the severe Prussian atmosphere of Kaiser Wilhelm I, to the apocalyptic era of two world wars. From the very beginning Professor Foerster recognized the reasons for the moral decay of the German nation and the danger to world peace inherent in the aggravating Prussianization of Germany. "In official Prussia," he once wrote, "I always felt a native of an area occupied by the enemy."

The struggle against German militarism and Pan-Germanism is intimately linked with the name of Foerster. The intensity of the persecution launched against him was itself proof that he was one of the few leading Germans who had been able to perceive the real nature of German policy, whether it was the empire or cloaked by republican institutions.

Writing in his magazine "Die Menschheit," July 8, 1927, he warned the world as well as his people, "This much should at last be clear to us: The masters of Germany today need peace and want peace, but only in order to prepare for war and to be armed upon a date which will be decided by the weakness of her neighbors. The date will fall anywhere between 1933 and 1938."

Foerster's ability to make such a prophecy was based on his historical perspective enriched by his many years of living in Germany as a German. It was his masterful comprehension of German history, his profound understanding of the German people—their psychology, traditions, political and economic interests—which made him a genuine authority on the German problem.

Following World War II, the Western Allies had a choice and an unprecedented opportunity. They could have followed the sage advice of Professor Foerster with respect to the postwar treatment of Germany, or they could have turned to the same personalities and policies which helped make Germany the breeding ground of two world wars. They took the latter course and now they face the blind alley of disaster.

Professor Foerster knew that the Western Allies were tempted to "solve" the German problem as they did after World War I. He appealed to the Western Allies, "Don't let us be fooled again." Through his writings Professor Foerster endeavored to establish guideposts that would enable our policy makers to develop a realistic approach to the solution of the German problem. He was aware of the fact that some of our statesmen believed that the German people were capable, by themselves, of exterminating Nazism. Foerster's reply was unequivocal as it was full of meaning: *"If the overwhelming majority of the German people were not still national-socialist, then their armies would not fight as they are fighting. Nor would the extermination of National Socialism, which is merely the most recent manifestation of the Pan-German disease, really hit the root of the trouble. The deep-lying root is the Prusso-Teutonic megalomania that admits no self-examination. It refuses to recognize any right other than might. When others prove stronger, however, it lays claims shamelessly to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The protection of the Atlantic Charter will then be utilized to facilitate a new attack against the moral basis of humanity."*

Professor Foerster knew that there were voices in the Allied camp that were trying to separate the vast majority of the German people from their Nazi leaders. He realized that if the Allies accepted this distorted picture of the situation in Germany, their policies would turn out to be ineffective as they would be based on false premises. Therefore, he spared no effort to expose the myth and illusions which were rapidly built up by pro-German propagandists. In analyzing the allegation that World War II had been caused by Hitler, Foerster wrote:

This is a dangerous untruth. World War I and World War II are the logical result of the power-madness and megalomania which has smouldered in the German educated classes for more than 100 *years. It means therefore deceiving oneself and deceiving the world, if one spreads the illusion that after this war the victors will be greeted by a people anxious to be liberated from tyranny. The tyranny was the evil passion in which they almost all shared and which was bound to bring about the final eruption. So we have to face after this war an unconverted majority which will wait and see whether or not the victors can be deceived once more. This spirit will find its revival, unless all illusions are finally brought to an end and, unless a people that is politically on the level of* 12 *year old boys, is brought under a long-term tutorship."*

As an educator of great repute, Professor Foerster stressed the importance of a realistic approach to the problem of German re-education: *"Certainly, re-education of the German people cannot be effected by foreign teachers and educators. It can only come through a radical political re-orientation of the German people itself. This re-orientation will be possible only if Germany—in the East and West—is ruled and watched by such overwhelming power that she will come to the inevitable conclusion: The Potsdam Era is finished in German history.*

"People cannot be formed by so-called 'education' but only by encountering stern realities. Such a stern lesson was lacking

after the last war. If it is not brought home to them now, then everything will be lost, and all sacrifices of blood will have been in vain."

We have no doubt that, had the Allies accepted these principles as the basis of their own re-educational program, they would have been far more successful in developing the spirit of democracy in Germany.

In spite of the great difficulties which Professor Foerster has encountered in his long but dauntless battle for justice and peace, he remains a confirmed optimist. His speech on his birthday celebration reflected his confidence in the ultimate victory of righteousness. It is with great pride that the Board of Directors, the Advisory Council, members and staff of the Society extend to Professor Foerster, one of the founders of our organization, their warm felicitations on his 85th birthday.

LAUGHTER IN THE HOUSE

[There was laughter in the House when the Foreign Under-Secretary "hoped" the bombing of Vickers' and Miles Aircraft by British-trained Luftwaffe pilots "would not occur again."—*News item.*]

Hear the Commons' hearty laughter
Silencing the sceptic's voice;
Now, when Goering's men return,
Will they British secrets learn?
Do they train, to bomb us after?
Hear the Commons' hearty laughter!

Germany has made her choice.
Trust the German's good intentions,
Reap the harvest of goodwill;
If Bonn's pilots Britain trains,
Germany will buy our planes.
Profit by the Bonn Conventions,

Trust the German's good intentions,
Give the German good for ill.
Build up Civil Aviation,
Welcome the Luftwaffe Band!
Let war-aces pass the test,
Eager to defend the West,

Greet them without reservation,
Build up Civil Aviation,
Strengthen Nato's Air Command!
All-forgetting, all-forgiving,
German confidence is won!
Can such contacts, freely made,

Vital for defence, and trade,
Wrong the dead, insult the living?
No! Forgetting and forgiving
Gives offense to none!
Welcome Goering's men with gladness,
Let them Britain's trust enjoy!

Mighty they be our foes hereafter?
Hear the Commons ring with laughter!
Welcome Goering's men with gladness . . . .
Laughing gods afflict with madness
Those they would destroy.

SAGITTARIUS

(*Courtesy, The New Statesman and Nation*)

MARK THIS WARNING

". . . I do not think that E. D. C. itself is a satisfactory organization. It seems to me to be a politician's nightmare, and some quite well known military men consider it to be a military nonsense. Where are these Germans going to be when placed in E. D. C.? I presume they are not going to be sent to France or Italy, but will be used in Germany. There they will be facing their brothers in the East, while all around them businessmen, professors bound on cultural relations, traders, every sort of person will be moving into East Germany to make their ties and contacts.

"But across the line West German troops will be facing East German troops. It seems to be nonsense. What about the German reserves and staff? We cannot have German troops without reserve and staff . . .

"Will they glare at the East Germans, and make ready to fight them? If not, will they fraternize with them? Why not? Their very families may be moving across the frontier. Cultural relations may be established between them, and they may cross the frontier for their holidays. If they do fraternize, how shall we prevent a secret order of battle being written? How are we to prevent a secret network of communications being arranged between East and West to by-pass E. D. C. altogether? When the West Germans are ready, and the communications barriers to the East have been removed, they may very well rip the whole thing out of the framework of E. D. C. and join up with the military formations in the East. Then, with the bickering and disagreement between ourselves and Russia—the Suzerain Powers who won the war and who cannot continue in friendship now—the Germans will be well away. They will say, 'We are back to 1939,' and the whole thing will begin again . . ."

(Viscount Hinchingbrooke in the House of Commons, 2-25-54)

"A second false estimate of great consequence has been in the working assumption of our German policy. Officially we have failed to appreciate the paramount importance of German reunification ocer the so-called integration of a partitioned Germany in our Western military coalition.

"We are now witnessing the breakdown of this policy which has been founded on a false estimate of the German national interest—on the naive notion that Germany, or any other virile nation, could be expected once rearmed, not to insist upon achieving its own reunification and liberation either by fighting or negotiating with the Soviet Union."

(Walter Lippmann, The N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5-26-54)

Voices of The "Fatherland"

by

T. H. TETENS

Two years ago a highly respected Catholic priest, Father H. A. Reinhold of Seattle, Washington, traveled through Germany where he visited his relatives and had long intimate talks with many acquaintances and friends of bygone days. Father Reinhold's return to his native land was, as he admitted, a "disheartening experience." Among the things which shocked him in particular was the attitude displayed by the Germans when he introduced himself as an American and explained that "citizenship papers imply loyalty to the adopted country." They did not take it seriously. On the contrary, they assumed that Father Reinhold was "just pretending." It did not occur to them that it was possible for a man born in Germany, to become "a real American."

Father Reinhold reported his unique experience in the new Germany in a remarkable article which appeared in the Catholic magazine "Commonweal" in January 1953. His general impression was that there is again an "ineradicable superiority feeling" in Germany and that "the average German today has a sovereign contempt for America." According to Father Reinhold, the Germans told Americans all kinds of soap stories in order to cover up their old sins, but as soon as they think they are among themselves or talk to a trusted "co-racial," they divulge their true feelings and convictions.

Perhaps this German attitude would not be so serious, were it confined to Germany proper. It so happens that the idea of eternal loyalty to the Fatherland is propagated in communities of the Western Hemisphere wherever persons of German ancestry reside. In this connection, certain German-American organizations and sections of the German language press in the USA are utilized as transmission belts.

The Record

During Warld War I, a thorough investigation by the U. S. Senate and the Justice Department established that millions of German-Americans were organized in the National Bund (German National League) which was an effective propaganda arm for imperial Germany, and that some German-American groups operated as sabotage and espionage centers. The National Bund was dissolved in 1918 by Congressional order, but the German-American leaders soon afterwards proceeded to set up a front organization, the Steuben Society, which subsequently became the main political pressure group for the Pan-German element in the U. S.

After World War I the Steuben Society, in close collaboration with the New York Staats-Zeitung and dozens of other German language papers, organized an effective whining campaign for the revival of the defeated Fatherland. For many years the German-American press has faithfully served Pan-Germanism. Long before World War I, the German press attaché in Washington, Emil Witte, referred to the New York Staats-Zeitung as "the powerful instrument for molding American opinion in favor of the policies of the German Reich."

The German-American Press

For decades the New York Staats-Zeitung has been regarded as the policy making publication for the entire German-American press which, at one time, numbered about 350 papers and periodicals. During World War I all the German papers took a determined pro-German stand. In 1917, the editor-in-chief of the Staats-Zeitung, Georg von Skal, was exposed as a paid agent of the German Reich.

When in 1933, Hitler ascended to power, the German-American press rushed solidly to the support of the Nazi regime. In those days, the Steuben Society and the Nazi Bund rallied the large German-American "Volksgruppe" behind the Swastika and pledged loyalty to the Fuehrer. Hitler's agents Colin Ross, Fritz Kuhn and hundreds of others, preached the gospel of "Unser Amerika"—a Germanized America. It was the time when Nazi indoctrinated Germans swelled the ranks of "America First." It was the time when certain U. S. Senators delivered speeches which were ghost written by the agent George Sylvester Viereck who was paid by the Nazi government.

It is worthwhile to remember that in those years the German language press in the U. S. hailed enthusiastically every act of German aggression: the "Anschluss" of Austria, the annexation of Czechoslovakia, the conclusion of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, and the ruthless attacks on Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium.

The details of the far-flung Pan-German conspiracy here in the United States were disclosed in the sensational libel suit brought by Professor Friedrich W. Foerster against Victor Ridder, the publisher of the New York Staats-Zeitung. During the three weeks trial before the New York Supreme Court in 1945, every single point of Professor Foerster's charges was confirmed by documentary evidence. It was established that thousands of German organizations in the United States had been put into the propaganda service of the Fatherland, that the German language press had acted as a propaganda vehicle in the expectation that every German-American would work as an agent for the interests of the Reich.

Pan-Germanism Triumphant

Due to generous American help after World War I, Germany made a fabulous comeback during the Twenties. It is now generally recognized that the Germans again have scored a great political success in the United States: They have changed defeat into victory. This constitutes a startling repeat performance: twice within a generation defeated Germany was rescued by the economic and political help which she received from the United States.

During both world wars the American public became acquainted with what has become known as the Pan-German propaganda apparatus in the U. S. During World War II, when our statesmen and politicians admitted past mistakes, the Western Allies, particularly the Americans, resolved that this time the victors must not fall again for the German scheme of sweet double talk and deception. However, the best intentions evaporated into thin air as soon as the impact of the war lessened and the memories of the Nazi atrocities faded. At that moment, the Pan-German propaganda came to life again. Again, as after 1918, the call reached German-Americans that the Vaterland must be bailed out from total defeat through the political influence of the German Volksgruppe in the U. S. Thanks to skillful propaganda the U. S. accepted a second time the thesis that Germany was destined to function as "bulwark against Bolshevism." Thus it was reasoned, Germany must be reconstructed as a powerful economic, political and military factor. In close relation with this political doctrine, the idea was developed that Germany must grow into a greater Lebensraum of a "United Europe" which naturally shall be dominated by the Germans as the economic, political and military masters.

The German language press in the U. S. played a significant and sinister part in helping Germany regain a role in world power politics. During the first few years of Germany's occupation, when all political activities and newspapers were under strict control, the German language press in America kept the German political thought alive. In those years thousands of copies of German newspapers from the New York Staats-Zeitung down to the smallest paper in California were sent to Germany week after week. They kindled the hope that a new powerful Germany would some day be re-created. In 1945-46 the German press in the U. S. carried on an effective whining campaign and demanded quick help for their suffering "co-racials." Soon afterwards they initiated the propaganda line designed to absolve the German people from the guilt of World War II. In 1947, they demanded that the dismantling of German war plants be halted; an end to denazification and the termination of the war crimes trials. In 1948, the tactic shifted. A noisy campaign to prevent the execution of the war crimes sentences was launched.

The American authorities yielded to German pressure on every point. Millions of Nazis went free under a special amnesty. We poured billions of dollars into Germany. Powerful German monopolies were revived and the evil elements of Nazis and militarists found their way back into the political parties. Since 1949 the German press in America has clamored for German remilitarization, for more economic help and financial loans, for the return of German assets, and for the creation of a German-American alliance.

The "Shakedown"

The latter suggestion has to be taken with a grain of salt. Behind this idea is another ruse to squeeze from Uncle Sam far reaching economic and political concessions. As shrewd manipulators, the Germans are eager to exploit our anxieties, but would they ever fight for us in case of a showdown with the East? There is ample evidence to prove that the German-American press never propagated the idea of Germany as a bulwark against the East in good faith. From the beginning they used this scheme as a bait to gain advantages and concessions so that the defeated Vaterland could become again the queen on the chessboard of world politics. Exactly as in the Twenties, the German-Americans pressured both major parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, as well as the Washington Administration, to build up Germany as America's main ally. The record shows that they succeeded in forcing both parties into a competition to give preferential treatment to the "Fatherland" or expect unpleasant reactions from the well organized German voting bloc.

Steuben Society in Action

Let us look at the record and see how the Pan-German pressure group has operated in recent years. In the "Steuben News" of May 1953 we find an illuminating survey about the "legislative work" of the Steuben Society for the period of 1945-1952. We read that the ill reputed McCarran-Walter Immigration Act was "the result of three years hard work" by the Steuben Society:

". . . Our Legislative Committee set down, section by section, our ideas and submitted them to Senator McCarran—in particular a provision that no German national should be excluded from immigration to this country who only involuntarily had joined the Nazi Party or the German Army."

The Steuben Society organized a large scale pressure campaign to admit wholesale immigration of former Nazis under the harmless term of "Expellees." They also "appealed to all Senators and Congressmen, to reject the Humphrey-Lehman bill." The Steuben Society "arranged for telegrams to be sent to the members of the Senate (and) many units followed this up, also other large German-American organizations."

In the fall of 1945 the Steuben Society started a pressure campaign for "German Relief." Hundreds of millions of dollars were spent out of the U. S. Army budget during the early days of occupation. In July 1948 the Steuben Society scored "a signal victory" when Congress approved nearly $500 million "for feeding the starving German people." This was only "the breaking of the ice," because "in 1949 and thereafter we did not experience any opposition in making a continuing reappropriation through Congress."

". . . A prominent West German politician, Reinhold Maier, addressing a student audience at Stuttgart on March 5, painted a bitter picture of the situation in West Germany. Maier is a bourgeois democrat of conservative tendencies, but he is opposed to Adenauer. He said: 'The general political aspect of West Germany is alarming. Parliament has already slipped down a stage. Ruler number 1 is the Adenauer government. Ruler number 2 is the high bureaucracy. Parliament has been deprived of its power, and the army will be Ruler number 3. But the army will not be satisfied with third place for long: it will soon move forward to first place.'

"Neo-Nazism will not come to power in West Germany, however many ex-Nazi officials strut the political stage. Nazi Germany will not return, but the militarist, imperialist Germany of 1914 and 1938 is rapidly coming back. The generals and industrial barons who led Germany into two world wars are gaining more and more power, and remilitarization will put them in the saddle."

(Carolus in The Nation, 4-17-54)

In March 1948 the Steuben Society initiated a bill in Congress "providing for the discontinuance of further plant dismantling in Germany."

We could fill a few columns with examples showing the German-American pressure combine at work in Washington. We mention here only the Bricker Amendment to curb the treaty making power of the President; new bills for increased immigration of Nazi "Expellees" and for the return of German property; a bill opposing U. S. participation in the United Nations; and numerous petitions and protests in behalf of the Fatherland.

It may seem unbelievable that an almost unknown organization like the Steuben Society can operate as a most effective pressure group in Washington. This Pan-German lobby has influenced and determined to a large extent vital phases of of our postwar policy. What makes the Steuben Society tick? The "Steuben News" boast proudly: "Yes, we have many good friends and numerous members among senators, congressmen, mayors, governors, and other persons in public life." The Society works in "concerted action" on the principle: "Party affiliation is and must be of secondary importance to us."

History Upsidedown

A main objective of the German-American press is the "rewriting," rather falsification, of recent history. In a new version of World War II, Hitler is exonerated and as the real villains appear Roosevelt and Churchill:

". . . there is no doubt any more that Churchill and former President Roosevelt worked hand in hand to create that war against Germany which it was so hard to start, because much-maligned Hitler did everything in his power to avert it.

"So now it is clear, that England and America are responsible for world war two . . ." (Editorial in the Chicago Bürger-Zeitung, 4-28-54)

If the war guilt rests with the British and the Americans, the Bürger-Zeitung comes to the conclusion, that "the damage which was done to Germany by bombing her cities (must) be made good." Thus, some day Germany may be expected to come forward with a claim for huge war reparations from the Western Allies!

Speaking about the "war guilt" of Churchill and Roosevelt, the Chicago Bürger-Zeitung of April 22, 1954, declares:

"Both men will stay before the bar of history as the guilty ones who have brought more misery over tortured mankind than anybody else."

In the Philadelphia weekly "Nord-Amerika" of June 3, 1954, the American born Professor Austin J. App, a fanatical pro-German propagandist, calls the Allies "ruthless enemies" and says that a "probably insane Roosevelt forced the insane policy of unconditional surrender on Germany." Dr. App has constantly demanded that Congress should officially repudiate the "international crime" committed in Yalta and Potsdam, "to which America became a partner only because of Soviet traitors and German-hating non-Christians in our midst." (Nord-Amerika, December 3, 1953)

According to Dr. App, the "British, the Jews and the Roosevelt Administration" are the real villains because "those three groups got America into the war (and) they betrayed half of Europe and half of Asia into the Soviet tyranny." (Nord-Amerika, February 25, 1954)

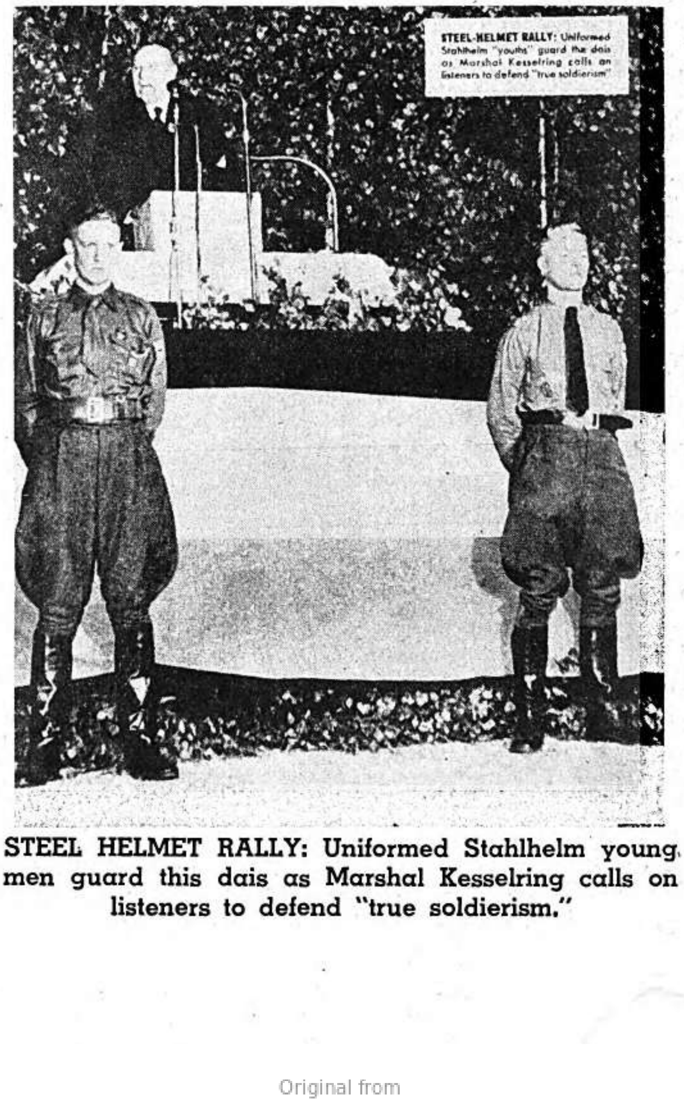
The California Staats-Zeitung of April 24, 1954, stated:

"During the early years of his administration, Roosevelt served the interests of Great Britain; in later years when his Communist leanings became more and more predominant, he adjusted his policies toward the Soviet Union. Thus, he succeeded in betraying the West and selling out half of the world to Moscow."

On the question of war crimes, Germany is absolved in every respect. The Fatherland was forced by war necessities to act harshly whereas the Allies committed deliberately thousands of unspeakable crimes. The Steuben News of November 1953 reported that a German publisher in Buenos Aires issues a book with "almost two thousand sworn statements by German officers and soldiers charging Allied forces violated rules of war." Out of these two thousand crimes, the American forces "were accused of 1,094 crimes, the Russians 528, France 171, Great Britain 57." The balance went to the smaller nations like Poland, Yugoslavia, Norway, Holland, Denmark.

The Chicago Bürger-Zeitung of April 22, 1954, enumerates the following crimes committed by the Western Allies in prisoner-of-war and internment camps:

"Mistreatment and severe beatings of cripples and destruction of their crutches and braces; . . . branding by using burning cigarettes on faces, necks and breasts; kicking out teeth and braces and stealing of gold caps and fillings; mistreatment of helpless women and children behind barbed wires; . . . shooting of defenseless prisoners of war; using internees as shooting targets; attempts to kill and bury internees alive; . . . thievery, robbery and blackmail . . ."


STEEL-HELMET RALLY: Uniformed Stahlhelm "youths" guard the dais as Marshal Kesselring calls on listeners to defend "true soldierism"

STEEL HELMET RALLY: Uniformed Stahlhelm young men guard this dais as Marshal Kesselring calls on listeners to defend "true soldierism."

Smearing Our Allies

For many years, the German-American papers have carried on a systematic campaign of smear and hatred against Great Britain and France. The aim is simply to picture these powers as "unreliable" and to convince Washington that it might be better to give the lion share of foreign aid to Germany.

The Chicago Bürger-Zeitung called the French "the eternal trouble makers in Europe" and Nazi Germany was "fully justified when she gave France the licking it fully deserved." The British are constantly pictured as warmongerers who are motivated by trade rivalry. The disintegration of the British Empire is strongly applauded: "For no country has brought more trouble, death and destruction into the world, for the reason, that British merchants were enabled to make more money than England." (Chicago Bürger-Zeitung, 10-29-53)

In an editorial in the "Deutsche Wochenschrift" of St. Louis of October 1, 1953, it is argued that the United States should drop its friendship with the British, for "Great Britain is not a dependable Ally." The same paper charged on February 4, 1954, that there was a conspiracy between the British, the French and the "wire pullers around Bernard Baruch" who have exerted their influence in Washington to keep Germany forever divided. It is charged that the Berlin Conference was manipulated as a "deliberate betrayal."

Smearing U. S. Leadership

Is the United States immune from such vituperations and filthy attacks? By no means! It will be recalled that two years ago the German SS General Ramcke made a speech before a cheering officers meeting in which he accused the USA of being the real war criminal, a charge frantically applauded.

The German language papers often charged that General Eisenhower, during World War II, furthered Soviet imperialistic designs by his publicly expressed anti-German attitude. In an article of September 25, 1952, the weekly Nord-Amerika stated:

"Eisenhower's action as victorious general should never be forgotten. Let us refrain from mentioning details. Suffice it to recall his sympathy for the Russians and the turning over of German prisoners of war as slave laborers to France, England and the Soviets."

The same article depicts Eisenhower as part of a conspiracy between the "unholy trinity (of) Free Masons—Moscow—Wall Street" and asked whether Eisenhower knows that he is continuing "to play the game of Hiss-Roosevelt."

Similar attacks were made in other German language papers which hold Eisenhower "responsible for the terrible catastrophe that has befallen Germany." On August 28, 1952, the Bürger Zeitung in Chicago reported a mass meeting of twenty thousand German-Americans where it was stated that "German-Americans will have no part of the General."

"Let no German-American be so forgetful of the land of his birth, and of his forefathers, that he send to the White House a man who in the past has so shockingly proved his utter disregard of Germany, and of a defeated, fallen enemy's human rights. Let no one here dishonor his German ancestry by voting for the man who permitted the unchristian hordes of Russia to occupy that fair capital of Germany."

On November 26, 1953, Dr. App denounced Eisenhower for having backed the policy of a severe peace for Germany and that he did not have "as keen an eye for Soviet crimes as he had for Nazi crimes."

With the exception of the New York Staats-Zeitung which has to consider Jewish subscribers and advertisers, most German-American papers have expressed more or less anti-semitism and a strong backing of Senator McCarthy. The weekly "Nord-Amerika," wrote on July 30, 1953, under the headline "Yalta and McCarthy":

"What McCarthy represents and does is only the expression and last result of the thorough self-criticism of the American policy of the last few months of the war and the first few years of the postwar period. This is the practical effect of the revisionism, i.e. the examination of the political developments resulting from Teheran and Yalta. . . .

Today there are no influential Americans who would dare to defend the policy of Unconditional Surrender, the partition of Germany or the inhuman expulsion of Germans from their homeland. The efforts to find out those responsible for the policy of revenge and to take away from them forever the possibility of influencing future U. S. policy is the essential background for Senator McCarthy's activities. . . . Today all efforts center around the elimination of the consequences of Yalta and Potsdam. The ousting of all persons responsible for Yalta (Morgenthau boys) is a prerequisite to carry on a peaceful revision."

It is an alarming sign that the Pan-German propaganda endeavors again to indoctrinate German-Americans. Statements have appeared in the German language press that German-Americans must "fight for the interests of the old homeland" or, that a "united front of German-Americans is necessary in order to undo all injustice committed towards Germany under the shameless agreements of Yalta and Potsdam." (Bürger Zeitung, 1-7-53.)

The old leaders of German-American societies who once pledged allegiance to Hitler, are active again. According to the New York Staats-Zeitung of May 28, 1954, the Foreign Institute in Stuttgart has also taken up its world wide operation under the experienced hand of the old time Nazi Dr. Franz Thierfelder. The Foreign Institute was dissolved and outlawed by the Allies after 1945 for having served as the headquarters of the Pan-German conspiracy. Now it is back again, giving advice and guidance to the German "Volksgruppe" in the United States.

> **". . . Recently there have ben persistent reports that the Russian approach for closer relations with West Germany was meeting with a favorable response from important elements in Germany. This suggests a recurrence of what has happened twice before—the Russian-German pact of Rapallo in 1922 and the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement of August 1939 . . .**
>
> **". . . The German business interests are expanding their trade in the Communist orbit. The chemical and drug firms that once held such an important position in China are building back the base of their commerce with the Chinese mainland. A long cherished German dream has been the harnessing of the great Eurasian land mass with German brains and German technology directing the exploitation of this great reservoir of men and resources . . ."**
>
> ***(Marquis W. Childs, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6-3-54)***

"Will the democratic Government of Western Germany be able to control a new German army—or will the proposed armed forces lead to the revival of German militarism and totalitarianism?

". . . Most observers are agreed that the totalitarian danger in Germany is not past. They ask and answer the questions this way:

" 'Is there a danger, at present, of a Nazi revival in Germany?

" 'No.'

" 'Is there a potential danger of a totalitarian development in the foreseeable future?'

" 'Yes.' "

(Martin G. Phillips, The Worldwide Press, 4-23-54)

". . . In fact, France's policy toward the Saar since the end of the war has been based mainly on its economic claims. It should be remembered that France's share in reparations was substantially reduced when Britain and the United States agreed to the economic union in 1947-48. Moreover, the economic interdependence of the Saar and Lorraine is so close that the French have been able to produce a confidential Nazi memorandum which emphasizes this even more strongly than their own experts. France is the best customer of the Saar coalmines, and the Saar blast furnaces get practically all their iron ore from nearby Lorraine, on which they are much more dependent than on Ruhr coking coal. Moreover, the secondary industries which have sprung up since the war find their best market in France, and it is generally believed that reunion with Germany would wipe them out since they could not stand up to German competition. The Saarlanders' larder can be filled much more easily with French than with German food. The setting up of the European coal and steel pool has increased rather than reduced French insistence on having the Saar coal and steel production added to their own because, if it were restored to Germany, it would make German preponderance in the pool quite overwhelming . . ."

(The Economist, 12-5-53)

"Since the new government was formed in Bonn, moves have been made to strengthen German claims to revision of the Oder-Neisse frontier . . . Herr Oberlaender, a more nationalist Minister of Refugee Affairs than his forerunner, has made the impossible proposal that the Munich agreement might form the basis of a settlement with Czechoslovakia when the Germans return to the Sudetenland. And a few days ago, the same Minister told the world that to regain 'the German East' is a 'German and European task.' At the same time, the organization of Silesians in the Federal Republic has demanded that the Eastern territories should be represented in the Upper House.

"The refugees' political leaders are constantly at work to keep the revisionist spirit alive..."

(The Economist, 12-12-53)

". . . It is now realized that London and Washington can only win the confidence of Western Germany if Britain and America cease to treat the leaders of the Wehrmacht as war criminals. To win the confidence of those who now rule Bonn, it is not sufficient merely to sign a treaty which ends the Occupation. The concept of German war crimes must be expunged from the historical records. Since Bolshevism is now recognized as the enemy of Western civilization, the slur must be removed from the honor of the German army which was prematurely anti-Bolshevik in 1941.

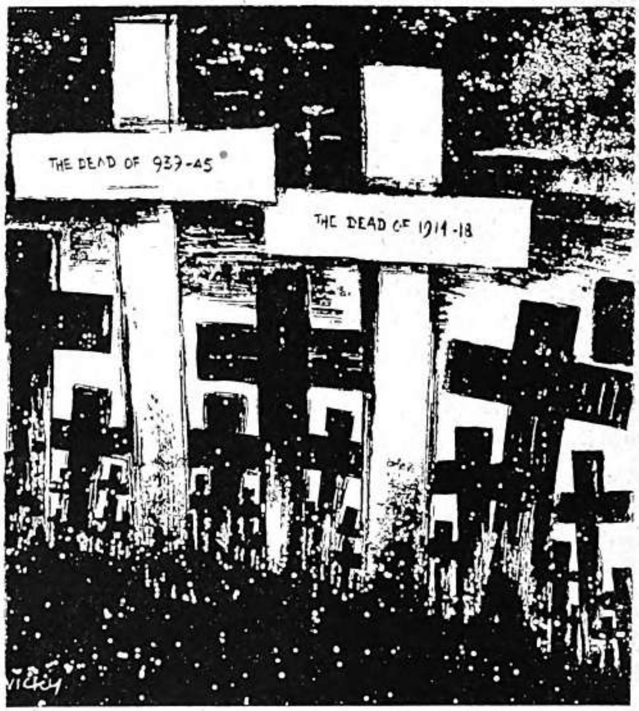
"To Germans, and particularly Army officers and civil servants, this issue of German honor is all important . . ."

(The New Statesman and Nation, 4-3-54)

". . . Washington, it appears will not only help to rearm World War II enemies as well as friends but will sell to them our surplus wheat and other products, taking local currencies in payment and using these to purchase arms supplies for other countries and to finance additional military expenditures.

". . . Can this cycle of wheat purchases that finance arms purchases, once started, be held within bounds by the U. S., which has no political control over Japan and Spain and soon will have none over West Germany? Or will it develop the momentum of an arms race and place in the hands of the Japanese and the Germans, as is feared in Seoul and Paris, the weapons of new conquests which we would then be powerless to prevent? . . ."

(Vera Micheles Dean in the Foreign Policy Bulletin, 4-1-54)



Courtesy, London Daily Mirror

Hands up all those in favour of a rearmed Germany!

"...The former Wehrmacht generals, who are awaiting better days, are busily writing books and the aim of these books is fairly clear . . .

"The aim of this avalanche of military writing is to remove the taint on the record of the Nazi Wehrmacht by recording with seeming impartiality its deeds in the last war. The proper moment for its release is well chosen. If faith in the competence and moral reliability of the military leaders is to be secured in Germany and abroad, it is essential that the officer corps be exonerated from Hitler's misdeeds. This is being done with skill and determination. The effect, in German eyes at any rate, must be that Germany's military leaders are not only blameless for the Second World War, but that they are also the best men available for the job now at hand. Not only are they reliable, but their advice should be listened to and heeded . . ."

(The Congress Weekly, 2-22-54)

". . . It might be true to say that, on the whole, the French fear the Germans more than they fear the Russians. At least, they have longer experience with the Germans as a basis for their fears.

"The French used to look upon Russia as a logical ally against Germany. Something of this traditional view was represented by the French-Russian mutual assistance pact against Germany signed by Stalin and Gen. Charles de Gaulle in 1944 and recently cited by Moscow in propaganda to detach France from the other Western powers.

"There was no mourning in France when the recent Berlin conference seemed to doom Germany to partition for an indefinite period. If that suited Moscow, it also suited the French, who share with Moscow a deep fear of the Germans.

"This fear does not put France on Russia's side but it often makes her feel uneasy about her own allies . . ." *(The N. Y. Times, 3-14-54)*

OPTIMISM . . .

". . . the Allies' ban on arms production has been effective and enforcement continues to be successful, in the opinion of Ray W. Smith, United States member of the Allied Military Security Board in Coblenz.

" 'There is virtually no secret activity going on,' Mr. Smith declared in an interview.

" 'I do not know of a single instance where a German firm has deliberately undertaken the manufacture in secret of important quantities of really sensitive items,' he added . . .

"Between the two world wars Gen. Hans von Seeckt, chief of the German General Staff, and his associates in industry and government took that risk. Under the noses of Allied inspectors they laid the secret foundations for recreating Germany's armed forces and reviving the country's war potential.

"In Mr. Smith's opinion no basis for similar activity exists in West Germany now. . . ." •

(New York Times, 3-10-54)

PESSIMISM . . .

"Atomic Research Center in the Ruhr Valley"

"The British Sunday newspaper 'Sunday Chronicle' reports that Allied security officers were prevented from finding out what is going on 'behind closed doors of the laboratories in the Ruhr.' There is a plan afoot for the installation of an atomic research center valued at 5 million pounds (approximately 70 million reichsmark). British authorities in Germany are said to have revealed that the Germans for the last two years have refused to disclose anything about the progress of their research work in many fields. It is said that the Ministry of Economy in the Ruhr (obviously the Ministry of Economy for Nordrhein-Westfalia is meant) was requested by the British authorities to give information but answered in an evasive manner."

(Industriekurier (a German business newspaper), 3-30-54)

A VOICE OF GERMAN NATIONALISM

"Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein, a prominent member of the Bonn Parliament, holds that a military alliance among the United States, Great Britain and West Germany is the obvious alternative if France refuses to ratify the European Defense Community plan, part of which provides for West German rearmament . . .

" 'It consists of a direct alliance between the United States, Great Britain and West Germany. The two states on the wings of Europe, Spain and Turkey, would also belong.'

". . . Prince zu Loewenstein voiced the opinion that creation of such an alliance without France would finally bring the French government to its senses . . .

"He also attacked the French policy in the Saar question . . ."

(The N. Y. Herald Tribune, 4-12-54)

A LECTURER RETURNS

"Hermann Rauschning, former president of the Senate of Danzig returned from his exile in USA to Germany . . .

"Rauschning gave a lecture at the Rhein-Ruhr Club where he tried to compete with Heinemann, Helene Wessel, Joseph Wirth, Prof. Noack and Hermann Schaefer. The connection with the USA, he said, was detrimental to the Federal Republic. The members of the Bundestag ought not to insult the Soviet Union if they expected concessions. Finland's neutrality was the pattern. The Rapallo policy of v. Seeckt, Count v. Brockdorff-Rantzau and Rathenau ought to be repeated. The USA would have to acknowledge China, and would come to an agreement with the Soviets at the expense of Germany and desert Germany. The pro-American course was an obstacle to an understanding with the USSR . . ."

(Gamma Publications, Ltd., London, 5-15-54)

German Trade Unionism and Free Enterprise

In the Summer 1951 issue of Prevent World War III we published an editorial on the German trade unions where it was stated "that a vigorous trade union movement in Germany, democratically organized and run, can, together with other elements of society, be of value in fashioning a democratic structure both industrially and politically." It is a matter of record that official U. S. policy was also predicated on this supposition. Nevertheless, both U. S. officials and American trade unionists shared misgivings lest the German trade unions fall prey to the paternalistic traditions of the past.

The tendency to sacrifice independence became apparent with the introduction of the "co-determination" which provided for trade union participation in the determination of policy in private industry. From its very inception Allied officials suspected that this institution would induce the trade unions to support many undemocratic features in the German economy including the cartels and trusts. As reported by the London Economist (2-10-51) this turned out to be the case: *"The union leaders support cartels and vertical trusts in the Ruhr."*

It was our contention that if the German trade unions embraced the bankrupt and backward past, they would contribute toward the weakening of democracy in Germany and help undermine the workings of a competitive economy which is the basis of a free society. Have the German trade unions in the last two years been effective in helping to democratize the social and economic order in Germany? In other words, have they lived up to the expectations of the Allies who regarded them as an essential bulwark against the pernicious traditions of authoritarianism in Germany? Perhaps this cannot be answered completely at this time but there are trends which are particularly significant and deserve to be noted.

On December 12, 1953, Business Week ran a special article entitled "The New Germany: Nucleus of a New European Economy?" In describing the upsurge of German economic power, Business Week noted: ". . . it would be a mistake to think of Germany today as a freewheeling economy on the American pattern. There are still some government controls, and a fairly heavy dose of welfare-statism. What's more, the old cartel philosophy and a "feudal" type of management is coming back in German industry." It had been assumed by Allied observers that the reversion to the old ways would be opposed by the German trade unions. However, according to Business Week, current developments are by no means encouraging: *"The position of trade unions in Germany is in sharp contrast to the union position in the U. S. Instead of concentrating on the fight for higher wages and better working conditions, German unions have put most of their postwar effort into achieving 'codetermination' . . . But codetermination hasn't really increased labor's power."* Thus, the trade unions appear to be falling back on old patterns, albeit under new forms, such as co-determination.

In a similar vein, Fortune Magazine (April 1954) notes that "the German drive to work is both reinforced and made rigid by a tradition of obedience. . . . The devotion to the prerogatives of authority stems partly from a tradition of state and industrial paternalism and partly from the lack of a tradition of civil and personal liberty of the kind that flourished so long in Britain and was then exported to North America . . ."

Discussing the position of the German labor movement with respect to this paralizing paternalism which breeds political despotism and economic authoritarianism, Fortune (May 1954) declares: "One looks in vain to German labor for any relief from this rigidity."

The present role of the German trade unions was the subject of a report to the New York Times (2-26-54): *"The West German trade union movement, resurrected after World War II with the design of becoming one of the main pillars of the new democratic order, is causing keen disappointment among some of its United States Sponsors."* The report mentioned that there had been a serious decline in union membership which was attributed *"to the timid quality of the trade union leadership, the abhorrence of any militant action to raise the wages and living standards of workers and finally the relapse into the traditional pattern of thinking, that places a welfare society emanating from the fountainhead of government above trade union action."*

The apparent failure of the German trade unions to fully exploit the opportunities which were presented to them following the end of the war, has had its repercussions with respect to living standards in Germany. In the early part of this year, the German trade unions launched a drive for higher wage scales but toward the end of April the situation had changed. The New York Times (4-25-54) reported that the executive board of the German Trade Union Federation agreed to urge all member unions to desist from further demands for wage increases and "to accept the status quo in the interest of internal stability." According to the Times, this decision meant that the German trade union leadership had submitted to the terms of the German industrialists. Just as they had consented to abide by the wishes of the industrialists with respect to wages, so, the New York Times noted, "have they also bought the policy of the petitive market for industry . . ." German trade union leaders seem to be so captivated by the alluring promises of the co-determination policy that they have neglected the immediate requirements of German labor. In practice this has meant that the standard of living of the average German is lower than that which obtains in other major industrial countries. To quote Fortune: "When management and labor go to bed together, it is usually the consumer who gets raped."

Walter Freitag, Chairman of the German Trade Union Federation, admitted that the average German works longer and gets lower pay than laborers in other highly industrialized nations. (New York Times 5-10-54)

Time (2-15-54) reports that the West German standard of living is about 15 per cent below that of Britain and France. It has been estimated that while German steel workers receive an average wage of $25 for a 40 hour week, the comparable figure for an American worker is $91. The low standard of living in Germany is in sharp contrast to the booming German economy and the rapid growth of the productivity of the average German worker. Thus, the gross hourly wage of industrial workers increased 2.6 per cent between 1952 and the end of 1953, while the productivity per man/day increased 15 per cent and overall production 20 per cent. In spite of the increasing productivity of German workers the domestic national market is relatively narrow. In the case of automobiles, for example, the greater portions are shipped abroad because they are out of range of German pocketbooks. Thus, the famous Volkswagen which at one time was supposed to be Hitler's gift to the working men, finds its major markets abroad rather than at home. Of the 20,000 employees of this automobile concern, only 412 can afford the cars they make.

In this connection the authoritative London publication The Banker (March 1954) notes: "German surplus with Europe is sometimes attributed to Germany's internal economic policy which is said to have held down German consumption by deflationary fiscal measures and by income redistribution in favor of the rich."

Harold Stassen, Chief of U. S. Foreign Operations, has stated that "nations with highly favorable balances of payment should lead the way to raise internal consumption . . . "In making this observation Mr. Stassen had Germany in mind. However, the powers that be in Germany have other ideas. They are out to undermine the trade position not only of England and France but of the United States as well. Here is the way Time Magazine put it: "West Germany today is out to conquer the conquerors in the field of trade." The "cooperation" of the German trade union leaders has been essential for this purpose and they have come through with flying colors. The policy of the German trade union leadership was succinctly defined by Dr. Strohmengler, a union official and labor director of the Oberhausen steel works: "Unless our industry can compete successfully with other nations we will have unemployment. That means postponing wage increases until our plants are fully rebuilt and modernized." (Wall Street Journal 8-31-53)

In the United States and in Britain union leaders have always insisted that the essential function of unions is to raise living standards of their members; but the leadership of the German trade unions has another approach the consequence of which are described by the New York Times (4-25-54): *"The preservation of the low wage levels, the guranatee against labor troubles and the elimintion of all worries concerning the internal market are some of the trump cards West German industrialists hold in their coming struggle for foreign markets. . . ."*

In concrete terms the position taken by German trade unions is enabling German industrialists to gain unfair advantages on the world markets. The impact has been very serious with respect to the competitive position of recartelizing of West German industry. In effect, this means the indefinite continuation of a closed non-com- U. S. merchants abroad. Like British and French colleagues, they too are now experiencing the assault of the German industrialists whose power is buttressed by cheap

"Alfred Von Krupp, whose huge munitions works supplied arms to Hitler even before he took over Germany, and who was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment as a Nazi war criminal, has left Essen, Germany, for Nassau and Mexico City.

"In the latter country he is slated to confer with President Ruiz-Cortines and Mexican officials about the financing of the new factories, dams, mines or power plants under conditions calculated to cut the ground out from under the U. S. A.

"The conditions are:

"(1) A price of 20 per cent down, and the balance to be paid four years after the completion of the factory, dam or project.

"(2) Krupp will do this without seeking part-German ownership in the enterprise.

"(3) He will accept payment in any currency, hard or soft, or is even prepared to accept payment in kind.

"Krupp's proposals and his tour of Latin America have caused a lot of eyebrow raising among the Latin-American diplomats friendly to the United States and even inside the State Department.

" 'Krupp,' remarked one diplomat, 'happens to be the product of the Dulles policy of building up Western Germany. Now that Mr. Dulles has helped wash the blood of Mr. Krupp's hands, he lets him go down to Latin America to take our trade away.'

"Note—Krupp already has $160,000,000 in contracts for steel mills in India . . ."

(Drew Pearson, 5-54)

labor. These industrialists are supremely confident that in spite of military defeat they can overtake their adversaries. Thus, in the field of airplane manufacturing which up to now has been prohibited in Germany, a leading industrialist, Hermann Kastner, boasted: *"But once our aviation industry gets going, we will be a tough competition. After all, a German will work for two marks* (46 cents) *an hour while an American wants at least $2. So we cannot undercut American plane producers in the world markets. We will be one of the leading nations in plane production, along with America and Britain five years after we start."* (N. Y. Times 6-7-53)

The Germans are not only blitzing the world markets but threaten to seize strategic sectors of the U. S. market as well. For this purpose they are using as their battering ram their cheap labor led by a docile leadership. A spokesman for the National Electrical Manufacturers Association representing 546 domestic electrical equipment makers, declared that German products are entering the U. S. in increasing quantities. The principal expense involved in the manufacturing of these items is labor; "that's where the Europeans have the advantage and Germany most of all." (Wall Street Journal 12-15-53)

In our previous article on the subject of the German trade unions we described how the leadership in the 1929s "displayed servility to the German monopolies and cartels" at the expense of fostering a truly free society. We expressed the hope that they would throw off the tradition of the past and assume a posture of independence, but from the foregoing can it be said that they are facing up to these responsibilities?

After Germany's defeat in the first World War the German trade union leaders believed that the restoration of the huge monopolies and cartels was synonymous with the development of a healthy economy. Therefore, instead of working toward the creation of a competitive system which would include an independent trade union movement, they went along with the old crowd dominated by the Ruhr barons. For their collaboration and their success in curbing the demands of their members, they received a pat on the back. In a speech of gratitude on behalf of one prominent union leader, Carl Ligien, the Ruhr industrialist Hugo Stinnes told his fellow tycoons: "Gentlemen, this was a great action of wise self-restraint. At that time Carl Ligien was one of those who saved the life of our nation." This dubious tribute to the role of the leadership of the German trade unions should be a warning to the present leaders. In the course of exercising "self-restraint" they may be sacrificing the great opportunities which the German trade unions have had since the end of the war to join with other sections of the population in building a free democratic society.

EXCHANGE STUDENT MAKES GOOD!

". . . In Washington and other free-world capitals, Chancellor Adenauer and the new German Foreign Office operate with tact and quiet dignity . . . most of the diplomats in the Bonn Foreign Service who served under Ribbentrop —34 per cent of the total—were wisely kept at home.

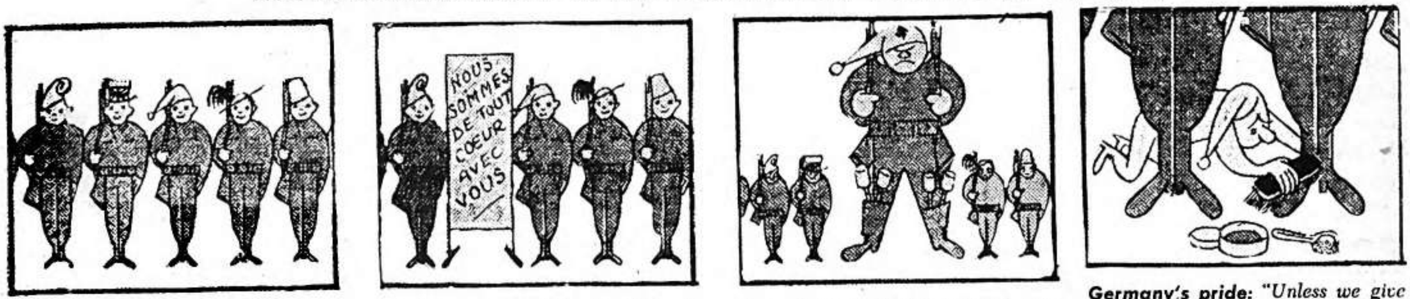
"It now seems, however, that these former Nazi officials are longing to see the world again. Some of them seem to feel it is high time that Americans, like most Germans, learned to accept the idea that they served Hitler only 'nominally' and that their membership in the Nazi party must no longer be considered a social disgrace . . .

"These same people . . . also feel it is time for Germany to blow her horn a little louder. As Germany begins to conduct her own foreign policy and diplomacy, she must have her own propaganda set-up . . .

One of the authors of this plan is one Georg von Lilienfeld, who gained some experience in German propaganda in the U. S. as an exchange student during the early Hitler years. He later distinguished himself as an aide to Ambassador Rudolf Rahn, Hitler's personal envoy to Mussolini's North Italian strongheld during the last stages of the war. Denazified with the aid of his American-born wife and some connections with Allen W. Dulles' wartime OSS in Switzerland, Lilienfeld now heads the Amerika Abteilung in Bonn's Federal Press Office . . ."

(W. V. Eckardt, The New Leader, 5-17-54)

THE EUROPEAN ARMY—IT ALL DEPENDS ON YOUR POINT OF VIEW


NOUS SOMMES DE TOUT COEUR AVEC VOUS

America's hope: *"All European Army contingents are created equal"*

Britain's caution: *"We stand shoulder to shoulder—in spirit, of course"*

France's fear: *"Isn't Germany's contribution a little out of proportion?"*

Germany's pride: *"Unless we give the orders, we'll have to take them"*

(Carrefour)

Items of Interest

MEMO TO TAXPAYERS

"The Senate today approved and sent to the House a bill appropriating $300,000 for construction of a new German Embassy in Washington. The bill directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the money to Germany out of any Treasury funds otherwise unallocated."

(N. Y. Herald Tribune, 6-2-54)

★

GERMANS IN EGYPT

"The British Government is watching closely the activities of appoximately eighty Germans who are training the Egyptian armed forces.

"A minority of these Germans are reported to have been wartime specialists in espionage, sabotage and counter-sabotage and to have learned their work in either the Nazi party's intelligence organization, the Sicherheitsdienst, or in the German armed forces' special branch for subversive work, the Abwehr.

". . . Another group of about a dozen Germans is advising the Egyptian Government on the setting up of small-arms arsenals, explosives plants and other manufacturing processes designed to expand the Egyptian military production base . . ."

(The N. Y. Times, 4-2-54)

★

BUSINESS NOTE

"A delegation of West German businessmen is expected to travel to Moscow next month to revive negotiations for a trade exchange of $59,500,000. The delegation still requires official sanction from the Federal Economics Ministry."

(The Christian Science Monitor, 5-15-54)

★

SENTIMENTAL SCHACHT

"Hjalmar Schacht, former Nazi financial whizkid, is trying to arrange a visit to the United States. In his 689-page autobiography Schacht waxes sentimental about his Fuehrer. 'Hitler's appearance,' he sighs, 'was natural and modest.

"'. . . I was very pleasantly influenced from the whole atmosphere which he radiated, etc.'. . ."

(Paris Edition, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5-6-54)

★

SHORT MEMORY

"The Hannoversche Presse, commenting on President Eisenhower's own part in the controversial Morgenthau Plan, quoted from an interview with the then General in the London Daily Express of June 12, 1945.

"The General told the Express, according to the Hannoversche Presse, that Germany will 'never return to what she calls normal—the right to compete with any other highly civilized, highly industrialized nation of Europe.'"

(The World Magazine, 1-54)

BONN TO PEKING

"Industrialists are indeed taking an increasing interest in the potential Chinese market. Last year West German exports to China rose to 104 million marks worth as opposed to only 11 million marks in 1952. In some quarters it is believed that 1954 exports to China will reach a value of 150 million marks. The Federal Republic is sure to try hard to increase exports to the Soviet Union . . .

"An organization which may play a significant part in the development of Eastern trade is the newly formed Committee to develop German trade, which has headquarters in East Berlin. This committee consists of fifteen West German, two West Berlin, and ten East German delegates . . ."

(Manchester Guardian Weekly, 3-4-54)

★

IMPATIENT GERMANS

"Respect for German war veterans and the release of German war criminals held by the Allies were demanded today by leading West German politicians.

"Addressing the opening session of the annual convention of the German Soldiers Federation, Dr. Hermann Ehlers, President of the Bundestag or lower house of Parliament, said German veterans were intitled to the same respect and recognition for services rendered to their country as were soldiers everywhere.

"He warned those 'outside' that there were 'limits to German patience' on the question of war criminals . . ."

(The N. Y. Times, 3-12-54)

★

SEVENTY-ONE TO GO

"A German woman, Margarete Rabe, convicted of having selected 3,000 Allied women prisoners for death by gas, was released today from the British war crimes prison. She was serving a twenty-one-year sentence. Her release reduced the number of war criminals held by the British to seventy-one."

(A. P., 2-26-54)

★

WITH OR WITHOUT

"The U. S. is well on the way to completing a $250,000,000 stockpile of arms for West Germany . . .

"Purpose of these weapons is to start this year creating 12 West German divisions regardless of what France and Italy do on the long-stalled European Defense Community pact . . .

"The House Foreign Affairs Committee has discussed the matter several times. It was at one of these closed-door sessions that Maj. Gen. Stewart, director of military assistance program, disclosed the existence of the unannounced $250,000,000 stockpile to rearm Germany.

"He said it is the urgent desire of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to start doing that as soon as possible either under or outside of EDC . . .

(Robert S. Allen, N. Y. Post, 6-10-54)

CELEBRATING WITH KRUPP

"The post-war recovery of the Krupp interests has reached a point where Krupp firms are employing 26,000 workers. This is an increase of about 5,000 since the start of the year . . .

"Meanwhile, a growing number of international dignitaries are once again visiting various Krupp plants and the Krupp family.

"A random sampling of recent callers on the Krupps in Essen include West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who stopped in on a tour of the city; Sheik Abdullah Suleiman, Finance Minister of Saudi Arabia, and the Spanish philosopher Jose Ortega y Gasset . . .

"The latest step in the post-war social rehabilitation of the Krupps occurred last weekend at a glittering French-German gala at the Villa Huegel in Essen . . .

"A high point of the evening was the reappearance in international society of white-haired Mrs. Bertha Krupp, mother of Alfred Krupp, head of the firm . . .

"In World War I her name became internationally known when a Krupp cannon, nicknamed the 'Big Bertha,' fired German shells into Paris. The most prominent Allied guest at the Villa Huegel benefit was French High Commissioner Andre Francois-Poncet."

(Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12-16-53)

* * *

WHY?

"McCarran's specialty is State Department papers. And his purpose is to get preferred treatment for German contractors in the construction of $400,000,000 worth of U. S. air and naval bases in Spain.

"For months, McCarran has been carrying on a one-man crusade to force the State and Defense Departments to change the American agreement with Spain so the Germans can be cut in on these juicy contracts. The treaty with Spain limits contractors to Spaniards and Americans. McCarran, in his furious backstage operations, has gone to the length of personally negotiating with Spanish officials and forcing the State Department to summon Major General August Kissner, head of the U. S. Military Mission, to Washington to be grilled by McCarran . . ."

(Robert S. Allen, Gazette and Daily, York, Pa., 5-11-54)

* * *

"TOO BLATANT"

"A resolution opposing the rearmament of West Germany was approved unanimously by the National Executive Committee of Britain's second largest union today.

"The action by the leaders of the Amalgamated Engineering Union was another indication of the strength in the labor movement of the opposition to arms for the West Germans . . .

"The reasons given for approving the resolution were that there was a 'revival of nazism too blatant to be concealed' in West Germany, that rearmament would increase international tension and lead to a third world war and that there still was a chance to establish a peaceful, united and democratic Germany."

(The N. Y. Times, 5-7-54)

MOVING BACK

"Teheran, Iran.—While Uncle Sam is opening his wallet to help Iran stay out of the Communist clutch, the Germans are moving back into this country . . .

"The only country ahead of the Germans as a source of supplies is the United States. Much of what Uncle Sam ships here is a handout under the $23,000,000 foreign aid program, while the Germans get paid for what they send . . .

"An American with experience here added 'The Iranians admire the Germans,' he said, 'because the Germans are firm . . .'

"One of West Germany's first plans is to start sending in propagandists to tell the German story to the Iranians in their own language. They will pick up the operation started by Hitler and dropped only when the British shipped out Shah Reza Pahlevi."

(Quentin Pope, Chicago Daily Tribune, 1-6-54)

* * *

POOR NAZIS

"The 'Association of Victims of Denazification' (Interessengemeinschaft der Entnazifizierungsgeschaedigten) has been formed on a federal level now, with Dr. Hans Odenwals as federal chairman . . ."

(Gamma Publications, Ltd., London, 5-15-54)

* * *

OPERATION "CHILE"

"West Germany's drive to regain its prewar position in Latin America is currently rolling fastest in Chile.

"The Germans have chalked up three successes there in the past few weeks:

"Chile's first sugar refinery, built with German aid, went into operation.

"The Germans have chalked up three successes there in the past few weeks:

"This week Chile took the first step toward returning one of the major German assets seized during the war.

"All this puts the Germans well on the way to recovering their former top spot in Chile."

(Business Week, 5-15-54)

* * *

ACQUITTED

"The entire German press, with the exception of the local Dortmund newspapers, ignored the trial and acquittal yesterday of 20 members of the Dortmund police force on charges of murdering numerous Jews in the Nazi Warsaw Ghetto.

"The local press reported that witnesses had testified that the policemen, members of a special guard battalion in the ghetto, shot Jews as a sport and tallied the number of their kills on mess hall doors and walls. Several of the defendants had actually confessed before the trial . . .

"One of the major points of the indictment was that these 20 had executed 100 male and 10 female Jews as hostages for the 'murder' of one Nazi, a 'murder' which it was proved never occurred. It was also noted that the commander of the unit had instructed the men always to shoot to kill when firing at Jews, else it 'did not pay to use gasoline' as they rode through the ghetto . . ."

(JTA, 4-1-54)

"The Nemesis of Power"

by
JOHN WHEELER-BENNETT

Reviewed by Frederick Wallach

Part I

A favorite quip making the rounds in Europe runs like this: "Geneal Clay was a success. He succeeded in rehabilitating the Nazis. Former U. S. High Commissianer John J. McCloy was a success. He succeeded in rehabilitating Krupp and other Nazi industrialists and war criminals. Only present U. S. High Commissioner Dr. James B. Conant is a failure: he did not succeed in rehabilitating the German militarists."

Back in "Business"

Unfortunately, as every newspaper reader knows, the "rehabilitation" of the German militarists has not resulted in failure. It is a fact that the German generals are back in the business of power and politics. Refusing to avoid the follies of the Weimar Republic, the Bonn Government has allowed the military to retain gifts of land and money with which their Führer used to bribe them. Indeed, the Bonn Government has added to their comfort by presenting them with generous pensions. This performance is the more remarkable as the few surviving Jewish civil servants who were fired by Hitler, are still awaiting their pensions.

The Generalität (the German "Big Brass") is again a power in the Bundestag, in industry, and in the civil service. It commands the blind obedience of that large political potential consisting of veterans organizations which were formed with Allied approval—although these outfits are illegal under present Allied laws.

The militarists are busy writing their tawdry memoirs in which they glorify their "victories" and blame their defeat (if they are still Nazis) on other generals who had participated in the abortive putsch of July 20th, 1944. On the other hand, they may blame Hitler in the event their Nazi colors have faded, for the present at least. Nevertheless, both groups remain united in upholding the myth of a new "Dolchstosslegende" namely, that the 'invincible" Generalität had been robbed of victory by a "madman," "traitors" and "Soviet spies."

Other generals are now in command of the Civil Defense, the "labor service units," the "border police" and other police formations all of which take on more and more the appearance of units of the former Wehrmacht.

Chief of the Military Intelligence is the notorious Nazi General Gehlen who commands a secret service which is just as inept as that which obtained during World War II. Other Nazi generals are "on loan" all over the world, intriguing especially in Spain, the Arab world, and other trouble spots which are presenting great problems for the Western Allies.

The "Boost"

However, the Nazi generals received their greatest boost when former Secretary of State Acheson derailed American foreign policy by hitching our national interests onto that freakish engine, the EDC. For nearly 4 years this strange contraption has been puffing smoke which has blacked the earth but has failed to generate steam. The net result of this switch has been the restoration of hundreds of Nazi generals to power, influence and wealth. They have been made respectable, introduced into Allied councils and allowed to reorganize their beloved "Wehrmacht," at least on paper.

It is now considered a source of pride to have been a Nazi general and many delightful hours are spent in arguing whether Nazi decorations should be worn with or without the Swastika. At other times the German veterans assemble to listen to the harangues of Nazi generals denouncing Allied "crimes." It was at one of these gatherings that President Eisenhower was vilified with the epithet "Schweinehund" (pigdog). Another current delight for the Nazi generals is the hounding of those few of their colleagues who had survived the putch of July 20th, 1944. They are branded as "traitors."

All this, of course, could not have happened had the State Department demonstrated genuine determination to uproot the forces of German militarism. As a matter of fact, the State Department has declared quite frankly that it is not opposed to the use of "individual" Nazis and SS officers providing they are "reliable"—whatever that may mean.

As to the use of convicted war criminals, the State Department intimates that this bridge will be crossed at the appropriate time. It appears that the bridge has been crossed already. The war criminal Field Marshall Kesselring (released from prison because of "cancer") is now in command of the important veteran organization Stahlhelm which united with Hitler in the "Harzburg Front" to overthrow the Weimar Republic in 1933. Recently he inspected U. S. air installations as "guest of honor" of U. S. officers.

When Adenauer's chief military adviser, General Heusinger, holder of the rare "July 20th" medal which was bestowed for loyalty to Hitler, praised the executed war criminal General Jodl as a "decent chap" and when the German "Defense" Ministry contributed to a "soldier's calendar" which displayed a full-page photo of the war criminal Admiral Raeder (still in prison), the State Department continued its silence.

The Price of "Realpolitik"

It may very well be that Messrs. Acheson and Dulles feel proud of these "successes." To be sure 300,000 Americans had died in upholding the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Point 8 of the Charter expressed the view of the signatories:

"They believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggressions outside of their frontiers, they believe . . . that the disarmament of such nations is essential . . ."

To be sure the Germans were supposed to be disarmed in accordance with the Four Powers Agreement of September 20, 1945, and subsequent laws and regulations of the Allied Control Council. Indeed, this policy was sanctioned by Dr. Adenauer's signature to the Petersberg Protocols (1949). To be sure, special care had been taken to insert in the Bonn

Constitution Article 139 which reads:

"The legal provisions enacted for the liberation of the German people from National Socialism and militarism shall not be affected by the provisions of this Basic Law."

But was it not true that pragmatism, meaning that only the results count, guided the thinking of our policy-makers? Is it not true that we are in a struggle for survival against Russian Communism? Is it not true, as Princeton's Eric F. Goldman has stated in his brilliant "Rendezvous with Destiny" that we had become "Reform Darwinists"—sworn to the belief that every means is justified in the struggle for survival? Is is not true that George Kennan, one of the architects of our foreign policy, has stated that we should forego moral and legal scruples and base our policies on the necessities of Realpolitik? Consequently, have our diplomats committed a "wrong" when they extended their hand to Chief of Staff Guderian, to the war criminal Alfred Krupp, or to the 3 Nazi Ministers in Chancellor Adenauer's cabinet?

Perhaps those who support the remilitarization of Germany, believe that nothing is lost but moral scruples. Really nothing? What if the Germans should decide to team up with the Russians à la Tauroggen? Or embroil the West in a war for the "liberation" of the Eastern territories? Can we be sure that all of the risks were worthwhile and that German rearmament will contribute decisively to a situation of Allied strength which, as is devoutedly hoped for in Bonn, Washington and London, will drive the Russians headlong to the Urals.

Facts to Consider

The truth of the matter is that no Allied general will dare to stake his reputation on the claim that 12 German divisions submerged in an unworkable and top-heavy European army package, will tip the balance of strength against Russia. Thus, the American public has been fed balderdash. It does not matter as to whether or not 12 German divisions can seriously stop Russian aggression. Only one thing matters according to one unnamed German official: "We (Germans) must prove . . . to be willing to pay the highest sacrifice for freedom." ("Life," May 10th, 1954) "Life" has another recipe for those unwilling to discuss defense in "spiritual" terms. "With (12 German divisions) Western defense could make impossible a successful Soviet ground attack without direct reenforcement from the USSR—demanding use of the 5 key rail lines that cross the Vistula and make easy targets for western air power."

The optimism of "Life" is not shared by General Guderian who has had first-hand experience with respect to the capabilities of the Soviet armed forces. In his recent work "Can Europe be Defended" he declared that Allied plans for the defense of western Europe are "doomed to failure" and that "an eastern aggressor could reach the Atlantic coast before effective help from overseas could reach the continent." (N. Y. Times, May 17th, 1954)

It is not only a question of the strength of the Russian army. The fact is that our policy-makers have overlooked one simple think; you cannot cover up the blood-stained hands of German militarism. Perhaps the average European is not too concerned with regard to the growth of Nazism within Germany or the re-emergence of war criminals to positions of power and influence. But all of Europe pricks its ears when it hears talk of rearming the Germans.

The reasons are plain. Europe has suffered too much at the hands of the Germans. The millions of dead and maimed are not yet forgotten. Cities are still in ruins. The marks of the concentration camp have not been erased. Lidice, Oradour, Warsaw, Rotterdam, Coventry, Dachau, Belsen, Buchenwald are not forgotten. Nor can Kesselring's massacre of Italian hostages be forgotten, even if an American general's wife should link arms with him in a gesture of friendship. (N. Y. Times, June 4th, 1954)

The victims of the Nazis are still seeking restitution and compensation denied to them by a German civil service crawling with Nazis. The victims of the inhuman experiments of the German medical profession are not amused when they read in their papers that their torturers are freed.

A Word of Advice

The writer of these lines is not a Monday morning quarterback. Together with other persons interested in the German problem he has consistently warned, both in articles and in letters to the press, that Germany's neighbors would not accept the rearmament of Germany. This task has not been pleasant particularly since the build-up of a strong and powerful Germany has become an article of faith which no one is supposed to question. Our weak voices have not been heard.

I hope and pray that our policy-makers will now accept this piece of advice: stop badgering the French to ratify EDC. Nothing is impossible in this world and you may succeed in ramming through this program. What of it? You will gain nothing. It will cost you the loyalty of millions of the democratic masses of Europe for they will have no part of the militarization of Germany. The net result will be a hopelessly divided Europe which can fall prey to the blandishments of totalitarian forces.

The "Nemesis of Power"

There are many outstanding books dealing with the dishonorable role played by the Generalität in the Hitler era. They are all unanimous in placing the blame squarely where it belongs. "It was (the generals') blind loyalty and obedience, their mystical chauvinism and reverence for authority, their philosophy which put the State above man, their 'code of honor' which led in the end only to dishonor that combined to produce moral disintegration and national catastrophe." (Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times, April 19th, 1953)

Among the outstanding books in this field are "Sword and Swastika" by General Telford Taylor, "The German General Staff" by Walter Goerlitz and "In the Nazi Era" by Sir Lewis Namier.

In this field we now welcome a newcomer, J. W. Wheeler-Bennett's "The Nemesis of Power. The German Army in Politics 1918-1945."

There is no single work from which our pragmatic policy-makers and generals —indeed the people as a whole—could profit more. Honest scholarship, gifted language and a keen insight have combined in creating a masterpiece of first rank. The reader, after having gone through its more than 800 pages, will have attained new horizons, and blurred visions will become clear. Wheeler-Bennett tells the story how the German army survived defeat in 1918 and having survived, succeeded in dominating the political life of the Weimar Republic. He describes how the army, by withdrawing from the active political arena but secretly collaborating with Soviet Russia, furthered its power and influence within the Republic. He shows how the army led Germany down the road to military, political and spiritual disaster when the army relinquished its remote control and entered the field of active politics.

Wheeler-Bennett reveals the German army's responsibility for bringing the Nazis into power; for tolerating Hitler's infamies and for not having taken the measures to remove the criminal Nazi regime from power.

From the pages of Wheeler-Bennett's work emerges the black picture of the Generalität, damning in its "moral cowardice" (Reinhold Niebuhr, The New Leader, March 10th, 1954); guilty of accessorship to Nazi crimes; servile, stupid and dissolute.

The reader is in for a shock. Wheeler-Bennett after having documented painstakingly his (and the world's) case against the Generalität, demolishes it in his introduction which apparently was written years after the book had been finished.

Calling his book a "moral tale" he refuses to draw the moral from it and comes out for German rearmament although the documentation contained in the book proves how suicidal it would be for the West to go through with German rearmament. What has happened? Is history in Shakespeare's words "a tale told by an idiot, all sound and fury, signifying nothing?"

Was Wheeler-Bennett seeking the favors of Churchill or his Oxfordian partisans? We don't know. We can only marvel at the phenomenon of a genius destroying his work and hope that he will recant.

But the reader cannot be spared another detail. Wheeler-Bennett, in his introduction, starts correctly by quoting Mirabeau's famous observation (1788): "La Prusse n'est pas un pays qui a une armée, c'est une armée qui a un pays." And he added, "La guerre est l'industrie nationale de la Prusse." Wheeler-Bennett writes then in the same introduction, that Mirabeau's forebodings well may be stilled now that Prussia has disappeared from the map. Is this again "cant"? If Prussia is her Army, then Prussia is recreated as soon as there is again, with Wheeler-Bennett's blessings, a German Army.

We shall try to forget the dismal introduction and will point out the highlights of the main work which are unassailable and brilliant.

The Political Testament of General v. Seeckt

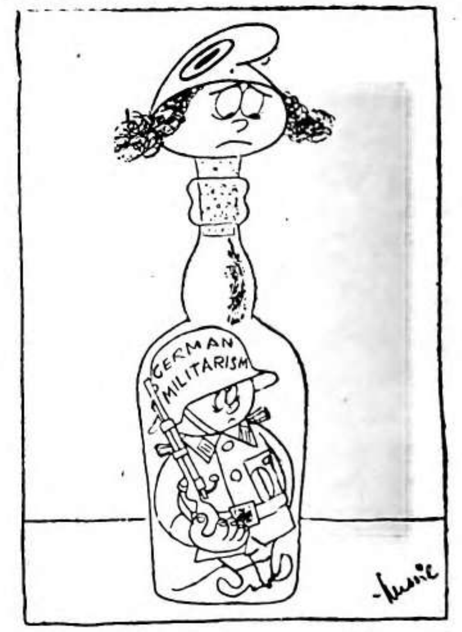
Wheeler-Bennett shows that it was not Walter Rathenau and Joseph Wirth who were the fathers of the Treaty of Rapallo (April 17th, 1922), by which the diplomatic and commercial relations between Germany and Russia were resumed. Rather was it Gen. v. Seeckt, organizer of the "Reichswehr," who sired the Treaty as an instrument for overcoming the military disaster of 1918. We are indebted to Wheeler-Bennett for having printed Seeckt's political treatment which is contained in his memorandum of September 11th, 1922, "Germany's Attitude to The Russian Problem." Since this memorandum is the key to the "riddle" of German current foreign policy, whose aim it is to overcome defeat, its salient parts are reproduced:

"Germany must pursue a policy of action . . . For carrying it out it is essential to assess one's own strength correctly and at the same time to understand the methods and aims of the other Powers . . . The main point about the treaty (of Rapallo) is not *its economic value . . . but its political achievement . . . Its strength lies in the fact that the economic* rapprochement *is preparing the way for the* possibility *of a political and thus also military association . . . There is no danger of countermeasures on the part of our western enemies. We are not confronted with the question whether we should face East or West . . . We will follow at all times a German policy, that is, to examine . . . how the (egotistic) interests of the other (nations) can be exploited for the benefit of our people for tomorrow and the future . . . France follows a policy of (German) annihilation pure and simple, which she must follow in pursuance of the unshakable principles of her policy . . . The whole policy of reconciliation and appeasement towards France . . . is hopeless in as far as it aims at political success. The question of orientation towards the West, as far as France is concerned, is ruled out. France . . . is not indifferent as to whether we ally ourselves with Russia or not, for its aim to destroy Germany . . . would be more difficult to achieve if Germany were supported by Russia . . . (As for Britain) the moment is coming, and must come, when Britain will be looking around for allies on the continent. When that moment arrives she will prefer the mercenary who is growing in strength, and will even have to make him stronger.*

A rapprochement between Germany and Russia would not have a decisive influence on Britain's attitude . . . Germany's attitude towards Russia cannot and need not be influenced by consideration of Britain . . . It can scarcely be maintained that America would be unfavorably influenced against Germany were the latter to join in an association with Russia. She is interested, though not decisively so, in the economic development of Germany. . . . In political life it is an old . . . device to exaggerate the other side's intentions into absurdity and then to attack them as such. Who, then, has concluded a written military agreement, binding us unilaterally, or who intends to do so? Certainly not the responsible military authorities. Where then is this dreaded exposure of ourselves? That the Treaty of Rapallo has brought upon us the suspicion that we could have achieved this increase of power without binding ourselves is the main advantage, scarcely to be overestimated, of this Agreement.

What then is our aim? What do we want from, in, and with Russia? Firstly, a strong Russia . . . and thus indirectly a stronger Germany inasfar as we would be strengthening a possibly ally.

We also want, cautiously and tentatively at first, a direct increase of strength for ourselves . . . In the initial phase (of rearmament) participation and even



The Aufba

Can France keep the 'Genie' bottled?

official recognition by the German Government would be absolutely out of the question. The detailed negotiations could only be conducted by the mlitary authorities. . . . It is true there is a . . . need for peace among the German people. But in spite of everything, the German people will follow the leader in the struggle for their existence. Our task is to prepare for this struggle, for we shall not be spared. If it comes to war . . . it will not *be the duty of our leading statesmen to keep Germany out of war—that would be either impossible or suicidal—but to come in on the right side with all possible strength."*

Same Policy — Same Method

The reader now knows the secret of German foreign policy following defeat and loss of a war. It is *not* a military alliance with Russia as amateur historians have pretended whose well-meaning tracts were providing the smokescreen the Germans needed. It is psychological warfare pure and simple, to let intentionally other nations suspect that there might be such an alliance. Of course, there was never one in the 20th century.

Von Seeckt's memorandum has become the political testament of Germany. The versatile general even invented the method for carrying out this policy. This method consists of three stages. First *"Abmachungen"* (cooperation) by the military, then *rapprochement* by economic treaties, then entente by a neutrality and non-aggression pact—*never* an alliance. Wheeler-Bennett shows that the same policy and the same method was used by Germany and Russia even after Rapallo, i.e. in the model Berlin Treaty of 1926, in 1931, in 1933, and in 1939. It never mattered who the chancellor was. Wirth, Luther, Brüning, Hitler—they all used the same policy and the same method. And Adenauer?

(*The Nemesis of Power, by John Wheeler-Bennett, St. Martin's Press, N. Y.*, 1954)

Inside Germany

NATIONALIST JOURNALS

"Nation Europa. Monatsschrift im Dienst der Europaischen Erneuerung. Coburg.

"Help for the 'prisoners of the Western Allies' is solicited, in the February 1954 issue, by Werner Vormfelde, a former SS officer, who has a plan of 'vindicating the truth about the victors' justice of 1945.' He suggests that 'research councils' be formed of 'independent lawyers, historians, qualified soldiers, eager laymen, courageous pressmen and publishers,' in order to 'supply the Federal Government with documentary evidence on the rehabilitation of each decent soldier who fell into the clutches of Allies vengeance.' 'Self-defence and self-respect,' he says, demand the presentation of a 'counter-account' so long as the Allies refuse to make a clean sweep or to grant a 'neutral revision.' . . .

"Considerable space is devoted by NATION EUROPA to the Nazi Labour Service which is praised by several writers, including Konstantin Hierl, the Labour Service chief, whose recent book 'Gedanken hinter Stacheldraht' is quoted.

"On the occasion of his 75th birthday, E. G. Kolbenheyer, the Nazi author is eulogised in an article decrying the 'flood of raving hate' which is said to have engulfed after 1945 his 'immaculate character.'

"In its January 1954 issue, the journal of the Fascist international reviews the Ribbentrop Memoirs ('Zwischen London und Moskau') in an article designed to 'refute' the allegation of Germany's war guilt."

(Wiener Library Bulletin, April, 1954)

★

ADENAUER'S AXIS

"Chancellor Adenauer returned tonight from a state visit to Greece and Turkey and declared, 'My trip has been a great political success for Germany.'

". . . Asked jocularly if he had cemented an Athens-Bonn-Ankara axis during his trip, Dr. Adenauer smiled broadly and said: 'Yes, but the axis extends much farther than that. It extends all the way to Pakistan and Tokyo and beyond.'"

(The N. Y. Times, 3-28-54)

FOR THE RECORD

"Before the congress of the Deutsche Reichspartei the German General Andrae declared, 'German youth will not participate in the strengthening of the culture of a half-Europe. An army deprived of its old ideals derived from the nation itself, will not fight in case of conflict. Only men like Ramcke or Rudel, men of action and of brilliance with aims clearly defined, could undertake such a struggle. It is, therefore, necessary to renounce the stupid slogans such as "citizens in uniform" and "regional regrouping" and to cease defaming the Prussian spirit. Either the old spirit will imbue the soldier so that we shall have elite troops or we shall have no army at all.'"

(Le Monde, Paris, 5-11-54)

★

THE TRANSITION

On September 25 and 26, 1953, a secret meeting took place in Sieburg, near Bonn. Those attending were high officers in Hitler's Wehrmacht. The Bonn Government was represented by a least a dozen generals as well as the Minister for German Defense, Theodor Blank. In the course of this meeting which was supposedly dedicated to the fundamental principles of the education of the German soldier, the ex-Nazi General Dethleffson declared "the supranational community—the EDC—is only a transitory solution for a German army in the old sense of the word."

(Marseillaise—Châteauroux, 4-15-54)

★

FRIENDLY GET-TOGETHER

Recently a delegation from the Blue Division, the so-called Spanish volunteers who fought with Hitler against the Russians, visited the Bonn Republic. The visitors, under the leadership of Ramon Fernandez Palacios, accepted an invitation from the Jungdemokraten, a youth organization of the Freie Demokratische Partei, the second strongest party in the Adenauer coalition. The German hosts received badges of the Falange which is Franco's Fascist organization. Attending the reception given by the Jungdemokraten, was Dr. Erich Mende, a bigwig in the FDP who achieved notoriety for his defense of German war criminals and his advocacy of the re-creation of Prussia and the Prussian spirit. (Aufbau, 2-12-54)

WHO DESTROYED EUROPE?

"Certainly America has made many mistakes. America is still inexperienced in higher politics, while Europe is only too experienced and therefore, when left to itself, is too skeptical and has too 'Hamlet-like' an attitude. Some day the world will have to name F. D. Roosevelt and his Henry Morgenthau along with Hitler, who, of course, caused the disaster, as the greatest destroyers of Europe."

(Rheinischer Merkur, 4-54)

★

FACTS AND FIGURES

"In machinery and electrical apparatus Germany has enlarged her share of the world trade from 8 per cent in 1950 to 17 per cent last year.

"In automobiles, Germany's share of the market has doubled—mostly at the expense of American and Canadian auto manufacturers. British share—unchanged.

"In chemicals, Germany went up from 14 to 22 per cent, with the main sufferer again being the U. S. Germany had a pre-eminent position in chemical exports before the war. Germans mean to recapture that position—apparently.

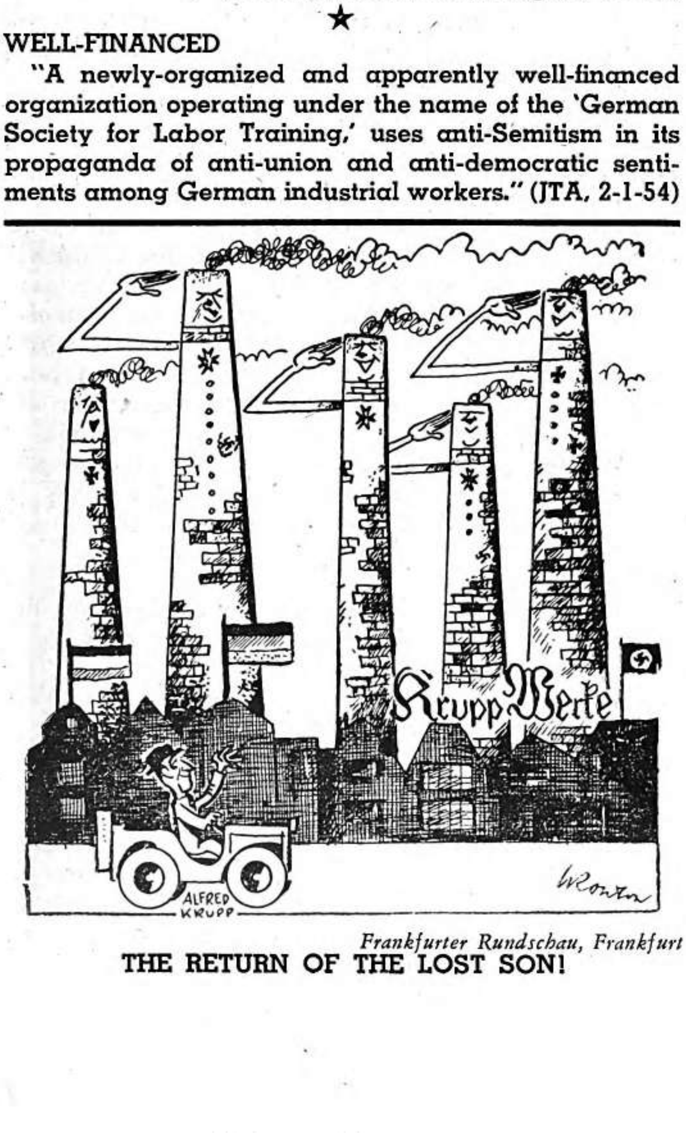
"In rayon piece goods, the German share has gone from 2 per cent in 1950 to 10 per cent. The U. S., Britain, Japan and others feel this competition . . ."

(U. S. News and World Report, 4-9-54)

★

WELL-FINANCED

"A newly-organized and apparently well-financed organization operating under the name of the 'German Society for Labor Training,' uses anti-Semitism in its propaganda of anti-union and anti-democratic sentiments among German industrial workers." (JTA, 2-1-54)



Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt

THE RETURN OF THE LOST SON!

WHAT NEXT!

"West Germany's defense chief urged today that the future West German army be trained to handle atomic weapons, including the American Army's new 280-millimeter cannon now stationed in this country."
(J. W. Grigg, Washington Post-Times Herald, 4-14-54)

★

INTEGRATION

"The United States can never bring about the economic integration of Europe without international industrial cartels, a German industrialist declared in Cologne . . .

"The industrialist, Fritz Berg, president of the German Federation of Industry, is chief spokesman of those who are campaigning against the anti-cartel law."

(Clifton Daniel, The N. Y. Times, 3-24-54)

★

GOEBBEL'S GHOST

"The West German Government announced the establishment of a 'coordinating committee' to centralize political information made available to the press and to control the disbursement of funds in this connection.

"It was reported unofficially that Dr. Otto Lenz, former State Secretary in the first Adenauer Government, would head the committee. The West German press accused Dr. Lenz last year of being the author of a plan to establish a super information ministry, patterned on the old propaganda ministries, to restore some form of control over media of public information."

(M. S. Handler, The N. Y. Times, 6-13-54)

Note: Last year German journalists accused Herr Lenz of preparing a plan to re-create a propaganda ministry. The charge raised such a storm of protest that the Adenauer Government was obliged to deny the existence of such a plan.

★

PROPAGANDA LIE

"General Wolf, Bayreuth, who came over from the German Bloc via Reichsbloc, said at a meeting in Erlangen that the Third Reich must not be disowned as an epoch in the history of Germany. It was criticized only by people on emotional reasons. It was the duty of every German to fight the propaganda lie of Germany's responsibility for the second world war. It had been actually started by the British. The government was acting without dignity by giving decorations to those who had a share in denazification. He expressed the hope that Col. Rudel would come back now in April."

(The Bulletin on German Questions, 3-20-54)

★

RE-ELECTED

"Dr. Erich Mix, who was the Nazi Lord Mayor of Wiesbaden at the time that city's beautiful synagogue went up in flames, has been re-elected to that post by the City Council. Not a single vote was cast in opposition to his candidacy.

"Only a few years ago, a denazification court sentenced Dr. Mix as a "Nazi activist . . ."

(JTA, 2-1-54)

"The danger of world war is now much less that either the United States or the Soviet Union will deliberately provoke it, than there will occur somewhere an incident in which one or other will feel its prestige to be inextricably involved. There are enough danger-points for such incidents without our going out of our way to create more, as we shall necessarily do if we put arms into the hands of the Germans. I know it is argued that we cannot hope to create a land army capable of defending Western Europe without German divisions, and that the purpose in view is purely defensive. But will the outcome be purely defensive? I fear not; and I desperately fear the power to involve their allies in their projects of revanche which rearmament will put into the Germans' hands . . ."

(G. D. H. Cole, The New Statesman and Nation, 3-6-54)

". . . As a defensive bulwark for West Germany's new found democratic political order the trade unions are no longer rated high. Conformity, the fear of creating any sort of disturbance, and the failure to break with management concepts of profit, loss and wages have again transformed the trade union movement into a potential collaborator of any regime that will promise full employment, social security and a welfare state that will take care of a citizen from the cradle to the grave.

"The 'coordination' of the trade unions is now being followed with an almost frenetic recartelization of big business and industry under the noses of an Allied Authority which has fallen asleep at the switch. While Economics Minister Ludwig Erhard campaigns for an anti-cartel law in fulfillment of a commitment to the Allies, industrialists and business men are facing the 'realities' of the West German economic situation and are making their own arrangements with or without the consent of the occupying authorities . . ."

(M. S. Handler, The New York Times, 6-20-54)

FARBEN DOES IT AGAIN

". . . Imports of organic chemicals from West Germany alone climbed from virtually nothing in 1947 to more than 10 million pounds in 1953 . . .

"The danger, according to Vice President Francis J. Curtis, Monsanto's spokesman on the tariff controversy, lies in the trend rather than the amounts presently imported . . .

"Like Bausch & Lomb and Homer Laughlin, what Monsanto worries about most is its ability to compete with low foreign wages. The average West German chemical worker gets less than one-fifth of the $2.03 an hour the average Monsanto worker is paid . . .

"Curtis also charges that the old I. G. Farben cartel has been revived and is subsidizing exports below cost in an effort to destroy the U. S. chemical industry . . ."

(Fortune, April, 1954)

"As might have been expected, the most effective artisan of the new European geopolitics is a German. While the French have been talking about the past, Konrad Adenauer has been in effect traveling to the future. In the context of European political dynamics, few more important trips have been made by a statesman since the end of the war than his to Athens, Ankara and Rome. Whereas he went to Washington and, in a measure, to Paris as a suppliant, he was received in the three Southern capitals as a mentor and guide. And to the last of the peninsulas there was no need to go; a Madrid-Bonn axis is already explicit.

"In Ankara, in particular, Adenauer was received with open arms. For nearly 100 years Turkish foreign policy has been dominated by the idea that Germany's military power could counterbalance Russia's threat to Turkey. This idea produced pro-German policies during the reigns of the last Sultans and the period of the Young Turks. Now, after a brief interval, the new Turkey has come to a similar conclusion. The French have lost their foot-hold in the Near East. The Americans who are replacing the British in that area are not feared by the Turks as were the British. So Germany's road through the Balkans to the East is once again opening . . ."

(Frank Gorrell in the New Republic, 4-12-54)

". . . In Japan, as in Germany, it is possible that such old tyrannies may creep back—perhaps in new guises and most probably in connection with the revival of armed power. But they need not. The most important determining factor may be the degree to which the United States is able to preserve its own democratic institutions and aims under the terrific burden of its military needs. For if Americans should lose their heads as they face the challenge of the cold war, it would be all too easy for them to strengthen the hands of the wrong people in Germany and Japan.

"It may be necessary to rearm yesterday's enemies, but not at the expense of losing tomorrow's friends."

(The Christian Science Monitor, 3-11-54)

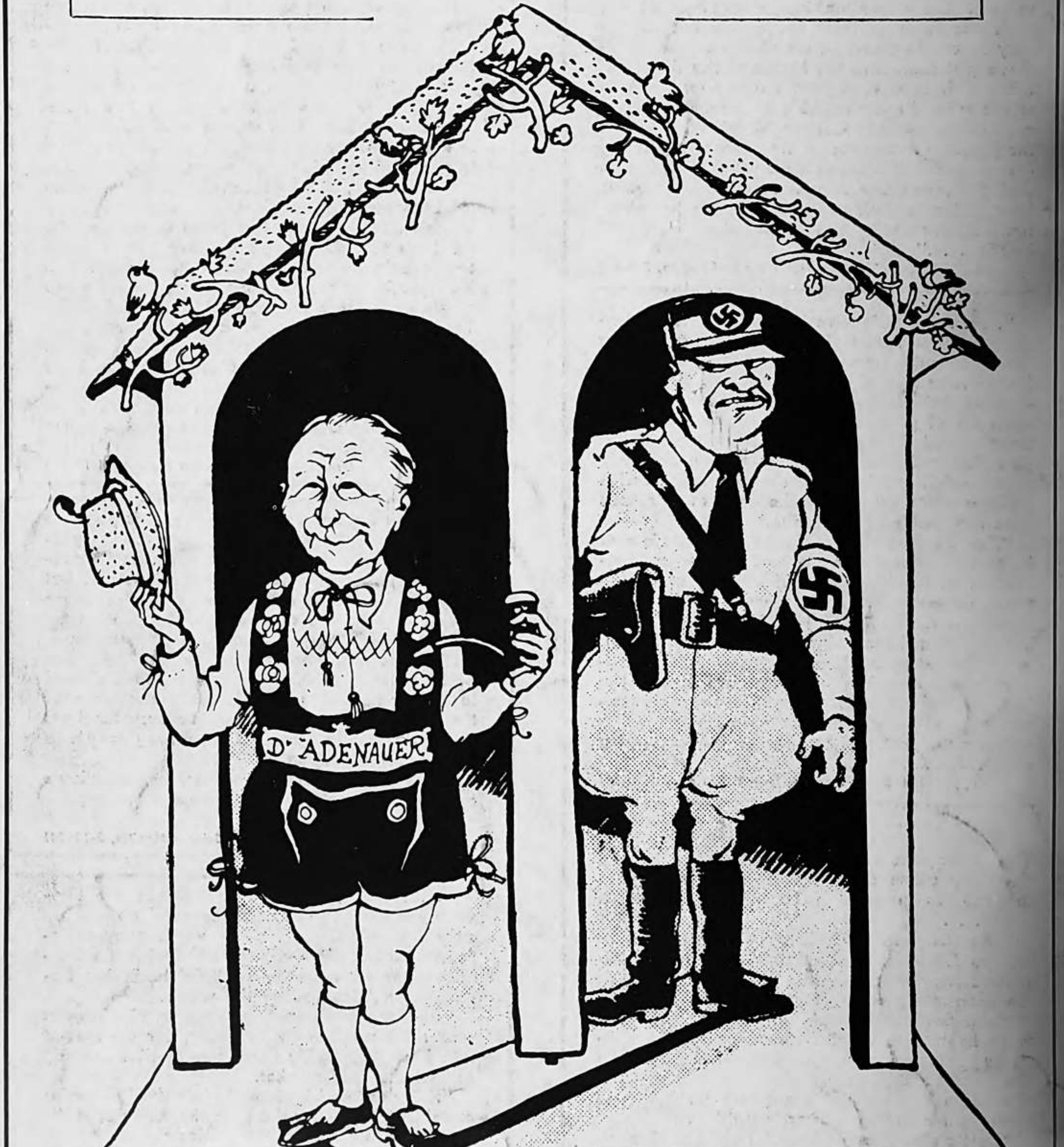
". . . The Continent's coal mines are likewise cartelized, and producers and unions are now becoming much more vociferous in defending this policy—which is hailed in the German Ruhr as a policy of "gleichmässige Beschäftigung' (spreading the work).

"Visit the Walsum Mine, one of the biggest and most modern in the Ruhr, for an insight into how thoroughly these monopolies already control the coal market.

"Hitler ordered Walsum to join the Ruhr sales cartel in 1941. After the war, the Allies split the the cartel into six regional sales agencies—but the six agencies soon reunited in a single organization which today again acts as a cartel. . ."

(A. E. Jeffcoat, Wall Street Journal, 4-20-54)

AND A COMMENT BY... Cummings



Dr ADENAUER
Cummings

No. 45
WINTER ISSUE
1954-1955

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985

No. 45 Winter Issue, 1954-1955

We Are Determined to Carry On

AT the close of World War II the Society observed ominous trends in international political relations which threatened the future of the peace. This was particularly apparent with respect to the situation in Germany. Thus, we stated, "*So long as Germany remains a potential asset to one or more of the allied nations, she will be used for ulterior, selfish, political, military and economic purposes, and so long will the world remain insecure. So long as Germany is available for one of these marriages, she will be in a good position to recapture her military strength. Only when we have conclusive proof supported by acts, that the big powers will not establish any liaison with Germany to use her as an eventual ally in any extra-national activity, will there be a reasonable chance of destroying mutual suspicions and of establishing a genuine world collaboration for peace*" (Prevent World War III, No. 14, April-May 1946).

It remained for the victors to provide "conclusive proof supported by acts" that they were determined to lay the foundation of a durable peace in Europe.

Would they eliminate Germany's war potential and encourage genuine peace-time industry?

Would they break up the predatory trust and cartels?

Would they prevent Pan-Germans, militarists, Nazis and war criminals from regaining positions of power and influence in Germany's political and social life?

Would they provide Germany's victims with adequate reparations derived from German industry and external assets?

Would they encourage the decentralization of German political institutions, thereby avoiding the re-creation of a new Reich?

Would they develop a realistic educational program to infuse the spirit of democracy among the masses of the German people?

The Society fought persistently for this program without compromise. On the other hand, our policy makers were ensnared into the trap of wishful thinking under the influence of those having financial or sentimental ties with Germany.

Through the realization of the above mentioned objectives a peace-loving Germany could have been constructed. Such a Germany would not have been attractive to countries pursuing the dangerous game of power politics, nor would such a Germany have been in a position to play one side off against the other in order to regain her dominant power.

However, the Western Allies, in their justified effort to check Communist expansionism were "sold" on the idea of a "German bulwark," just as they were "sold" on the same fallacy after World War I, with its tragic consequences. They deliberately refused to admit that the Russians could also "make friends" with the Germans as easily as they had fought them. The upshot of this bidding and counterbidding for the hand of the former enemy was the scrapping of virtually every important measure designed to render Germany harmless and to engender democracy.

Thus, despite the superficial signs of progress, the evil forces which controlled Germany's destinies for generations, are growing with renewed vigor. More and more, they are assuming a decisive role in the political and economic life of the country. The proof of their power lies in the fact that even the so-called democratic leaders cater to Pan-German and neo-Nazi slogans. The forces of Pan-Germanism are on the march again. (See "German Realities 1954," Prevent World War III, No. 44.)

Having escaped the consequences of their aggressions, there is no inner conviction of repentance among the vast masses of the Germans. A people who yearn for the glories of "Deutschland Ueber Alles" cannot be won over to "our side" by heaping concessions upon them. Indeed, every concession becomes a weapon in their hands against us, and the granting of sovereignty and a new Wehrmacht fall within that category.

"Rehabilitated" with billions of dollars (and more to come), Germany will once again become a menace to the security and welfare of the U. S. and her allies.

In the name of the "democratic process," the German totalitarians will ride to power on a new wave of militarism and chauvinism.

In the name of "free enterprise," the German cartelists will undermine the position of American and western businessmen in the world markets.

In the name of a "united Europe," the Germans will stop at nothing to destroy the independence and cultural heritage of her neighbors.

In the name of "co-existence," the Germans will make common cause with the East to isolate the U. S.

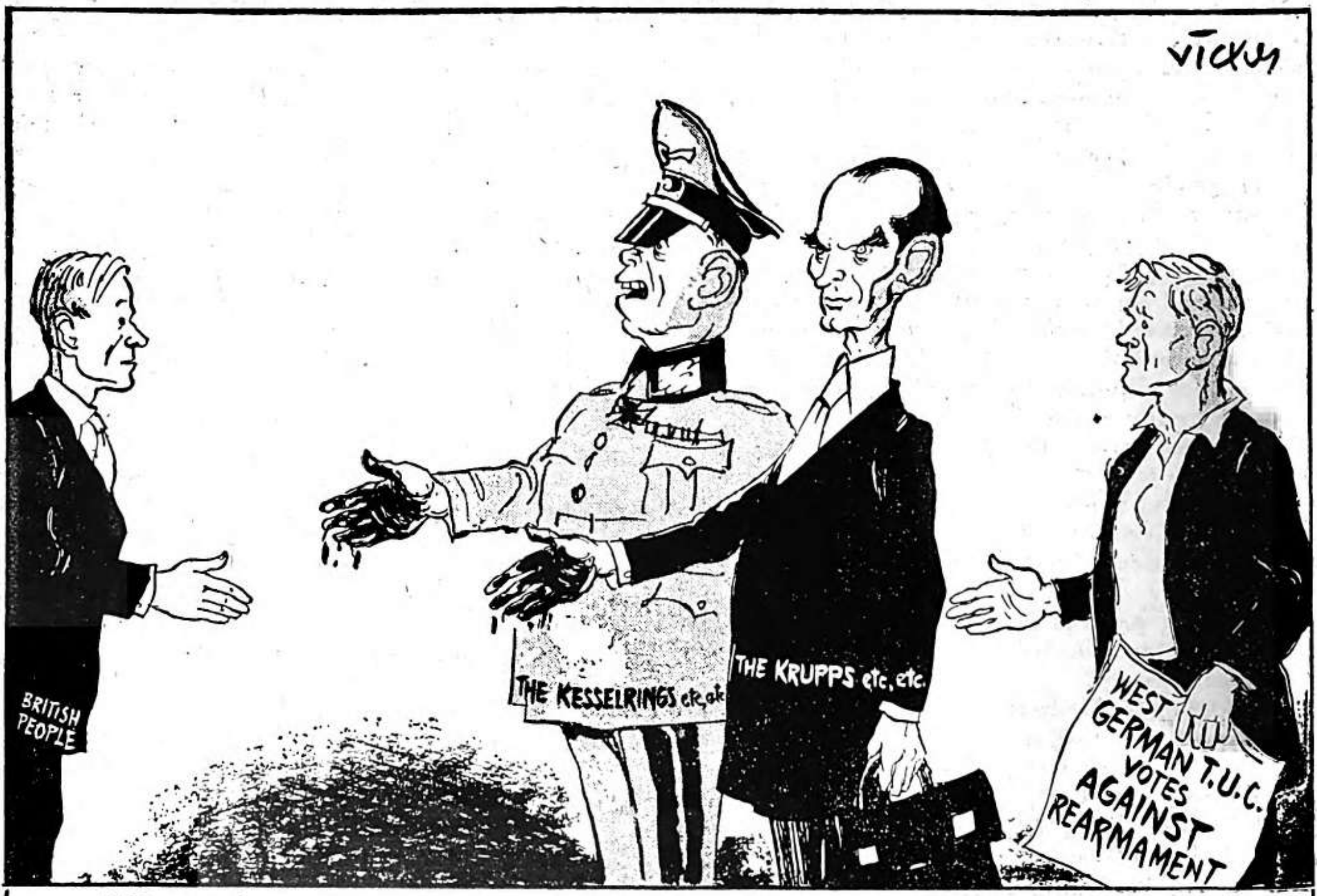
In the name of "world collaboration," the Germans will drive for world domination.

The American people have been told that the London and Paris Agreements will usher in a new chapter in our relations with Germany. Whatever can be said about these Agreements, the fact remains that the German problem is more acute than ever before. (See the article "The Failure of Diplomacy," p. 3 in this issue). Thus, the Society's educational work takes on a more significant meaning in terms of American security.

* * *

The Society may be a small voice in the wilderness of confusion and illusion which goes under the heading of policy. However, is it not the essence of patriotism to speak the truth as it relates to the welfare of our country, rather than to join the silence of despair or the cheers of those who like to make believe? Yes, we are determined to carry on as the forsaken conscience of those who gloss over the crimes of the devil and sup at his table.

All the issues of "Prevent World War III" are living documents attesting to our painstaking efforts to enlighten the people and to maintain the vigilance of our Government. With a deep sense of responsibility to our members and the American people we reaffirm our resolution to continue exposing the conspiracies of those forces, inside and outside the United States, who would subvert our security and our international friendships in the cause of Germandom. We shall, as in the past, work for a realistic solution of the German problem as the key to world peace.



"Let the peoples extend the hand of friendship and forgiveness to each other" —*Sir Winston Churchill*

The Failure of Diplomacy

The acid test of successful diplomacy lies in its positive contributions toward enhancing national security. On the other hand, a diplomacy which alienates reliable friends, provides potential enemies with greater opportunities for maneuvering, and increases the chances of a new world holocaust, saps the foundations of security. It is by these standards that we must judge the results of the London and Paris meetings.

We are cognizant of the fact that the decisions to remilitarize Germany and grant her sovereignty have been hailed as historic triumphs. Following the meeting in London, Secretary Dulles said that it was "one of the greatest conferences of all times."

With all due respect to his high office, we cannot share Mr. Dulles' exuberance. We are mindful of Mr. Dulles' wealth of experience in international affairs. However, his record in calling the shots accurately is by no means perfect. Thus, his estimation of the intentions of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis turned out to be wide of the mark. In March, 1939, he told a meeting of the Economic Club in New York "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplates war upon us."

If it is unfair to rake up the past then we are prepared to challenge Mr. Dulles' estimation of the London and Paris meetings in the light of the standards which, in our opinion, define the art of successful diplomacy.

I

Ten years ago the political and moral prestige of the United States in Europe was unrivaled. We were respected and liked for our broad understanding of the problems besetting the nations ravaged by German militarism. In that spirit we contributed generously toward the rehabilitation of our distressed friends. Even our worst enemies cannot deny this proud chapter in our post-war international relations.

Times have changed. One of our most respected experts on foreign affairs, William Philip Simms (long-time foreign editor of the Scripps-Howard newspapers) reported, "The United States is about as popular in Europe today as Hitler's Germany was in 1938-1939." (New York World Telegram and Sun, 8-23-54)

Mr. Simm's observation may be challenged as an exaggeration. Yet, it is a fact, like it or not, that we are no longer regarded with the trust and friendly admiration—which had made such a profound impression on that great American, Wendell Willkie.

Undoubtedly, the Kremlin and its "busybees" in Europe have helped to bring about this change. Yet, in the last analysis, this tragedy is of our own making. When we discarded our original post-war policies for a program that treated the German enemy as a long-lost friend, the die was cast. The Communists merely capitalized on our monumental blunders.

Thus, several years following the end of hostilities, the guiding star of all our major diplomatic moves in Europe was Germany. The rebuilding of a powerful Germany began to take priority over every other program which meant, in effect, that all other projects would have to be neglected to a smaller or larger degree. Of course, this basic change in the orientation of American diplomacy was justified in the name of developing a mighty bulwark against the Communist menace. But how did this drastic shift work out in practice? As Germany's power multiplied, it brought about a decline in the relative strength of her western neighbors. As for the Soviet bloc, the resurgence of Germany has had no damaging effects whatsoever to its military capabilities and economic power. In short, the real sufferers of the "Germany First" policy were our Western Allies.

When the French buried EDC it appeared, at least for a moment, that we were going to be saved at the eleventh hour from the consequences of our own follies. Here was the great opportunity for a genuine soul-searching re-examination of our German policy—a policy which had been regarded as sacred and untouchable ever since it was conceived. But no, our policy makers would not have it that way. They insisted on agreement no matter what the price.

Pressure grew to unheard of proportions. The French Government was attacked and insulted in the press. Needless to say, the Germans caught on quickly. Chancellor Adenauer with an arrogance typical of the German diplomat, hurled innuendoes at the French and their leaders. He went so far as to state that unless Germany got her way, she would "look" to the Soviet Union (London Times, 9-4-54). Indeed, matters reached such a pitch that one newspaper (New York Journal American, 9-25-54) prominently displayed a statement by the German war criminal, Colonel General Alexander von Falkenhausen, that France should be occupied until she was ready to submit!

The pressures and the threats worked. An agreement was reached. Europe will once again be confronted with a strong, sovereign Germany, free to act as it sees fit. To believe that the peoples of Europe will move closer to the U.S. when they behold the rhythmic marching of a new Wehrmacht, is to expect a miracle.

II

Restoring Germany's war power and uniting Western Europe simultaneously are irreconcileable concepts. The net result of combining these policies may be compared to the fruitless labors of Sisyphus. As this fundamental contradiction deepens, the opportunities for Soviet machinations increase. Witness, for example, the skill and effectiveness of Soviet propaganda as it exploits these incompatible policies. In Western Europe this propaganda raises the ominous specter of German militarism, while in Germany it revives the spirit of Tauroggen and Rapallo—symbols of Russo-German collaboration.

Soviet diplomacy is also scoring. Thus, the series of notes proposing a conference on European "security" and Germany have achieved at least several objectives: (a) The U.S. has been put on the defensive. (b) The confidence of the Western European peoples has been shaken. (c) Flirtations between the Germans and the Soviets are on the upgrade.

The London and Paris agreements create more possibilities for Soviet maneuvering. All of the factors—ideological, economical, political—which have drawn Germany and Russia together in the past, have received a fresh impetus. Under the guidance of the German General Staff, backed by an assortment of totalitarian and reactionary groupings, the way will be cleared for constructing the bridge to the East.

The role of these forces was noted in a State Department booklet published in 1951 ("Confuse and Control"): *"The business world of Western Germany has several weak points of different origin. One is the prewar habit of Eastern trade to balance manufactured goods with food supplies. Another is the fear of what might happen if the Communists should come and the Western Powers should fail to stop them. Still another is the remains of the old habit of authoritarian control, which has more affinity for Eastern than for Western forms of government. . . .*

"Those Germans who are still at heart in favor of Nazism, of the orthodox militarist tradition, or of the extreme rightist position in big business, are a source of weakness, and are peculiarly susceptible to communist influence. . . .

"Hitler made much of Germany's position as the defender of Europe against the barbarians from the East. But ever since Napoleon had conquered Germany and attacked Russia, there had been much in common between the upper military and social classes in Germany and in Russia. The Tsar was closely related to the Kaiser. Bismarck's policy was always to cooperate with Russia. Now that Russia has a new ruling class as dictatorial as the old aristocracy, some of the old feeling of kinship is still to be found among extreme conservatives in Germany, from the Junkers to the ex-Nazis. . . .

"There is some feeling among the aristocrats that they might make terms with the Soviet aristocracy and because of their experience and ability might become indispensable and powerful members of the Soviet ruling class. . . ."

The State Department analysis concludes, *"The tendency for the extreme right to play with treason must be listed as a definite weak point in the democratic cause."*

Certainly very few Germans will accept this rather naive description of the role of these forces in German life. These powerful groupings are not alien to the German body politic. On the contrary, German policy—past and present—is deeply rooted in the Weltanschauung (world outlook) of these forces.

The London and Paris agreements were intended, so we are told, to "return" Germany to a western orientation—as though Germany was at one time firmly attached to the West. A study of modern German history shows that at no time was Germany wedded permanently to the West or the East. Indeed, for every olive branch to the West, the Germans extended one to the East.

The real German position, unembroidered by the smooth talk of some German politicians, was revealed in the sensational Madrid circular letter prepared by Germany's top geopoliticians and published in "Germany Plots with the Kremlin" by T. H. Tetens (1953). *"Our present policy must be to overcome the consequences of our previous mistakes. An emasculated Germany should never allow itself to be used as a spearhead in an attack against the Russian colossus. This would be an insane act ('Wahnsinns experiment') and would spell our final doom, whereas Germany as the exponent of European neutrality could gain far reaching concessions from the Soviets. . . . We must not let ourselves become befogged by Washington's stupid and meaningless slogans about the 'Struggle of Democracy versus Communism.' The so-called American democracy does not deserve the sacrifice of the bones of even a single German soldier. . . . What Germany needs in the future is not democracy but a system of statecraft similar to that of the Soviet dictatorship which would enable the political and military elite in Germany to organize the industrial capacity of Europe and the military qualities of the German people for the revival of the German race and the re-establishment of Europe as the power center of the world."*

A more recent expression of this position, although heavily disguised, may be found in an open letter to President Eisenhower by the extreme rightist and Pan-German organization "The Steuben Society of America": *"As far as Germany is concerned—Adenauer or no Adenauer, BRUTO or no BRUTO—sooner or later she must be permitted to follow her historic role of forming the bridge between west and east—by way of neutralization or by having her own national forces. . . . Let us get out of the Fool's Paradise, in which we have lived all too long. . . ."* (The Steuben News, Nov. 1954)

In the light of German history, and given a sovereign and rearmed Germany as contemplated under the London and Paris agreements, the so-called Western orientation of Germany is bound to be short lived.

III

At the Berlin Conference (2-2-54) Secretary Dulles stated: "The Soviet Union proposes that Germany should be allowed to have defensive strength on a national basis. But if Germany had national forces strong enough to defend itself from external attack, it would be so strong that it would threaten all of Western Europe." However, a careful examination of the implications of the London and Paris agreements show that what Mr. Dulles professed to object to will come to pass. The revival of the German General Staff supported by a national army of 500,000 men (with another 500,000 reservists) and equipped with the most modern weapons of warfare, bears no resemblance to the usual idyllic description of a German "defense" force.

Mr. Dulles' statement is also significant in that it recognizes that a rearmed Germany unlike one of our rearmed Western Allies, is a very risky proposition. Moreover, it is an admission that such a Germany would, in the first place, constitute a threat to the security of the West.

One can speculate as to when and where German guns will point, but there is no room for doubt as to the meaning of German rearmament. It is a long step toward World War III.

* * *

Thus, on all three counts it is our considered judgment that the London and Paris agreements do not enhance our security but, on the contrary, create new dangers.

Editorials

"WE"

The Germans have coined a word to describe the main ingredient in their foreign policies—"Realpolitik." It is a concept of conduct bereft of principle, honor or moral consideration. Essentially, it demands total allegiance to the cause of Pan-Germanism. The means are irrelevant except insofar as they help to achieve the ultimate goal. Unfortunately, the Western Democracies have been inclined to judge Germany by their own standards of morality and conduct. The net result has been that the Allies have been fooled time and again in evaluating Germany's real intentions.

Today, for example, public opinion in the West has been encouraged to believe that Germany has at last "returned" to the Western Fold. But while the cheers grow louder, Realpolitik continues to operate inexorably within the framework of German policy.

German Realpolitik has always been active on the American scene. In his book "Germany Plots With The Kremlin" (1933) T. H. Tetens describes the influence of Realpolitik among the most important sections of the German language press in the USA. High on the list is the "Bürger Zeitung" of Chicago which has advocated a Russo-German tie-up for some years. In 1949 this paper featured on its front page an "Open Letter To Stalin" (See "Prevent World War III," No. 33) which proposed a Russo-German alliance against. the Anglo-Saxon bloc. The author of the letter, Bruno Fricke, has had a checkered career including membership in the Nazi party. One thing is certain: Regardless of how often he changed colors, he is Pan-German to the bone.

Herr Fricke appealed to the late Soviet dictator to join hands with the Germans. "*We* are actually predestined," he wrote Stalin, "for an alliance with Moscow, all the more so since mutual cooperation with the integrated bloc of the Soviet states has attracted millions of Germans educated under strict discipline. Who could resist us if both *our* Reichs were united? What Napoleon did not succeed in doing. Truman will not succeed in either: the subjugation of the earth!" (our Italics)

Perhaps some of our readers will say: "Well, what of it? The "Bürger Zeitung" is a small paper and therefore unimportant." Unfortunately, this is not the case. The Bürger Zeitung boasts that it is the mouth piece for the sentiments of 500 thousand German-Americans in the Chicago area. Now, whether this is true or not, the fact remains that the Bürger Zeitung is an important publication for at least two reasons: (a) it is a reliable indicator of Pan-German thinking not only in the U.S.A. but in Germany itself; (b) its editorial opinions have proved to be of great influence among leading English language newspapers in the Midwest.

Mr. Tetens points out that the "Bürger Zeitung" "has its place on the extreme right politically." It has been a consistent supporter of our most fervent anti-Communist crusaders. Yet, it was this paper which carried an open appeal for a Russo-German alliance! This apparent contradiction can only be explained by the decisive influence of German Realpolitik which in the last analysis motivated the Nazis to make common cause with the Communists in 1939.

Mr. Stalin is around no longer, but the Bürger Zeitung has not given up its campaign. The October 14, 1954, issue carried a lengthy article which can be regarded as the latest version of the open letter to Stalin. This time the message is directed to Mr. Molotov, one of Stalin's chief lieutenants. The writer of this piece is a character who goes under the pen name "Politicus." Ordinarily his columns are dull. They read like an old broken record repeating the stale accusations of pro-Nazis and their

"The myth of Germany's superiority over other European nations is alive. The remarkable German economic recovery since 1948, the political restoration of a truncated Germany in the form of a federal republic, the assiduous courtship of this republic by the United States and many other powers—all stimulated the myth.

"The reluctant West Germans took slowly to the idea of their indispensability to the defense of our free world. But after two years of exposure to this concept they came to believe at the same time that in a nuclear war they would be pulverized. The United States idea raised their ego, which had been ground into the dust in World War II.

"This doctrine of indispensability has encouraged the latent nationalists to try their wings again, with the result that politicians have emerged from their cocoons to recommend negotiations with the Soviet Government for a German settlement.

"The Western Allies' courtship of the Federal Republic, the economic recovery and the doctrine of indispensability were the foundations on which West German nationalists of various hues reconstructed the theory, which they would like to put into practice, of a reunited Germany playing off the West against the East—as did Bismarck and the Weimar Republic.

"The doctrine of indispensability is the handmaiden of the idea of a Germany powerful enough to play the moderator in a balance-of-power game in Europe."

(M. S. Handler, N.Y. Times, 8-28-54)

friends, that the Allies were the real war criminals and that the Germans were the victims of an unholy conspiracy. However, his column of October 14th struck a different note. It is lively and more than that, it is a revelation. By force of habit he intersperses the theme of his article with vile attacks against the French. It is not his snide references to the French which deserve comment, but rather his unambiguous declaration that the latest Molotov proposals for the "unification of Germany" should be seriously considered by the Germans. He expresses his doubts as to the efficacy of Chancellor Adenauer's present policy because it will not achieve the unity of Germany which is "the greatest and most important problem for Germany . . ." How can Dr. Adenauer, Politicus asks, achieve German unification "if *we* are the Allies of a Western combine."

Before proceeding to a further examination of Politicus' "letter" to Molotov the reader should note the word "we." This is not a slip of the tongue. The "we" is the quintessence of the real meaning of Pan-Germanism for no matter where and under what circumstances the Pan-German lives and operates, it is always "we." The same "we" is found in Bruno Fricke's letter to Stalin. Just imagine the uproar if the Daily Worker ran a column by a Communist leader employing the word "we" in speaking of the Russians as Politicus uses the term with respect to the Germans!

Returning to the remainder of the article, we note that Politicus insists that *"the only way to get it (unification) will be to deal with Russia in a friendly way. Joining a combine of powers antagonistic to Russia is not the way."* But this is not all. Politicus seems fully confident that the question of unity can be settled between the Russians and the Germans while the Western Democracies sit at the doorsteps awaiting the consummation of the deal. Politicus is emphatic on this point. "The statesmen of Germany," he declares, "should at least grip this hand and try to get through conversations . . ." with the Russians.

Ironically, he justifies his proposition on the basis of the very policy which is now pursued by the United States vis-à-vis Germany. "America has shown the way" to German-Russian negotiations when the U.S. "found out that it made a mistake in fighting Germany." Politicus refers to President Eisenhower's well known statement "let bygones be bygones." Therefore, according to Politicus, "why cannot German statesmen at least follow such an example to get on a good footing with Russia which Germany attacked, not to forget." Thus Politicus shows how American policy can turn into advantage for the future of Russo-German relations. The United States is hoisted, so to speak, by its own petard.

If past experience is an indicator of how our policy makers will respond to this latest expression of German Realpolitik, we predict that more billions will be turned over to that "great bulwark" against Soviet Communism.

PRES. HEUSS' SLIP OF THE TONGUE

During the past decade the moral climate surrounding significant aspects of international affairs has undergone a radical change. The transformation is particularly marked with respect to the treatment of the former enemy Germany. This was brought into sharp relief when the four occupying powers freed one of the major war criminals, Baron Konstantin von Neurath. It was done in spite of the fact that he had only completed 8 years of his full sentence.

The background of this event was formed by the widespread campaign in Germany to engender sympathy for all of the war criminals. The Allies, prodded on by the Chancellor himself, have sought reconsideration of the status of the major war criminals located in Spandau prison in Berlin. In this connection the New York Times (4-6-54) stated: ". . . The decision to reconsider the status of these men culminates a long series of actions by the Western Powers to ameliorate the condition of German war criminals. The moves have been made in response to German pleas for clemency and to clear the way for West German participation in the European Defense Community." Thus, on the initiative of US policy makers who seldom refuse the Chancellor a favor, the Russians were approached by the three Western Allies. However, the Russians seemed to show disinterest and, therefore, the question was shelved temporarily.

Undoubtedly, some of our own experts thought that the appeal had put the Russians on the spot and thus increased the standing of the Western Allies in the eyes of the Germans. They apparently forgot—or perhaps never had learned—that when it comes to warming up to German totalitarians regardless of color or breed, the Russians will not be outdone. Hence, in their characteristic fashion of "stealing the show," the Soviets suddenly popped the proposition to free von Neurath. The New York Herald Tribune (11-4-54) reported that "the Russian move will probably make a considerable impression on the people of Germany." Needless to say, the Allies found themselves on the short end. Nevertheless they quickly consented to the Russian recommendation. (Apparently, the only kind of agreement made these days between the Russians and the Western Allies deals with ways and means of making life more pleasant for German war criminals.)

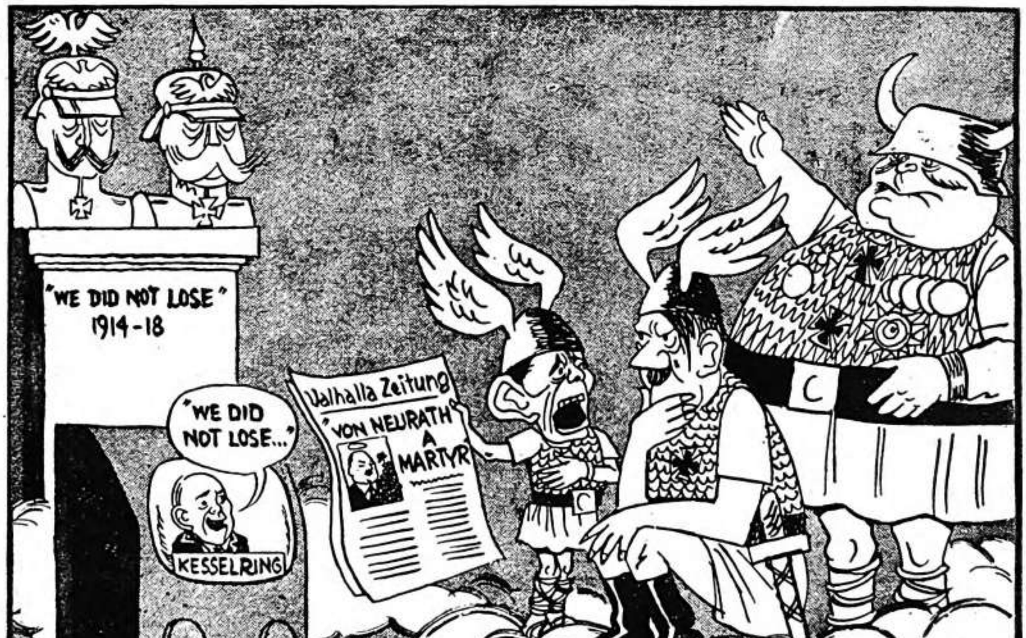
The public was told that von Neurath's release was due to his age and ill health. We recall that when Field-marshal von Kesselring was released from prison, the papers announced that he was freed because he was suffering from cancer. Today this same von Kesselring, "victim of cancer," is among the top leaders of revived German militarism and the chief of the military organization called "Stahlhelm." We will not make any predictions with regard to von Neurath's future activities. However, his past is a matter of record.

Von Neurath was condemned by the International Military Tribunal on all four counts for having been an accomplice to the Nazis' crimes against peace and against humanity. On March 18, 1939, the Baron was appointed by Hitler as Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia. In that capacity he was responsible for the destruction of democratic institutions and for the ruthless exploitation of Czechoslovakian industry to further the Nazi war effort. He was responsible for the widespread antisemitic persecution that followed the enslavement of Czechoslovakia. Von Neurath was one of the authors of the Germanization program that was to be applied in Czechoslovakia. This goal was to be achieved through the liquidation of the Czech intelligentsia and other groups who might dare to resist Germanization. Under his rule a network of concentration camps was set up and thousands of Czech civilians perished. As Minister of Foreign Affairs prior to von Ribbentrop's appointment, von Neurath was one of the architects of the Nazi preparation for aggression and conquest.

This is the man who is freed to the applause of the German people. Chancellor Adenauer sent a wire of congratulations declaring how "delighted" he was and extended to the Baron his "best wishes." The President of the Bonn Republic, Theodor Heuss, summed up the feelings of the Germans perhaps better than any other leader. In a message to von Neurath he exclaimed:

> *"With pleased satisfaction, on returning from a short journey, I read the report this morning that the news of the last few days has been followed by speedy fulfilment, and the martyrdom of these years has come to an end for you."*

Here in a nutshell is the most reliable indicator of the degree to which democracy has taken root in Germany. If von Neurath suffered martyrdom, does it not follow that his crimes were not crimes? To those who ignore the significance of the Heuss message on the excuse that the Germans—no matter what the cost—must be "on our side" against the Communist menace, let them ponder the words of the Bible, "for what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul."



'I always did think we were premature to commit suicide, mein Fuhrer'

How Stupid Can We Be?

Among the highlights of Chancellor Adenauer's latest visit to the U.S. was his talk before the National Press Club in Washington. It is quite apparent that the Chancellor's speech was carefully planned for his U.S. audience. For example, a good portion of his address was devoted to a description of the anti-Communist attitude of the Germans. Actually, this is an old story which goes back to the days of Hitler's Third Reich. That the Chancellor should choose to reiterate this well known fact may, in all probability, be ascribed to two reasons: (a) his efforts to portray Germany as the great bulwark against Communism (which has been paying off handsomely); (b) to discredit France and Britain, where a substantial portion of the electorate seems to accept the proposition of "coexistence" with the Communist world.

Be it as it may, there is another aspect to Adenauer's speech which in our opinion is of even greater moment. After describing the "Red Terror" and how the Germans of all classes are fleeing from it in the tens of thousands, he suddenly switches his line. Let us, he pleads, "normalize" relations with the "Red Terror." To achieve this objective, the Chancellor proposes that the Communist bloc be offered a non-aggression pact.

Here is a classical illustration of Realpolitik acrobatics. Apparently only the Germans can perform this stunt and get away with it. We recall how Winston Churchill and General De Gaulle were smeared and abused by the German propaganda machine when they dared to suggest the "possibility" of "considering" the "practicability" of top level negotiations with the Kremlin. More recently, Premier Mendès-France has also come under the withering fire of the Germans and their apologists for failing to exclude the possibility of talks with the Russians. Even the New York Times which, for unknown reasons, often seems to bear a grudge against the French when it comes to matters German, has also raised a cloud of suspicion regarding Mendès-France's attitude toward Russia. (See, for example, New York Times editorial 10-29-54)

Now, when Chancellor Adenauer comes up with the bright idea of a pact with the Russians and says so publicly in the Nation's capital, the newspapers bill his remarks as though he were the great sage at whose feet we all sit waiting for his signal to act or not to act. It is even possible that sooner or later our own diplomats will fall over each other in praise of this great European for his latest display of "vision and statesmanship." In this connection the Washington Post ran an editorial (10-31-54) which said that it was "a privilege to have the thinking of this great European statesman, and the German-American treaty of friendship which he takes back with him is testimony to the esteem in which his vision is held."

This is not to imply that the Chancellor has publicly worked the Kremlin angle for the first time. We can cite a number of instances during the last two years when the Chancellor has declared his sympathy for the issue of coming to an understanding with the "Red Terror." On July 7, 1953, he told the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung that the German and Russian economies *"once before complemented each other in a magnificent way."* He expressed the hope that the future of Russo-German relations would be as promising as they were in the good old days.

In the same month the Chancellor wrote Secretary Dulles suggesting the development of an arrangement with the Soviet Union. In September 1953, Adenauer again raised the subject in a speech to the Bundestag and in May 1954, the Chancellor again returned to this theme at a press conference in Hamburg.

The Chancellor has never been alone with respect to the desire to "normalize" relations with the "Red Terror." It is no exaggeration to state that the most important sections of the German press as well as Germany's leading politicians have at one time or another called for an arrangement with Russia. (We shall be glad to supply pertinent data on this subject if desired.)

Some years ago the Chancellor used to harp on the theme that negotiations with the Russians was his supreme "nightmare." In one sense the nightmare still haunts the Chancellor. It is not negotiations with the Russians per se, which makes the Chancellor tremble with fear. What he dreads above all is a conference of the Big Four to the exclusion of the Germans. To prevent such a meeting at all cost was the acid test of Chancellor Adenauer's statesmanship. His success in influencing American policy toward the realization of his objectives raised his stature among the Germans. According to the Deutsche Zeitung (9-19-53) a popular quip has been making the rounds in Germany: *"Who makes Washington's European policy?—Konrad Adenauer in Bonn."*

From the moment that Chancellor Adenauer's views were given special consideration by our policy makers, the subject of negotiations with the Russians became taboo in the U.S. and remained so until the great medicine man of the West lifted the spell. Now it becomes permissable to talk about this forbidden subject, because Germany is no longer a pariah among nations. On the contrary, it is now being primed as the great defender of Western civilization against the Communist hordes. Its economic power has begun to dominate Western Europe. Hence, the Germans are no longer afraid of negotiations with the Russians. Indeed, they will now insist upon it and we can be sure that they who worship the very ground on which the

Chancellor walks, will do everything in their power to revise American policy accordingly.

Already we note a certain fatalistic attitude concerning the inevitability of negotiations with the Russians. This was the sense of an article by Mr. Walter Lippmann in his column of October 15, 1954. Another leading journalist, Joseph C. Harsh, speculating on the consequences of the Paris accords, accepts the probability of talks with the Russians but adds: "The emerging task for Western diplomats will be to see to it that West Germany negotiates as a partner of the West, not as an independent political force."

The New Republic (11-1-54) dwells on the same subjust in an article entitled "Germany as an Ally." "A sovereign West German Government," the New Republic observed, "is bound to enter into discussions with the Kremlin. A rigid doctrine that equates negotiation with appeasement, can drive the discussions into a secret illegitimate frame. The safeguard for the United States and NATO is to accept the inevitability of negotiation and accommodation with Russia and thereby prevent the negotiations from developing along bilateral and anti-Western lines."

Perhaps negotiations with the Russians are inevitable. But some of the sophisticated commentators display a naiveté which is most perplexing. If they believe that the Germans will only deal with the Russians as part of the Western team, then these people have forgotten the lessons of history. Of course, the Germans have no such intentions whatsoever! Their press has expressed confidence that the Germans are well equipped to deal with the Russians and need not be chaperoned by the Western Allies. As early as October 3, 1953, Germany's leading paper, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, suggested in an editorial "direct talks between the Bonn Republic and the Soviets." *"Only Chancellor Adenauer,"* the editorial declared, *"can convince the Kremlin of the honesty and general usefulness of Germany's policy."*

It was not the first time that this authoritative mouthpiece of German foreign policy sounded off in that vein. On April 1, 1950, this newspaper wrote: *"Germany was always the bridge between the East and the West . . . The Allies are not able to come to an accord with the Russians . . . What is then more natural than for us to say, in view of the present pressure: If until now, within the framework of world events, the others were not able to make*

". . . With East and West bidding against each other for the loyalty of the Germans, the outcome is unpredictable.

"There can be little doubt about who benefits the most from this situation. Nine years ago the armies of the East and West entered Germany as conquerors. It has taken the Germans just nine years to become the most wooed people of the world. In fact, if not in theory, they can choose between the rival offers. For that very reason the offers become steadily more favorable to the Germans.

"The London contract was more favorable for them than was EDC. What Moscow offers today is more favorable to the Germans than what Moscow offered last week.

"In retrospect, one can more easily sympathize with the French statesmen who have done their utmost to delay the events of the week, for the settlement of one problem only leads to the disclosure of a new problem just as dangerous and just as difficult to solve. . . ."

(Joseph C. Harsch, The Christian Science Monitor, 10-9-54)

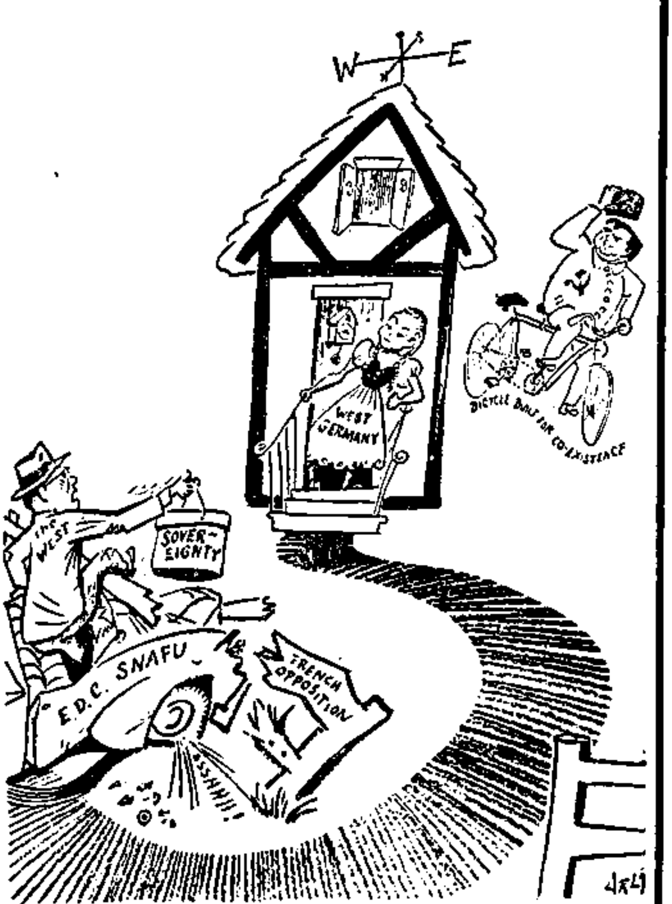
* * *

". . . As for the potential dangers in German rearmament, it would be idle to suppose that none exist. . . .

"That (German national) army will not be free of international controls, it is true. But such controls can really control a sovereign armed state only so long as it chooses to be controlled. We may hope and believe that the new West Germany will stay with the West, but we have not guaranteed it; we would be foolish to forget that West Germany will be subject to powerful forces to lure it elsewhere. . . "

(The Wall Street Journal, 10-26-54)

HE'LL MAKE IT, ONE WAY OR ANOTHER



(Courtesy, The Washington Post)

an intelligent agreement, then it is our duty finally to arouse ourselves in order to obtain at least an economic understanding . . .

"In doing so we will not turn to the little bosses of the Eastern Zone but directly to the big boss in Moscow. There is where decisions are being made."

In a recent article this same German newspaper made the following significant comment: "Reunification must be the first goal of Germany's Eastern policy. It is in this connection that the question of restoring diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union must be seen. Diplomatic relations have nothing to do with the evaluation of another state. It is rather a question of the fact that Germany can no longer be forbidden to do what other states do regularly—that is, conduct conversations with the Eastern nation." (New York Herald Tribune 10-5-54)

Thomas Dehler, the Leader of the F. D. P. which is part of Adenauer's Coalition Government, has also advocated Russo-German talks and has proposed his willingness to go himself to the Kremlin. He told the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (10-5-54) that for years the project of a journey to Moscow had stirred him more than a trip to Washington *"because what is going on, what is planned and worked out in Moscow is more important than what goes on in the Western world."* Concluding his remarks he declared his opposition to any anti-Soviet politics. "Russia," he averred, *"is a realistic political power, it is necessary that we discuss and come together in a peaceful manner."* A couple of weeks later Herr Dehler returned to this theme with greater emphasis and clarity. According to the New York Herald Tribune (10-19-54) Dehler said that it was "simply a matter of course that we Germans will some day enter into conversations with the Russians on unification." He added that experts (unidentified) in these matters believe that the Germans were more able to conduct such conversations than the Americans.

No one, so far as we know, will denounce Dehler as a crypto-Communist. On the contrary, when leading German newspapers and top politicians propose negotiations with the Russians, there is silence among our policy makers—a silence which becomes even more pronounced when the Germans advocate negotiations with the Russians to the exclusion of the Western powers.

The pattern of "excepting Germany" seems to be characteristic of our dealings with the Communist danger since the end of the war. It was the British and French who were the targets of great indignation because they had traded in strategic materials with the Communist bloc. In the case of Germany not a peep was heard although it is a matter of government record that the Germans have shipped hundreds of millions of dollars worth of strategic materials to the Communist East.

The French have been regarded as unreliable because Communists form a substantial block in parliament and the French Government is supposed to be shot through with Communist spies. But the Germans—hardly a word of criticism of the fact that Adenauer's Government is crawling with former Nazis. The defenders of our German policy have never thought of asking Dr. Adenauer why he prefers four former Hitler supporters in his cabinet to four anti-Nazis. Nor was the reliability and stability of the Bonn Government questioned following the defection of Dr. John and Herr Schmidt-Wittmack who turned up in the Eastern zone with important state secrets. And now, when this same Germany speaking through its Chancellor, calmly talks about a non-aggression pact with Russia—of course, the West will be informed about the progress—more silence.

The foregoing calls to mind a very pertinent question which was the title of a critique of American foreign policy written by James P. Warburg: "German Rearmament—How Stupid Can We Be?"

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's concern about the political and psychological loyalties of the projected West German army emphasizes the intangible problems and hidden dangers that will confront Bonn and the West as the Federal Republic takes up arms.

"There always have been dual problems and dual dangers inherent in West German armament. . . .

"John W. Wheeler-Bennett in "The Nemesis of Power," says the German army 'dominated the Weimar Republic from the moment of its birth . . . first supported, and then condoned, the overthrow of the Republic and . . . made a major contribution to Hitler's coming to power.'

"Dr. Adenauer's problem, and the world's problem—to paraphrase Mirabeau—is whether or not West Germany is to be a country that has an army or an army that has a country."

(Hanson W. Baldwin, The N. Y. Times, 11-10-54)

". . . For sheer justice's sake, the Allies acknowledge a pressing necessity to grant pro-West German Chancellor Adenauer some 'dividends' for his consistent friendship the past five years. So say Paris sources.

"The obvious 'dividend' is German sovereignty. But there're some very sticky burrs usually overlooked in such a deal, observe attachés dealing with German affairs.

"THE FIRST is: The German DID lose World War II—and they must not be allowed to forget it.

"THE SECOND: Given the German record of breaking pledges, how far can you trust Germans voluntarily to restrain their traditional military expansionism—once rearmed."

(John P. Leacacos, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 9-14-54)

Observations on the German Problem

by

R. H. S. CROSSMAN

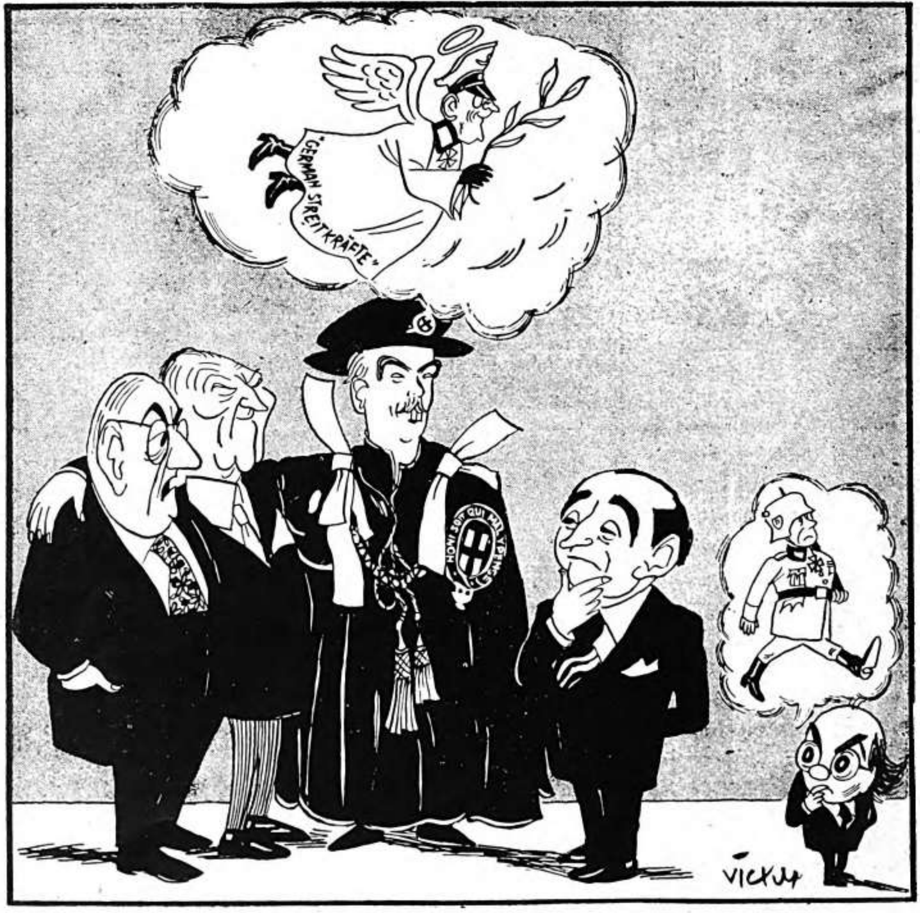
"The collapse of E.D.C.," we are told, "is the greatest Russian victory since 1945." It certainly is. But how many of the gloomy pundits go on to point out that it is a victory for which the Kremline can take none of the credit? That is shared between Mr. Acheson and Mr. Dulles, Mr. Morrison and Mr. Eden. It is they who since September, 1950, have disintegrated the Western alliance by trying to strengthen it with twelve German divisions. All the Kremlin has done is to sit tight and profit by their folly.

No one, least of all an Englishman or an American, has the right to blame the French Assembly for delivering the deathblow which finally disposed of E.D.C. This was not a legislative murder, but killing in sheer self-defense. For two whole years an indecent attempt has been made to force France into a monstrous supra-national contraption, which neither Britain nor America was prepared to enter. At the last moment the French people have rebelled against this Anglo-American demand that they should commit national suicide in order to suit our convenience—and that of Dr. Konrad Adenauer. M. Herriot was speaking for the overwhelming majority of his countrymen when he refused to put his country alongside Western Germany inside the cage of E.D.C. Then he issued a solemn warning that the final result of this policy would be to leave the Germans free to walk out of the cage into the arms of the Russians, leaving France locked inside. . . .

But what next? The European Defense Community was perhaps the least dangerous method of rearming Germany, since its cumbrous supra-national machinery would have delayed, for a few years at any rate, the emergence of a sovereign German state. Any framework for German rearmament which is hastily contrived to replace it will not only make far greater demands on Britain (this time Sir Winston will be unable to cheer the French on from outside), but will contain even fewer safeguards against the emergence of a German national army. Yet apparently it is the intention of London and Washington to create this new framework; and even M. Mendès-France has apparently turned his face against the alternative policy of neutralization. . . .

But now that the realists have made such a mess of their policy, it is surely time to ask ourselves whether neutralization may not be at least as practicable and at least advantageous to the West as the present feverish attempts to integrate a rearmed Western Germany into Nato.

Let us first clear our minds about the definition of neutralization. It is not the same as German neutrality, though of course the neutrality of a reunified Germany guaranteed by both East and West would be one possible way of achieving it. Neutralization means nothing more than a plan to ensure that German military strength is added neither to the Eastern nor to the Western alliance; and it is worth remembering that nearly all those who now dismiss this policy as totally unrealistic strongly favored it as late as 1948. In September, 1946, Mr.



HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
(Evil be to him who evil thinks)

Byrnes, then Mr. Truman's Secretary of State, made a speech at Stuttgart offering the Russians to neutralize a unified Germany for 25 years; and as far as we know, this offer remained official American policy at least until the Russian blockade of Berlin. In this speech Mr. Byrnes further proposed that the cession of Koenigsberg to Russia and of the Saar to France should be confirmed, and that the Oder-Neisse line should be ratified in the Peace Treaty. He went on to outline a plan for a central German administration, supported by a National Council composed of the Minister-Presidents of the Provinces in all four Zones; and he summed up his plan in these words:

"In proposing that the four major Powers should jointly undertake to see that Germany is kept disarmed and demilitarized for a generation, the U.S. was not unmindful of the responsibility resting upon it and its allies to maintain and enforce peace under law. Freedom from militarization will give the German people the opportunity, if they will but seize it, to apply their great energies and abilities to the works of peace."

At that time, this American plan for German neutralization was contemptuously dismissed by Stalin, who was still playing for higher stakes. Now something strangely similar is proposed by Mr. Molotov, and the West implacably turns it down.

The reason for this complete reversal of positions is clear. So long as the Soviet Union was hoping to profit by American isolationalism and to bring Western Germany, and indeed all Western Europe, within its orbit, neutralization was too moderate a policy to satisfy its ambitions. Since the formation of Nato—and, even more, since America rearmed and decided to wage the Cold War—it is the West which has conceived the ambition to win the whole of Germany, and ultimately the whole of Eastern Europe, to its side. Driven on the defensive, the Russians have correspondingly moderated their aims—and now favor a neutral Germany with a very small army of her own.

The real objection in Washington and Bonn to neutralization, therefore, is not that it would "favor Russia" but that it would create a powerful obstacle to the eventual liberation of Eastern Europe, including, of course, the lost German provinces beyond the Oder-Neisse line. This was made quite clear in the course of the Berlin Conference, where the three Western Powers made it clear that they would consider no plan for German unification which did not permit the new central German government (i) to join Nato and (ii) to demand a revision of the Oder-Neisse line.

The first question we have to ask ourselves, therefore, is whether the West has been wise to discard the modest aims proclaimed in 1946 and to set itself the grandiose goal of integrating Western Germany into the Atlantic alliance, then adding the Eastern Zone of Germany to that alliance, and finally liberating Eastern Europe. Would it really benefit either the U.S. or France or Britain if a Greater German Reich were once again created?

And furthermore, if we give the West Germans sovereignty and encourage them to revive their national ambitions, can we be sure they will remain our faithful partners when they realize, as some of them are already realizing, that the Russians have far more to offer them than we do? At the very least it must be admitted that the effort to add German military strength to the Western alliance is fraught with danger. By attempting it since 1950, we have not only excluded a peaceful settlement with the Russians but imperilled Western unity as well. Now, if E.D.C. Mark II is successful, we shall re-create a Germany able once again to exploit its balancing position between East and West.

These dangers would not be denied, at least, by Mr. Eden and M. Mendès-France. But they would probably say, "How can we turn back now that we have gone so far down this admittedly dangerous road? The Bonn Government cannot be put back where it was in 1949, and if we tried to do so, we should throw the Germans into the arms of the Russians." This assertion flies in the face of every known fact about the state of public opinion in Western Germany. It is simply not true that the average German is enthusiastic for E.D.C. and for rearmament. On the contrary, every public opinion poll has made it clear that enthusiam for E.D.C. is confined to relatively small circles of Catholics and European Federalists.

Both the Nationalists on the Right and the Socialists on the Left desire to avoid any irrevocable commitments to the West; and even such sober observers as Dr. Heinrich Brüning have recently shown themselves critical of any agreement with the Atlantic Powers which could hamper later negotiations with Russia. In fact, as Dr. Adenauer knows only to well, German opinion is becoming more neutralist with every month that passes. If Britain and America were now to agree to another Four-Power conference and there propose the postponement of West German rearmament in return for Russian concessions on the issue of free elections, they would certainly finish off Dr. Adenauer, but they would also meet with overwhelming approval from German public opinion. . . .

The beginning of sanity is to realize that for four years (ever since the Acheson-Bevin-Schuman conference of September, 1950) we have been marching down a *cul-de-sac*. Now we must either let the Germans break down the wall at the end of the road, or retrace our steps and resume the policy which we abruptly abandoned in the panic mood of the Korean war. In France this decision would transform pessimism and defeatism into jubilant self-confidence overnight. In Western Germany few tears would be shed outside Dr. Adenauer's personal entourage.

Mr. Churchill would do well to sit down and re-read the Stuttgart speech in the light of his own proposal for a "Locarno arrangement" to guarantee Russia against aggression. Many of the details of the Byrnes plans have been outdated, but the main framework is as sensible today as it was when he first published it. It is for those who dismiss neutralization today and explain exactly what has happened between 1946 and 1954 to make them change their minds just when Mr. Molotov seems to be coming round to their view and to be willing to consider practical plans for peaceful co-existence in Europe. . . .

If Britain and America continue their effort to win Germany to their side instead of neutralizing her military strength, the disruption of Nato will continue; the West will inflict on itself defeat after defeat, and the Russians will sit on the sideline enjoying the spectacle.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The New Statesman and Nation)

The Giveaway Deal

There are few success stories that can match the brilliance of German achievements since the end of the war. Unquestionably, U.S. policy toward Germany has been of great help. In our legitimate concern over the Communist danger we have gone to unprecedented extremes "to keep the Germans on our side." Naturally, the Germans have taken full advantage. In this connection Drew Pearson quotes an American attorney familiar with the German frame of mind: *"The Germans seem to think they can get anything out of the United States just because we need them to oppose the Russians."* (8-11-54)

The German Lobby

However, there is another side to this unusual success story which does not appear to be as obvious. We refer to the outstanding work of the German lobby in the United States. Since the end of the war the Germans have built up a powerful organization operating on all levels of American life and supported by what appears to be an inexhaustible "kitty." This lobby has proven to be a very great asset to the Germans and has netted them substantial gains. For example, it was no mean feat to succeed in convincing our policy makers that they should erase $2 billion of postwar debts owed by Germany to the American taxpayers. This was one of Germany's solid accomplishments since the end of the war thanks to the smooth public relations job performed by the German lobby.

The Germans have had ample experience in this kind of work going back to the days following the end of World War I. Like today they sent their emissaries to the United States "to lecture" and "to persuade." One of their best propagandists was the fabulous German sea pirate Count Luckner who later bragged how he had succeeded in squeezing "tears from the ladies' eyes and dollars from the capitalists' pockets."

The "Deal"

The German lobby today is just as brazen and perhaps even more effective. They have even dared to foist upon the U.S. a deal which would discredit the moral leadership and good faith of our country in the eyes of millions of our friends abroad. We speak of their attempt to regain former enemy assets valued at upwards of **$500 million.**

Following the end of World War II, the U. S. Government accepted the responsibility of compensating tens of thousands of American G.I. prisoners of war who had endured the awful sufferings of enemy prisoner of war camps. Congress passed legislation confiscating German assets in this country, and the revenues therefrom were to be turned over to the War Claims Commission to take care of these GIs or their survivors.

German Plans

While the welfare of our American POWs was of immediate concern, the official record shows that the U. S. Government desired to prevent German assets in the U. S. from being used for ulterior motives by the Germans or their dummies.

Thus on March 30, 1945, the State Department publicly announced that the German Government had developed "well arranged postwar plans for the perpetuation of Nazi doctrines and domination." The State Department went on to say: *"Nazi Party members, German industrialists and the German military, realizing that victory can no longer be attained, are now developing postwar commercial projects, are endeavoring to renew and cement friendships in foreign commercial circles and are planning for renewals of prewar cartel agreements. An appeal to the courts of various countries will be made early in the postwar period through dummies for 'unlawful' seizure of industrial plants and other properties taken over by Allied governments at the outbreak of war. In cases where this method fails, German repurchase will be attempted through 'cloaks' who meet the necessary citizenship requirements. The object in every instance will be to reestablish German control at the earliest possible date . . ."*

In describing the German strategy, the State Department said: *"Unless these plans are checked, they will present a constant menace to postwar peace and security."*

That American public opinion in general supported a realistic policy with respect to the disposition of German assets is beyond question. Elder statesman Bernard Baruch testifying before the U.S. Senate Committee on Military Affairs in June, 1945, laid particular emphasis on the need of confiscating German assets abroad. "German business abroad," he warned, "has traditionally been an instrument of economic and propagandistic war. These assets and organizations should be rooted out and taken over—everywhere. No hokus pocus, no falling for 'dummy' contrivances . . . Enemy assets in every country should be used to make restitution to nationals of that country for properties lost or damaged in enemy countries."

To sum up, it can be said that our Government and the Congress approved of the confiscation of enemy assets in the United States for two basic reasons, (a) to strengthen American and Allied security; (b) to undo Germany's economic penetration in the U. S. and to utilize the revenues of these assets to compensate American victims of Nazism.

"Bargaining"

For obvious reasons the Germans were silent on this question during the first years following the end of hostilities. However, when their "indispensability" began to hypnotize our policy makers, they decided that the moment was opportune to turn loose their lobby and their public relations salesmen.

During the negotiations on Germany's postwar debts to the U.S. Germany's chief delegate Herman J. Abs (one of Hitler's paymasters) hinted that unless these former assets were returned, Germany might not be able "to carry out her bargain." Apparently even the $2 billion bargain which the Germans received, did not satisfy the insatiable appetite of Herr Abs.

Chancellor Adenauer put the matter in even blunter terms.

In the early part of 1954, the Chancellor publicly demanded the return of the former German assets alleging that they had belonged to Germans who "were always the traditional promoters of friendship between the two nations. They should be put into a position to resume that role." While the Chancellor was talking about the need for the return of these properties to foster good will and as a token of appreciation for Germany's brave role in the struggle against Communism, West German direct exports to Red China were soaring to record heights.

Traditional "Friends"

Dr. Adenauer was not specific as to whom he referred when he spoke about those Germans who were the traditional friends of the USA. It is not known whether he had in mind the I.G. Farben interests which had formerly owned the General Aniline and Film Chemical Corporation located in the USA. Nevertheless, I.G. Farben is working overtime to regain General Aniline and Film the value of which has risen from $25 million to over $100 million under American management. The New York Times of February 7, 1954, reported that "if all German assets blocked in the United States were released, no conceivable justification would remain for withholding General Aniline and Film Corporation stock from Interhandel . . ." On March 28, 1954, the New York Times correspondent writing from Switzerland, repeated the same thought. Certain interests in Switzerland (unnamed), according to the Times writer, prefer "to exert all their influence to approach the American Government directly, proposing rapid settlement by compromise out of court." Their efforts have been in vain because all of the authentic evidence which is in the possession of the U.S. Government, proved that GAF was a creature of I.G. Farben, even though this relationship has been disguised by dummy corporations set up in Switzerland.

Widows and Orphans

The German lobby in the United States has been a model of discretion with respect to the role of the Farben interests. They know that the name Farben is synonymous with the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Buchenwald. They are fully aware of the fact that without the criminal support of I.G. Farben, Hitler could never have launche dhis wars of aggression. Therefore, the public relations boys employed by the German lobby, stay away from the odious name. Instead they dwell on "the little man" in Germany who is allegedly injured by the confiscation of the former enemy assets. The "widow and orphan" line is supposed to squeeze dollars out of the American taxpayers' pockets just as Von Luckner's sentimental spiels in the 1920s brought on a rain of American dollars to rebuild Germany's industrial war potential.

Though they try to hide behind the "widows and orphans," they do make clumsy mistakes which are a revelation. For example, the attorney for the Swiss dummy of I.G. Farben is Ray Jenkins (not to be confused with Mr. Jenkins of the Army-McCarthy hearings). One of the occupants of his office is John W. Nairn who is counsel for the supposedly impartial Senate Subcommittee investigating former enemy assets in the United States. According to Drew Pearson (August 6, 1954) lawyers Jenkins and Nairn *"swap their secretary, Miss Anette H. Day. Efficient Miss Day has been working for Jenkins, attorney for the Swiss German combine. Now she works for the Senate Committee investigating the possible return of the German property."*

Another Aspect

There is another aspect to the question of German external assets which involves the U.S. relations with our western allies. The United States was a party to important agreements which sanctioned the confiscation of German assets abroad and many of our war time allies are categorically opposed to any plan that would scuttle those agreements and pledges. Our allies have depended upon these former enemy assets to help rehabilitate their war torn economies. The New York Times, August 4, 1954, reported that the Dutch Government would regard the return of former German assets as a "repudiation by the U. S. of an agreement it had made with its allies."

The German lobby, however, is not concerned with the sacredness of agreements (a characteristic of German diplomacy). These lobbyists harp on the principle of private property rights—as though they have always defended that principle. Of course, the whole world knows that the Germans have been among the worst offenders of private property rights when they looted Europe on a scale unprecedented in history. Yet, when a New York Times correspondent (4-5-54) confronted West German officials with the fact that the Nazis had looted 40 tons of gold from the Netherlands, these same German officials retorted, *"We are allies today; how can you use the argument of a conqueror at this stage!"* So, when they invoke the principle of private property rights, let us not forget that even the devil can quote Scripture.

The bill sponsored by Senator Dirksen to abrogate the present legislation is a monstrous insult to American taxpayers. They would be obliged to underwrite "a $500 million windfall payment of Treasury funds principally to German industrialists who supported Hitler" (Francis C. Brown, head of Schering Chemical Corporation). Were these the people Chancellor Adenauer had in mind when he spoke about Germans who had always promoted friendship with the USA?

Parenthetically, it should be noted that the Bonn Government had officially agreed to recognize the validity of the confiscations. Article 3, Chapter 6 of the Convention with Germany stipulates in effect that German external assets which have not been created in the postwar years, do not legally exist (Manchester Guardian 11-10-53). The reader should judge for himself how easy it is for the Germans to go back on their own signed agreements—a point which should be borne in mind for future reference.

The Opposition

Fortunately, the Dirksen bill found rough sledding in Congress in spite of the fact that the present Secretary of State (an old hand in representing German interests) argued for it. The Attorney General's Office opposed the bill; so did many groups and individuals including the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The Washington Post, March 23, 1954, called the Dirksen deal "a give away." In a leading editorial this newspaper noted that "in the peace treaty which Secretary Dulles negotiated with Japan, confiscation of Japanese private property in the U. S. was recognized and accepted. There is no good reason to deal with the Germans differently. . . ."

The New York Post denounced the Dirksen deal in no uncertain terms: *"If German industrialists and their U.S. lobbyists win this round, they will give Germany a weighty club to extort similar concessions from small European nations plundered by the Nazis."* The New York Post's observation had a prophetic quality for after the U.S. Congress failed to consider the Dirksen bill, the New York Herald Tribune of August 11, 1954, reported: ". . . the West Germans will undoubtedly continue to bring the external asset issue into trade negotiations with other smaller nations in the future. They are expected to bring as much pressure on their trading partners as the current power of West German industry will permit."

Within Congress itself, the opposition grew as the facts of the conspiracy were laid bare for all to see and to ponder. Senator Hendricksen, Republican from New Jersey, refused to agree to the Dirksen recommendations. He was joined by Senator Kefauver, Democrat from Tennessee who quoted from a report adopted by the American Bar Association (House of Delegates, December 20, 1954): *"The United Nations are now establishing a method of suppressing aggressor nations, by use of sanction and threat of armed force. If the people of a potential aggressor nation, who have investments abroad, know that, if defeated, they will lose that property, the knowledge will serve as a definite deterrent to aggression. On the contrary, if they may plant property abroad on the assurance that if their aggression fails, that property, carefully preserved for them, will be returned to them by the nations they have attacked, one check on aggressors is lost. Under modern conditions international public interest and peace will be served if private property of the citizens of any aggressor nation is subject to application to that Nation's obligation to pay for the damage it inflicts on the people of the nations it assails."*

As a result of the opposition, the Dirksen deal fell through—at least temporarily. Needless to say, the Germans were besides themselves. The I.G. Chemie stock listed on the Swiss stock exchange, dropped 13 per cent within several days following Dirksen's defeat. German reaction was immediate. One prominent German industrialist, unnamed, but claiming to express the general feelings of most of his colleagues, said: "If private property in the West is not inviolable, there is no essential difference between the democratic and authoritarian principles. Consequently, we must look elsewhere" (N.Y. Times, 8-16-53). Does this German industrialist imply that the Germans play on democratic principles when it is profitable but will not hesitate to turn elsewhere when the payoff is not forthcoming?

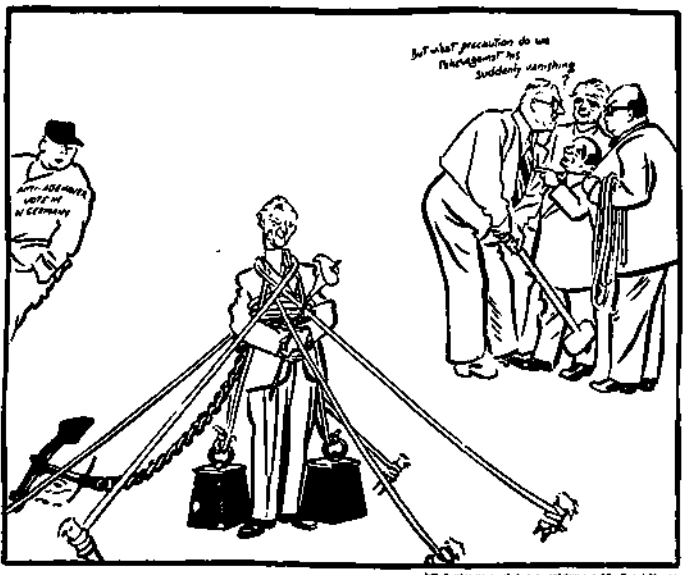
While the Dirksen deal has been temporarily checked, there is no doubt that the powerful German lobby will be ringing doorbells during the next session of Congress. The money will flow and their paid mouthpieces will write objective newspaper columns on this subject. They will have all kinds of allies ranging from neo-Nazi sympathizers to American cartelists. They will have their slick lawyers cooking up new pseudo-legal arguments while their publicists flood the country with tear jerking propaganda.

The October issue of the U.S.-German Chamber of Commerce Bulletin runs a plea from Gordon Michler (Standard Oil) for funds to assure that the Dirksen deal is "given prompt and adequate consideration when Congress meets." All checks, Mr. Michler advises, should be sent to the Treasurer of the "Committee for the Return of Former Enemy Assets" located in Wall Street. In the face of this projected assault by the German cartel interests and their counterpart in the U.S., it would be well for the American people to redouble their vigilance. The issues involved are moral as well as fundamental to the security and good relations of this country with her western allies. The Dirksen deal is in effect a multimillion-dollar subsidy for Germany's aggressions which would come out of the pockets of the American taxpayers. On the other hand, if the American people and their patriotic organizations show the same determination as they did in the summer of 1954, it is certain that the German lobby will again meet deserved defeat.

THE GERMAN "MIRACLE"

". . . Despite all the signs of progress and activity, some reservations have to be made. There is a very obvious undercurrent curiously blended of self-pity and self-satisfaction; an air of complete detachment from the recent past, which nobody ever mentions and nobody seems to regret or repent. There is a certain cynical and speculative streak in the firm belief of most Germans that the Americans will do anything for them, since they need them. And, finally, there is a certain light-hearted approach to business obligations and responsibilities. Were it not for such things as these, the German economic achievement of recent years would be far more impressive and would command far greater respect than it does. It all looks a little bit too 'jerry-built'; a little too much too soon and not quite genuine. . . ."

(George Soloveytchik, The Banker (London), November, 1954)


But what precaution do we take against his suddenly vanishing?
ANTI-ADENAUER VOTE IN W. GERMANY

But what precaution do we take against his suddenly vanishing?

A Letter to the President

On September 21, 1954, the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., wrote to President Eisenhower urging a complete re-examination of the present policy toward Germany before granting her full sovereignty and the right to remilitarize. The Society warned that the present policy toward Germany inevitably deepens the disunity which already exists in Western Europe and, therefore, plays into the hands of Communist Russia. The President was told that a sovereign and remilitarized Germany will be in the position to strike a new bargain with Russia at the expense of Western security. The letter further stated that the present German leadership is surrounded by key advisers who are former Nazis and, therefore, cannot be trusted.

Text of the letter signed by the Secretary of the Society, Albert Simard, is furnished below:

September 21, 1954

The President of the United States
Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is the Society's considered judgment that the steady deterioration of our position of leadership in Europe is primarily due to our German policy. That policy has had the effect of creating a resurgent Germany which is employing its power to blackmail the West while laying the groundwork for rapprochement with the Communist East. This ominous situation has created fear among our friends and allies, has provided grist for the Communist propaganda mills and has stimulated disunity in Europe where such unity is essential for American security.

The logic of that policy brought about the fateful decision of the Secretary of State to bypass France in his recent visit to Europe. This unprecedented act of ignoring our historical ally without whom there cannot be any sound and safe solution of the German problem, will inevitably deepen the disunity already existing in Western Europe.

An examination of German diplomacy since the end of the first world war will clearly show that Germany was able to revive her power for predatory purposes and to make deals with Soviet Russia only after she had succeeded in splitting the West. If we grant the Germans full sovereignty and enable her to regain military power, the conditions will be created that will make it possible for Germany to strike a new bargain with Russia at the expense of Western security.

According to the Christian Science Monitor (June 30, 1954), *a large segment of influential German opinion believes that "the situation calls for German sovereignty without restrictions as well as the right to regulate for themselves their relations with the East." The impact of full sovereignty on Germany's future decisions regarding whether or not she will make a defense contribution to the West was described by Felix von Eckardt, West Germany's press chief (A.P.* 9-2-54): *"We must have sovereignty first—and only then can we* consider *(our emphasis) giving some of it up, to international organizations."*

Once West Germany obtains full sovereignty, all prior commitments made by West German politicians become subject to abrogation. That Germany, if her interests so dictate, will repudiate the pledges of the present Chancellor, or that he himself may do so, must be expected in the light of Germany's notorious record on that score.

To unbiased students of German politics, the blind confidence reposed in the present German leadership by our Government could place the United States in an untenable position. Is it not shortsighted to pursue a policy the success of which depends on the continued good health and popularity of an aged German politician? Is it not dangerous to trust Adenauer's leadership when among his chief advisers is Hans Globke, head of the Chancellery and a former Nazi functionary who helped prepare the official Commentary on the Nuremberg race laws?

The Globke case is not exceptional. The fact is that the Chancellor is surrounded by other key advisers who are former Nazis, including some members of his cabinet. We cite as examples:

(1) *Theodor Oberlaender, Minister for Expellees, joined the Nazi Party in* 1933. *He also became Reichsfuehrer of the Federation of the German East. The Federation was later classified by the Allies as a Nazi Organization.*

(2) *Waldemar Kraft, Minister without Portfolio in the Adenauer Cabinet, is a former major of Hitler's SS. Kraft worked closely with the Gestapo, the Nazi secret police.*

(3) *Gerhard Schroeder, Minister of Interior, joined the Nazi Party in* 1933.

(4) *Victor Emanuel Preusker, Housing Minister, became a Nazi Storm-Trooper in* 1933 *and joined the black shirted SS which originated as Hitler's personal guard.*

Does this not indicate the futility of our German policy when Chancellor Adenauer apparently cannot find more reliable and less Nazi tainted elements for key positions in his government?

It is our conviction that any firm and lasting defense against possible aggression from the Communist East must first and foremost be based on a complete understanding and solidarity among the three major democratic powers, i.e. England, France and the United States. Our present German policy undermines that solidarity and, therefore, contributes to the strengthening of the Communist position in Europe. We, therefore, urge that our Government re-examine the policy in its entirety before taking any further action in the way of remilitarizing Germany and granting her full sovereignty.

Respectfully submitted,
Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
Albert Simard, Secretary.

Certainly, it would surprise no informed person if Russia announced that East Germany was going to build up an East German armed force to counterbalance the military establishment of the Bonn Government.

But, hand in hand with that it is expected that Moscow will quickly adjust itself to the new status of Bonn and, in all probability, embark upon a calculated policy designed to lead to normal diplomatic and trade relations between Russia and West Germany.

(Harrison E. Salisbury, The N. Y. Times, 11-2-54)

JUSTICE ROBERT H. JACKSON

The untimely death of Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson at the age of 62 creates a great gap in the ranks of democracy. The New York Times (10-11-54) describes Justice Jackson as one who will be remembered, among other things, "for the vigor, incisiveness and the clarity of his thinking as a judge. . . ." The Times noted further, "when basic human rights were, as he saw it, at stake, he rose superbly to the occasion." This is a fitting tribute to a great American and outstanding jurist.

The brilliance of Justice Jackson's career is not only due to his distinguished work in the Supreme Court. In has capacity as the Chief American Prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crime Trials, Justice Jackson also made a decisive contribution toward the enrichment of international law and morality. In this respect he helped to strengthen the fabric of Western Culture against the challenge of 20th century barbarism.

From the days of Grotius, statesmen and lawyers have talked about the necessity of creating a body of international law that could help curb would-be aggressors. Yet, all of the talk and all of the efforts—no matter how worthwhile—did not succeed in nailing down once and for all the principle that international robbers and murderers are no more sacrosanct than the petty thief and assassin. Thanks to the vision and courage of Justice Jackson, this principle was crystallized at Nuremberg.

When Justice Jackson described in detail the diabolical plot of the German leaders to destroy and enslave in the name of "Lebensraum," he was providingt he basis for a great leap forward in the sphere of international law. Justice Jackson was not oblivious to the criticisms from certain quarters which deplored the prosecution of the German leaders for the crimes they committed. With great eloquence and irrefutable logic he replied to these critics in the very opening words of his address before the International Military Tribunal: *"The privilege of opening the first trial in history for crimes against the peace of the world imposes a grave responsibility. The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated. That four great nations, flushed with victory and stung with injury stay the hand of vengeance and voluntarily submit their captive enemies to the judgment of the law is one of the most significant tributes that Power ever has paid to Reason."*

In this same address he met the charge that the War Crimes Trials were "unfair" because the prosecutors and the Tribunal itself represented the victors while the accused were the vanquished: *"Unfortunately, the nature of these crimes is such that both prosecution and judgment must be by victor nations over vanquished foes. The worldwide scope of the aggressions carried out by these men has left but few real neutrals. Either the victors must judge the vanquished or we must leave the defeated to judge themselves. After the First World War, we learned the futility of the latter course. The former high station of these defendants, the notoriety of their acts, and the adaptability of their conduct to provoke retaliation make it hard to distinguish between the demand for just and measured retribution, and the unthinking cry for vengeance which arises from the anguish of war. It is our task, so far as humanly possible, to draw the line between the two. We must never forget that the record on which we judge these defendants today is the record on which history will judge us tomorrow. To pass these defendants a poisoned chalice is to put it to our own lips as well. We must summon such detachment and intellectual integrity to our task that this trial will commend itself to posterity as fulfilling humanity's aspirations to do justice."*

In his concluding remarks he set down in clarity the principle upon which he rested the American case against the German leaders: *"But the ultimate step in avoiding periodic wars, which are inevitable in a system of international lawlessness, is to make statesmen responsible to law. And let me make clear that while this law is first applied against German aggressors, the law includes, and if it is to serve a useful purpose it must condemn aggression by any other nations, including those which sit here now in judgment. We are able to do away with domestic tyranny and violence and aggression by those in power against the rights of their own people only when we make all men answerable to the law. This trial represents mankind's desperate effort to apply the discipline of the law to statesmen who have used their powers of state to attack the foundations of the world's peace and to commit aggressions against the rights of their neighbors."*

In recent years a veritable torrent of abuse has been heaped upon Justice Jackson, his associates at Nuremberg and what they achieved. We can judge the significance of these scurrilous attacks when it is noted that they come from the very same elements who gave aid and comfort to the German effort to conquer the world. These sinister forces are still working overtime to turn history on its head. The war criminals become the martyrs and those who courageously beat back the aggressors are branded. The unpunished and the unrepentant are frustrated and restless for they know that as long as the principles of Nuremberg live on they dare not repeat their devilish deeds without invoking the wrath and just retribution of an outraged humanity. No matter how many dupes they may find in the legal profession to apologize for their crimes, the verdict of history will remain untarnished and inviolable. Freedom loving people will ever be grateful to Justice Jackson for his historic role in working out enlightened principles of justice for the defense of their dignity, liberty and peace.

"I cannot let pass the death of Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson of the United States Supreme Court without paying to him tribute which he deserved on many counts.

". . . His service to humanity and to international justice through his successful prosecution of the Nazi criminals in the Nuremberg trials alone will give him a place in both legal and world history. To him we owe a large debt in the establishement of the judicial determination of genocide. He sustained the idea of a moral basis for international as well as national law of major historic importance. . . ."

(Jacob K. Javits, N. Y. Attorney-General, 10-54)

Democracy Faces Test in Germany

by

ERNEST S. PISKO

To draw a balance sheet of prevailing public opinion in West Germany as of this moment is not difficult. But to draw a conclusion from it and forecast the eventual direction of German thinking is virtually impossible.

Up to now, West Germany has been like a passenger in an overcrowded rush-hour streetcar. It swayed somewhat when the car bumped, but it was so hemmed in that it could neither fall nor move. It was held upright by the pressures bearing down on it from all directions.

But now the situation is changing radically. With the occupation lifted, the streetcar grows emptier, and if the ride does not get smoother—which seems rather improbable—German stability soon will be put to a grueling test.

Will it stand the test?

Democracy is threatened in West Germany from two directions—the world political constellation and the Nazi past. The political problem cannot be solved by the Germans alone; but the problem of their Nazi past can be solved only by the Germans.

One may safely assume that there will be a West German army soon and, some day, reunification of East and West Germany. What remains to be seen is whether the new army will be democratic in character and limited in size and armament; also whether any West German government can stay in power that does not press for early reunification regardless of the risks.

Regarding the Nazi past, the Germans have been reluctant to repudiate it openly. The longer they wait, the more difficult will such a step become—and the more unlikely. At the same time, pressure in the opposite direction will grow all the stronger.

All those who have a personal stake in a rehabilitation of naziism will try to persuade their fellow countrymen that the Hitler years were a period of national glory, that Hitler's political concepts were correct, and that talk about Nazi crimes is slander.

A German Nazi follower recently wrote in a letter to a United States senator that, if Hitler had not lived, Germany would have experienced a civil war in 1933, and the Soviets would have occupied all of Europe, including Great Britain and Ireland.

These are the same falsehoods for which the Germans fell by the millions 20 years ago and may fall again. Too few of them have realized that in 1933 the only threat of a civil war came from the Nazis and that the Soviets would not be in Central Europe today, had Hitler not first made a pact with them and later engaged them in a war which he lost.

Next to these attempts to rewrite history are the efforts to make the Nazis respectable.

The change in the popular attitude toward former Nazis was reviewed critically in the independent Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Sept. 13. In an article, written by August Dresbach, it was pointed out that at the time of the denazification procedure—between 1947 and 1950—the defendants were asked in court why they had joined the party. If they said they had not joined until after Hitler's seizure of power and only under economic pressure, the court usually exonerated them.

But now, the author said, it has become customary to ask people "why they had not been in the party." Lack of membership is taken as evidence that the person was either "not sufficiently Aryan" or married to someone racially suspect, or that he was "too black" (Roman Catholic) or "too red."

Former party membership appears to have become almost a prerequisite to obtaining one of the better jobs. This explains the warning issued by the trade union leader Adolf Kummernus, recently, that as to the number of former Nazis holding official posts, "the situation is already as bad now as just before Hitler came to power."

And Heinrich Böll, one of West Germany's most talented younger authors, wrote in the weekly magazine Aufwärts, last August, that it now is fashionable to put the terms "Nazi" and "war criminal" between quotation marks to intimate that they are used in a plainly ironical sense.

These are disturbing entries in the debit side of the ledger. They are not meant, however, as evidence that democracy has lost out in West Germany, but rather as a warning not to believe it has won or is sure to win in the near future. . . .

(Condensed, Courtesy, The Christian Science Monitor)

"Any realistic survey of the German's attitude to the economics of rearmament must begin with their plans for large-scale tax reductions. This is odd, for what other country has prepared for rearmament by cutting taxes? . . . There is a widespread feeling in Germany that Americans must bear whatever extra costs may be involved in rearmament. Some optimism on this score is justified, for the first stage at least, as the Americans will supply the heavy equipment necessary for the initial German divisions, though it has not been stated whether it will be a gift. Certainly German hopes tend in that direction. Similarly, industrialists take the view that an American loan should be provided if factories have to be re-converted to arms production. . . ."

(London Economist, 11-6-54)

RECOMMENDED READING:

The Scourge of the Swastika

by

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL

The author of this terrifying record was the former deputy Judge Advocate General of the British army of the Rhine. The dust cover informs us that he resigned because the British government objected to the publication of this volume, presumably because it would complicate relations with Germany.

Actually the Germans could not object to such a factual record, though they must be ashamed, together with all of us, that the inhumanities recorded in the book should have occurred. At one or two points the author allows himself speculative judgment on how much or how little the German people knew about the atrocities committed by the Nazis. These are the only portions of the book which one might challenge, not because they are not true but because the truth is not as well established as the record of the atrocities.

The record will, of course, not be news to any reader who followed the papers and the history of the war crime trials from Nurnberg on. But the record has a cumulative effect of terrifying proportions. The Nazi crimes on the high seas, the forced labor, the abuse of prisoners of war, the concentration camps, the extermination of the Jews in the gas chambers, the atrocities against conquered peoples; medical experiments upon prisoners; every part of the consistent inhumanity which the Nazis achieved is included.

Naturally such a book does not make pleasant reading. The question is whether it is worth reading. We had atrocity stories after the first world war and then a reaction against them because many of them were proved to be false. It is rather ironic that the public was disposed to incredulity because of the surfeit of atrocity stories after the first world war and then in the second the atrocities were so monstrous that they caused an unjustified incredulity. That is why a report from actual records is important for history.

Lord Russell's report establishes the implication of the German generals in the atrocities, however much they have tried to create the impression that they abhorred that part of the Nazi program. It also gives a picture of unrelieved wickedness including women nurses, etc.

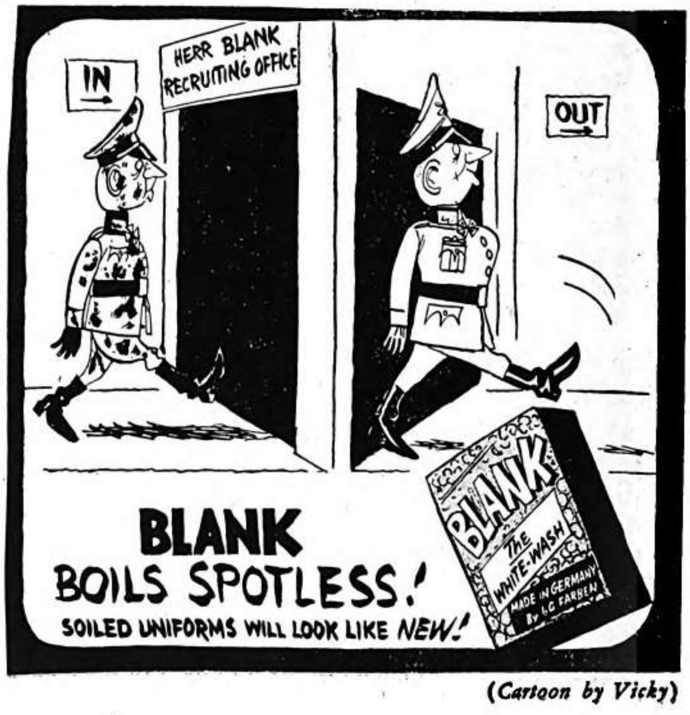
The wickedness is, in fact, so unrelieved that it raises some very interesting questions about human nature. Could it be true that, when the general standards of human decency are outraged, men fall into a bottomless pit of evil? These Nazi crimes, for instance, can only partly be prompted by the Nazi creed, which recognizes no human rights superior to the "survival" needs of the German nation. But the cruelties consistently extend beyond the requirements of policy and degenerate into pure sadism.

One could wish that the photos had been eliminiated, particularly those of corpses. They do not add anything to the indictment and spoil the book.

(Courtesy, The N. Y. Post) REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Scourge of the Swastika. By Lord Russell of Liverpool. Philosophical Library, 1954.

> **". . . A few years ago, while the A-bomb superiority of the West was a fact, there were three possible ways by which Western Germany could seek unity with the Eastern Provinces; by a Nato victory in a third world war; by the success of a roll-back policy achieved through the threat of preventative war; and by a bargain with the U.S.S.R. Now, with the H-bomb equality a fact, there is only the last way.**
>
> **"It seems almost certain that this issue of how to attain unity will dominate the political scene in West Germany in the next few years. So it seems inevitable that West Germany will start exploring all possible avenues to a bargain with the U.S.S.R. and in so doing will become an unreliable ally to the Nato Powers. I cannot see clearly how any change in Nato Defense or foreign policy can prevent this situation coming about.**
>
> **(P.M.S. Blackett, New Statesman Nation, Great Britain, 8-28-54)**



(Cartoon by Vicky)

Herbert Hoover

WHEN WAS HE RIGHT? WHEN WAS HE WRONG?

During his many years of service in public life ex-President Herbert Hoover has displayed a marked interest in German affairs. He has been regarded by the Germans as one of their tried and trusted friends. Indeed, when he visited Germany recently he was hailed as their "savior." Since the end of World War II, Mr. Hoover has played a leading part in the formulation of U.S. policy toward Germany. Of late, he has been quite definite in his views with regard to the future role of Germany. "I have always said that Western civilization cannot survive without a unified Germany . . ." (New York Times, 10-31-54). Mr. Hoover has stated that German nationalism is not a bad thing per se and that Germany can be depended upon to act as the great defender of democracy. "My prayer is that Germany may be given the unity and full freedom which will restore her to that mission in the world" (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-25-54).

Mr. Hoover did not always believe in Germany's mission to save Western civilization. In this connection we cite two examples:

EXHIBIT "A"

In 1918 *a book was published entitled "The Iron Circle, The Future of German Industrial Exports, etc." by S. Herzog. Mr. Hoover signed the Introduction, excerpts of which we publish herewith*:

"'If there is anything to be gained by being honest, let us be honest; if it is necessary to deceive, let us deceive.' Thus wrote Frederick the Great in the middle of the 18th Century —the man who laid the foundation of Pan-Germanism, which this world war was expected to achieve. Not content with dominion by force of arms, we find Germany plotting for commercial supremacy with that insolent disregard of the rights of others and that resort to deception that has characterized all her policies since Frederick the Great's reign. . . .

"For forty years the Germans have been plotting to realize their dream of Pan-Germanism—eventual world conquest and dominion. For two generations they have been thinking in terms unknown or little understood by an innocent and unsuspecting world. The Prussian philosophy that might makes right, that the State is supreme, has completely possessed the ruling and upper classes of Germany, both military and commercial, until deception and fraud form the background of their most important international relations and undertakings. They have made Germany an inherently dishonest nation. . . .

"German rule means the breaking-down of all order, the exchange of personal liberty and national freedom for force, of right for might, of justice for the mailed fist.

"The world should have been forewarned. Books were written, maps constructed, by well-known German authorities for the enlightenment of the German people, and these books reached the outside world, but civilization, accustomed to the pursuits of peace, turned a deaf ear, and is now paying the penalty for refusing to see and hear.

"Now another conception comes out of the heart of Germany, that threatens the commercial interests of unsuspecting nations—carefully thought out, with characteristic German thoroughness, openly advocating the breaking down of all business ethics, relying upon trickery and circumvention to gain their end. This promises to stop at nothing, from national dumping of goods to crush competition to false labels and disguise of the origin and the breaking of contracts that prove disadvantageous to the German.

"Let the manufacturing and banking interests and the laboring and professional classes of all nations be warned in time to devise antidotes and counter-attacks to the Machiavellian devices of a class gone mad with lust for conquest, deliberately plotting to fatten itself upon the life blood of other peoples even after the war. Let us consider in making peace what protection we can give to the commercial existence of the freed nations."

EXHIBIT "B"

On the eve of the San Francisco Conference (1945) *which created the United Nations, Mr. Hoover wrote a special piece for the North American Newspaper Alliance. Here are excerpts of this article*:

"My fourth proposal for the San Francisco Conference is that agreement upon continued and total disarmament of the enemy nations must be entered into either as part of the United Nations Charter or as a separate agreement. In any event it will have to be enforced by the Security Council. And it profoundly affects the whole question of peace.

"Three years ago Mr. Gibson [Hugh Gibson, American diplomat] and I proposed that the enemy states must be completely disarmed for an entire generation. We pointed out one of the great errors of the Treaty of Versailles in which Germany was permitted to retain a professional army of 100,000 men, supposedly for the purposes of maintaining internal order. She was permitted to have a navy limited only in tonnage and type of ships. We stated that this leeway perpetuated her professional armies and navies. It perpetuated the warrior caste and all its traditions. It afforded a skeleton army and navy of skilled men ready for quick expansion. It insured the continuity of the General Staff with its military skill, brains, and ambitions. It perpetuated their know-how to make war.

"Repeated experience with the warrior caste of these nations in their intimidations, aggressions, blitzes, and attacks without even declarations of war should be enough for the world in this particular. We must make a better job of it this time. . . . We should prohibit the manufacture of arms of any kind [by these countries]."

Why Germans Go East

by

PAUL WOHL

(The defection to the East of Dr. Otto John, former security chief in the Bonn Government, and Karl Schmidt-Wittmack, member of the West German Parliament and prominent leader in Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party, created a sensation both here and abroad. There has been much speculation concerning their motives. Perhaps the truth will not be known for a long time. Certain factors which provide the background for these defections were analyzed by Paul Wohl, outstanding expert on the Soviets for the Christian Science Monitor *and a long time student of German affairs. We publish below a condensation of Mr. Wohl's article which appeared in* The New Leader.)

The flight to the East of Otto John, former West German security chief, and Karl Schmidt-Wittmack, a member of the Bonn Parliament and leader of Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic party in Hamburg, has been a major propaganda victory for Moscow. Bonn contends that the two men were emotionally unstable or else secret Communists or double agents who feared that the jig was up.

Propaganda-wise, this line of reasoning was not very effective. John and Schmidt-Wittmack are not only the West Germans who have sought to collaborate with the East. Among those who have done so are men whose integrity is beyond question. We may not agree with their way of thinking, but today in Europe, and especially in Germany, logical reasoning frequently carries less weight than evidence of personal integrity and idealism. Even if it could be established that Schmidt-Wittmack's trucking firm carried unlicensed goods to the East (who in the German business community can throw the first stone?) or that Dr. John was a double agent, this would not necessarily discredit them in the eyes of their countrymen . . . For most Germans, the John and Schmidt-Wittmack affairs transcend personal motivations. They have become a signal for stock-taking. And because this is understood by Soviet propaganda, while Western spokesmen try to avoid the basic issue, the two cases have acquired much greater political significance than the defection of two British diplomats in 1951, of atomic scientist Bruno Pontecorvo or of Hungary's cosmic-ray expert Janossy—all of whom, like John and Schmidt-Wittmack, held highly respected and well-paid positions in the West . . .

Politically, there is the idea of German unity and power through neutrality between East and West. This has long been advocated by a former Chancellor of the Weimar Republic, Joseph Wirth, and was recently endorsed by two other former Chancellors, Heinrich Brüning and Hans Luther. It is older and more deeply entrenched than Konrad Adenauer's idea of a Western European community. In Prussian North Germany, it has always come to the fore in times of stress. According to the late Walter G. Krivitsky, conservative Prussian patriots were prepared to arrest Hitler in 1937, provided they could announce to the German people that friendly relations with Russia had been restored. It was Stalin who decided against the plan. Stalin's successors, far more than the late dictator in his last years, have gone out of their way to honor East German officials and to cultivate the spokesmen for West German interests who occasionally hold clandestine meetings with Eastern representatives.

Paradoxically, German protagonists of neutrality feel stronger today than in 1937 because (1) on-the-spot observations during and after the war have convinced them of the general backwardness of the USSR, which makes it unlikely that the Kremlin will take the offensive in a major war; (2) they sense that the Soviets have lost momentum since Stalin's death and believe that Moscow will agree to creation of a neutral Germany; (3) West Germany's spectacular industrial comeback, plus a certain amount of technical progress in East Germany, have convinced them that, in ten years at the latest, they may be able to hold their own as a major world power between East and West. Some of West Germany's leading experts on Russia go even farther. In private conversations, they predict a long period of internal convulsion in the Soviet Union which, under certain circumstances, might enable a Germany organized along state-socialist (or state-capitalist) lines to become the nerve center of an enormous Eurasian empire extending from the North Sea to the Gulf of Tonking.

This line of thought has gained ground as a result of the difficulties encountered by Western European unity efforts, and the Communists have maneuvered skilfully to sell it to German right-wing patriots . . .

Ideologically, the East also has certain attractions for West Germany. First of all, there is the totalitarian resemblance to the Nazi system. But there are other reasons:

- The East appeals to the average German's love of parades, of hero worship and collective self-aggrandizement.
- The East's sweatshop methods appeal to some German businessmen and members of the old officialdom as reminiscent of Prussia's legendary Spartan virtues.
- Some impoverished members of the middle class look with envy at West Germany's prosperous new businessmen and have fallen back into Nazism's anti-capitalist mood or rediscover with Oswald Spengler a close relationship between the Prussian spirit and socialism.
- The European idea now appears petty to these people. "A united Europe would have been a great thing twenty or thirty years ago," wrote one of my correspondents. "Adenauer's 'Little Europe' is a political anachronism in the day of the supersonic guided missile." Such views are encouraged by East German invitations to visit China and by world youth festivals.
- A few German intellectuals have re-

turned disillusioned from America. One university professor, who had toured this country under Marshall Plan auspices and later came back as an immigrant, was forced to do unskilled work in a small plant. Writing about his experiences, he referred to the fine factories he had visited while an official guest as "the American Potemkin's villages"—a false front comparable to those set up by Soviet propaganda.

Economically, too, East Germany does not appear altogether dark and hopeless to some West Germans. Certain rationed foods are cheaper than in the West and are smuggled into the Western Sector of Berlin. Although market prices are still very high, there have been eleven successive price reductions. Last August, moreover, nominal wages were raised as much as 20 per cent and taxes cut. For engineers, skilled workers, natural scientists and the like, conditions are improving. During the first six months of this year, alone among the Soviet satellites, East Germany maintained last year's tempo of industrial expansion, which is far greater than in the West. As in other Communist countries, unemployment does not exist. Several rows of impressive houses along East Berlin's *Stalin-Allee* show that the East Germans can build if given the opportunity to do so. East Germany has also begun to gain a foothold in some Western European and overseas markets, and it is through East Berlin that most commercial deals with China and other Soviet-bloc countries are made.

Yet, economic opportunities are the least important prospect that East Germany has to offer. Its principal attraction for West Germans at the present stage seems to lie in the conviction that, without a war, German unity can come only through reconciliation with the East. "Germans stay in East Germany or go there," one old-timer recalled, "in the same way that Frenchmen after 1871 stayed in Alsace-Lorraine or returned there despite Berlin's policy of cultural oppression." All this may appear incongruous to Americans, but it is well to remember that Germans, and especially German intellectuals, think politically in a strange, circuitous Teutonic way that is very different from the most rational approach of the freedom-loving West.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The New Leader)

Shall We Cheer?

by

MAX LERNER

. . . We are told that it is the German arms treaty which is Dulles' high historic achievement. As if to underscore this claim Chancellor Adenauer has been brought here during the week before election for high-level talks on arms and diplomacy that will cement the new alliance.

I have nothing against Adenauer, who is probably a better Chancellor than anyone Germany is likely to have as his successor. He is a guest of our government and he deserves courtesy at our hands.

But with the memory of the greatest mass-extermination in history not wholly withered in our minds, is there real cause for jubilation at the "victory" we have achieved in rearming the nation responsible for the crematoria and the human furnaces? . . .

But it is one thing to say reluctantly that we had to do it, and quite another thing to make it ground for jubilation. What is there to be so happy about? The fact that there will soon be a half million German soldiers under arms and an equal number in the reserves?

The meaning of political events lies often less in the events themselves than in the moral framework in which they are placed. I have waited to hear from Dulles or President Eisenhower or any of the men around them a single word about the pain this decision caused them, about the sorrow and sadness that must mark it in the perspective of history.

They have said nothing. There has been only a barren, stony silence.

The conference at London and the signing of the treaty at Paris had a double purpose. One was to bring Germany back into the fellowship of nations, with rearming as a symbol of its sovereignty. The other was to set up a system of controls to make sure its armed power would not again cast a shadow over Europe.

The two purposes were necessarily intertwined. Without the system of controls, the rearming would be at once cynical and dangerous.

Yet the big fact about Dulles' role at London—like his role in all the diplomatic maneuvers preceding London—was that he concentrated on the rearming and allowed others to fight for the controls.

The championing of controls—and the insistence on them—was left to Mendes-France, although Eden helped. I think a detailed analysis of the day-to-day maneuvers at London and before London would show without question that Dulles threw his weight toward the minimum of controls and toward a dilution of the arms pool. Whenever there was a showdown on these crucial questions, Dulles always stood with Adenauer.

If this is why Eisenhower described Dulles' role in so glowing terms, we ought to know whether he understands its full meaning. The best features of the London agreement—the effort to control the rearming—came despite Dulles and not because of him. It was the rearming itself on which he most firmly set his will. If this is the returning hero we are supposed to cheer, I stand mute while the parade goes by.

(Condensed, Courtesy, N. Y. Post)

Dachau . . .

. . . They are weeding dandelions from the blood trench at Dachau.

Roses and evergreens mark the graves of unknown thousands. German gardeners neatly clip the grass in the trench by the wall where elite guard officers once shot starving prisoners in the back.

Dachau was the first of Adolf Hitler's great prison camps, and the worst. Its record of murder and torture surpassed all others, for 300,000 persons died there, many while serving as unwilling guinea pigs for Gestapo Chief Heinrich Himmler's "scientific" experiments.

There were typhus, typhoid, dysentery and starvation. There was torture unparalleled, and an utter misery and breaking of human spirit. Jews, Poles, Hungarians, Belgians, Russians, Italians and Germans died there.

It is little more than a 15-minute drive north from Munich to Dachau, where smoke used to curl from the crematorium chimneys 24 hours a day. The elite guards did their grisly work thoroughly—in one month alone, 6000 human beings were stuffed into Dachau's long, brick ovens.

Under United States occupation, Dachau has become a memorial. The people who live there are refugees from the Soviet East Zone.

Dachau is in the middle of a big plain, and many new houses have sprung up outside the camp since the war. In 1949, a grave containing the bones of 15,000 persons was unearthed by a bull-dozer excavating for a basement. The grave is now a memorial.

Just inside the gates of Dachau's extermination area is an old pine tree, its trunk and first two limbs stripped of bark. The tree stands stark, with low-growing evergreens and a small path around it. At the foot of the tree is a small marble slab that says, in English, "hanging tree."

Nazis used to tie prisoners' hands behind them, then hang them from a limb of the tree for hours at a time. After unendurable pain, a blessed unconsciousness would follow.

Down the path a little way is the blood trench, about 22 inches deep and 15 feet long. It is marked with another small marble slab.

Farther along the path is a three-foot square of ground marked off with roses. In the middle is a slab that says, "This is the grave of unknown thousands."

It probably was there that 92 Russian officers, divided into batches of 15, were stripped, forced to kneel and shot in the back.

Still farther along the path is a three-foot square of ground bordered by roses and evergreens. In the middle is another slab that says "This is the grave of unknown thousands."

Continue along the path and there is another square, exactly like the first, only much larger. This is another grave of unknown thousands, discovered more than five years after the war's end.

Then you come to the crematoriums, two of them, with six furnaces. The furnaces are made of brick, and are more than long enough to accommodate an emaciated, tortured human body.

Victims were stuffed into the fires with long iron poles, now worn smooth at the ends. Some were burned alive.

Rafters over the crematoriums in one low wooden building are scorched black and burned partly through by the intense heat.

Fingernail scratches, made in desperation by doomed prisoners, still cover the walls of the "undressing room" and the gas chamber. Mingled with the scratches are other scratches, the marks of former Dachau prisoners who have revisited the camp, and the names of tourists.

In the last days before the United States Seventh Army arrived at Dachau, there were 112 to 135 deaths daily. Nazis were dumping prisoners into ice water until unconscious in alleged "scientific" experiments.

"Bone crusher," so-called by the prisoners, was Sgt. Kurt Moeller, whose physical strength was so great he could break arms and legs with his bare hands. Other Dachau guards used prisoners for pistol practice.

Dachau's horror came to an end when American troops arrived on April 30, 1945, but its misery did not. Advanced starvation and diseases took the lives of 60 to 100 a day at Dachau for weeks after the war ended.

Outside the camp, our troops found 50 boxcars loaded with bodies of humans who had been starved to death, or shot to death, bodies livid with bruises.

Two rooms in the crematorium were piled to the ceiling with emaciated bodies. Even Dachau could not keep up with the death pattern it had set.

(Courtesy, St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

"We have fought two wars in this century to prevent German hegemony in Europe, and it is still our national interest to prevent such a development at all costs. A dominant Germany, once men like Adenauer are gone, could all too easily revert to the policy of Bismarck, the Weimar Republic and Hitler—a deal with Russia which would imperil the West.

The policy of basing a European policy on Germany rather than France has a fatal appeal for some British and American policymakers. A pro-German Anglo-American foreign policy, carried through in the Twenties and early Thirties, made the Second World War almost inevitable. It could have the same result again. A pro-German policy would turn the Continent—including our faithful friends in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania—into disillusioned and depressed neutralists. It would destroy the political appeal of the European idea, which would become not the dynamic rallying point of future hopes in Europe, but an abiding threat of renewed occupation by goose-stepping armies in field-gray."

(Eugene V. Rostow in The New Leader, 11-2-54)

What Have We Learned?

by

JOSIAH E. DU BOIS, JR.

(*The article published below by Josiah E. Du Bois, Jr., is a review of "Tyranny On Trial" by Whitney R. Harris, published by Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas. Mr. Du Bois was Chief Prosecutor of the I.G. Farben case during the* 1947-48 *War Crime Trials at Nuremberg. He has served in important posts in the Government. He was Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury under both Morgenthau and Vinson; General Counsel to the War Refugee Board; and Counsel and Financial Advisor to the Representative of the President on Japanese Reparations. He is the author of "The Devil's Chemists, a definitive study of the I.G. Farben war criminals.*)

World leaders as well as legal scholars have differed greatly in their views concerning the wisdom of the Nuremberg trials and the effect of said trials in the field of international law.

According to Judge Samuel Rosenman, who represented President Roosevelt in connection with the preparation for the trials, the British officials including Prime Minister Churchill, "wanted to take the top Nazi criminals out and shoot them without warning one morning and announce to the world that they were dead."

Secretary Hull's memoirs recite "If I had my way, I would take Hitler and Mussolini and Tojo and their arch-accomplices and bring them before a drumhead court-martial. And at sunrise on the following day there would occur an historic incident."

In writing about "the power of the victor over the vanquished," Chief Justice Stone said "It would not disturb me greatly if that power were openly and frankly used to punish the German leaders for being a bad lot, but it disturbs me some to have it dressed up in the habiliments of the common law and the Constitutional safeguards to those charged with crime."

On the other side, the late Justice Robert H. Jackson, Chief Prosecutor at the major Nuremberg trial, states in his introduction to TYRANNY ON TRIAL, "The only course, in my view, was for the victors to behave as civilized victors and take the responsibilities implicit in demanding and accepting capitulation of the whole German state and population. Unless history was to lay the war guilt and the guilt for organized programs of atrocities upon the whole German people, some process must identify those individuals who were in fact responsible and make an authentic record of their deeds."

And Justice Jackson reports that: "President Roosevelt had steadily and insistently favored a speedy but fair trial for these men, fearful that if they were punished without public proof of their crimes and opportunity to defend themselves there would always remain a doubt of their guilt that might raise a myth of martyrdom."

Despite these divergent views concerning the trial and the legal efficacy of the trials, no responsible person has attempted to defend the morality of the almost unbelievable acts of barbarism and cruelty committed by the Nazi leaders; and no responsible person has been heard to say that the nature of the punishment meted out to the arch criminals of the Nazi era was unjust.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the Nuremberg trials is the fact that they made an unchallengeable record of the incredible events of one of the most blackest periods in the history of mankind. The taking of Austria by telephone; the rape of Czechoslovakia; the subjugation of Poland; the conquest of Denmark and Norway in deliberate violation of solemn covenants; the liquidation of the three little countries of Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg; the overrunning of Yugoslavia; the invasion of France; the attempt to destroy the Soviet Union; the massacre of prisoners of war; the enslavement of millions of human beings; the persecution and deliberate murder of the Jews and other minority groups; the so-called "Germanization" of the Eastern countries of Europe, including drastic restrictions upon the education and cultural life of those unfit to be "Germanized" and the sterilization of "inferior women"; the plunder of the industries of every country of Europe invaded by the Nazi armies; the looting of treasures of art; and such incomprehensible acts like the wicked experiments conducted upon human beings for testing the effectiveness of poisoned bullets, medical experiments to test untried drugs, the collection of skulls of human beings of "all races and peoples at our disposal," the gassings of millions of human beings and the burning of their bodies, the extraction of gold from their teeth and the making of soap from their fat; these events and many more were recorded for all time at the Nuremberg trials.

> **". . . How are we to explain Germany's Untergang from civilization—not to 'barbarism' (an insult to all barbarians), but to nihilistic criminality on the part of its élite and to frenzied sadism and self-immolation on the part of its people? 'Tyranny' or 'totalitarianism' will scarcely serve as clues. . . . In any case, it is a fact . . . that the German community of our time somehow managed to attain lower depths of evil than any known to man in any of his past or present experiments in social life. . . ."**
>
> **(Frederick L. Schumann, The Nation, 9-18-54)**

Yet, world power politics being what it is, history also records the fact that as early as September 1944, while our GIs were still being killed by the Nazi war machine, there was circulated within the United States government, at a high level, a memorandum contending, in effect, that as soon as the war was over we should rebuild German power as quickly as possible.

As a member of the American delegation to the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, I saw this government formally endorse a program designed to insure that Germany would no longer be the dominant power in Europe. That was the program the world heard. But there was secretly circulated among the top leaders of the British and American delegations a memorandum, prepared by certain top officials in the United States government, saying in effect that this whole approach was wrong and that our real interest lay in rebuilding Germany as quickly as possible "as a bulwark against Communism."

And, finally, we have recently heard the Prime Minister of Great Britain announce at a party celebrating his 80th birthday that "Even before the war ended, and while the Germans were surrendering by hundreds and thousands, I telegraphed Lord Montgomery directing him to be careful in collecting German arms and to stack them so that they could easily be issued again to the German soldiers with whom we should have to work if the Soviet advance into Western Europe continued."

Many of the industrial, military and diplomatic leaders of the Nazi era who were convicted at the Nuremberg trials which followed the major trial are free today and back in positions of great power in Germany.

Anyone who reads TYRANNY ON TRIAL and then ponders the state of the world today must ask himself "What have we learned?"

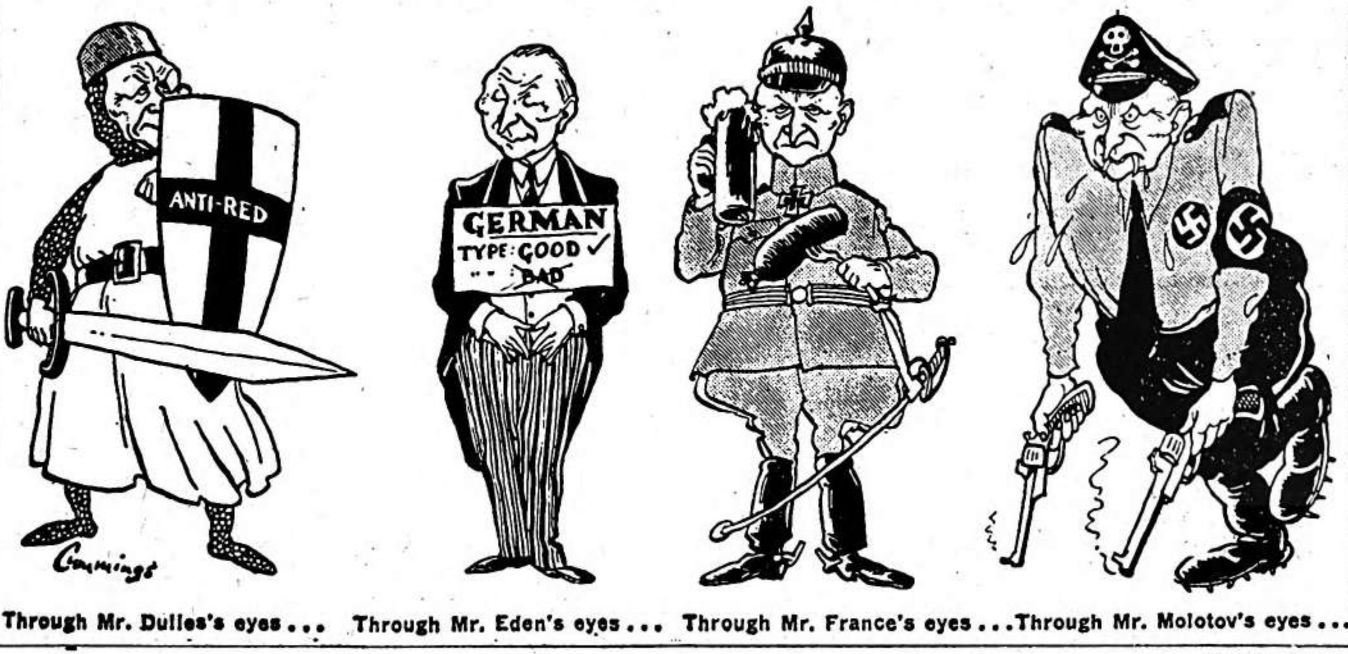
"THE OTHER SIDE"

Speaking to the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg of Nazi atrocities in the occupied territories, Sir Hartley Shawcross said: ". . . on the lowest computation twelve million men, women and children were done to death. Not in battle, not in passion, but in the cold, calculated, deliberate attempt to destroy nations and races, to disintegrate the traditions, the institutions and the very existence of free and ancient States. Twelve million murders! Murders conducted like some mass production industry. . . ."

This book, by Lord Russell of Liverpool who, when Deputy Judge Advocate General, British Army of the Rhine, was legal adviser to the Commander-in-Chief in respect of all trials of German War Criminals in the British Zone of occupation, gives a factual account of the appalling crimes committed and of the monstrous organization behind them. It is a formidable indictment of German barbarity, which has been fully comprehended by few people outside the occupied couutries. How many in Britain realize that, of the 3,000,000 Jews living in Poland in September, 1939, not more than 50,000 could be traced in 1946 as a result of the German policy of mass extermination? How many know that 3,000,000 prisoners were killed at the Auschwitz Camp alone; that at one time 10,000 people a day were put into its gas chambers? Since the war there have been many books by German officers defending the Nazi war machine. It is as well to read the other side of the story.

(Publisher's Comment on "The Scourge of the Swastika" By Lord Russell)

THE MANY FACES OF KONRAD ADENAUER by Cummings



Through Mr. Dulles's eyes . . . Through Mr. Eden's eyes . . . Through Mr. France's eyes . . . Through Mr. Molotov's eyes . . .

(Daily Express)

How Dead Are the German Cartels?

The New York Times (10-24-54) published a letter by Sidney H. Willner dealing with the question of German cartels and monopolies. Mr. Willner's qualifications to speak on this subject cannot be challenged in view of the fact that he was formerly Chief of the Decartelization and Deconcentration Division of the U.S. High Commission for Germany.

In his letter Mr. Willner questions the accuracy of a Times report (10-12-54) indicating that all the fundamental Allied legislation concerned with the deconcentration and decartelization "will be discarded because there are no means of enforcing that legislation after the liquidation of the occupation regime." According to Mr. Willner, the Allied deconcentration program has been in the main accomplished and it is "inconceivable that there is an intention to abandon what has already so largely been achieved." In the case of Allied anti-cartel laws Mr. Willner expresses the hope that this legislation will not be discarded. One can easily get the impression that this anti-cartel legislation has been effectively enforced without fear or favor. Mr. Willner declares rightly that the scrapping of these vital Allied laws could very well result in "regression to economic feudalism" in Germany.

Judging from reports coming out of Germany over the past few years, regression to economic feudalism is no longer a hypothetical question. On the contrary, the resurgence of the trusts and cartels has been proceeding in rapid pace. Indeed, we will go further—the regression which Mr. Willner fears has not merely returned German industry to the status quo ante, but has increased the power of the monopolies and cartels to unprecedented heights.

Unquestionably this is partially due to the fact that the German cartelists have left no stone unturned to hamper and discredit the Allied decartelization and deconcentration program. But that is not the whole story. It is a fact, too, that Allied officials responsible for the carrying out of this policy, sabotaged it. This is one of the major findings of the Ferguson Committee appointed by former Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall, to investigate the situation in the early part of 1949. The Committee took testimony from the leading American officials associated with the decartelization and deconcentration program. On the basis of this testimony, the Ferguson Committee reported that a perfectly practical program for the elimination of the trusts and cartels was emasculated and undermined by a clique of American officials operating under General Clay.

These officials admitted that they were unsympathetic with the policy which they were pledged and obliged to carry out. It was the program of the President of the United States who had received his mandate from the American people. Yet, these officials, on their own authority, succeeded in blocking the implementation of this program. They put forth the view that the rehabilitation of Germany's economic power was the sine qua non for the economic welfare of Europe. Having set up this specious proposition, they felt themselves justified in crippling the deconcentration and decartelization programs alleging that this was the only way to preserve Germany's industrial power. This stereotype rationale for defending their sabotage of the U. S. Government's policy was thoroughly refuted by the Ferguson Committee's report.

The Ferguson Committee noted that officials were trying to sell the idea that the German economy could not be fully productive unless it is one that is based on excessive concentrations of industry. In answer to this allegation the report stated: "The experience in the United States is just to the contrary. Nor is there any justification for saying that Germany could not afford the waste of competition that a rich country like the U.S. can afford. In those instances, since the occupation of Germany, in which there has been deconcentration, namely, I.G. Farben, the Banks and the Ruhr, there is evidence that, rather than interfere with German production or the recovery of Germany, such deconcentration has increased production and strengthened the Germany economy.

"General Clay told your Committee that the operation of the I.G. Farben plants as separate individual units resulted in a vigorous come-back spurred by competition and that some of the units were producing in greater volume than ever in their history in spite of the many handicaps facing German recovery.

"The decentralization of the German banks has, according to General Clay and his Finance Adviser, aided in the economic recovery of Germany."

The basic criticisms of the Ferguson Committee report were never refuted nor was remedial action taken. On the contrary, the report was filed away to gather dust while Allied officials continued to wink at the German cartelists.

In the Summer issue 1953 of Prevent World War III we published an article entitled "The Cartel Comeback—A U.S. Failure." The article contained the latest information up to that time with respect to the status of the Allied anti-cartel program. Detailed facts were presented showing that the situation had not improved since the criticisms of the Ferguson Committee, but had worsened. We concluded our analysis in these words: "It is clear that when the Allies defaulted on their own obligations to deconcentrate and decartelize German industry, it became possible for the Germans to fully exploit this failure by devising plans that not only helped to 'reform' the trusts and cartels but to give them respectability under German law. . . ."

As if to support our charges, the New York Times of November 8, 1953, quoted Professor H. Schwenk, Chairman of the Association of German Iron and Steel Mills, to the effect that the U.S. Government, through one of its agencies, was working on plans for the restoration of the Ruhr iron and steel combines. . . ." Several days following Herr Schwenk's sensational disclosure, U.S. officials issued a denial intimating that Schwenk's allegations might be a reflection of the "wishful thinking" of the Ruhr industrialists. Was it only wishful thinking? Is it not true that ten days following this denial, the Allied authorities consented to maintain intact the steel trading combine of the former Vereinigte Stahlwerke although it was to be "broken up by Allied anti-cartel legislation"? (New York Times 11-22-53) Some may regard this as an exceptional case. In order to dispel such illusions we shall cite the most up-to-date information on the cartel problem derived from reliable sources, and let the reader judge for himself:

(1) On November 17, 1953, the English publication The Manchester Guardian carried a report from its correspondent in Germany under the caption "Reforming Industrial Trusts in West Germany." The Guardian correspondent described what he called "the growing campaign to recreate the old German industrial trusts. . . ." In this connection he noted that the tendency in the Federal Republic was toward "the reversal of all Allied legislation" prohibiting the cartels and trusts. He reported the view of an American spokesman that the occupying power "cannot stop such regrouping."

(2) The December 10, 1953, issue of the Manchester Guardian carried a more detailed article on this problem by the well known expert on Germany, Terence Prittie, which was entitled "The Cartels Return in Western Germany." Among the facts cited by Mr. Prittie was that "the big German banks have already begun to frame a common policy which expresses itself in identical reports." He might have added that the very same persons who were responsible for the looting perpetuated by the big three German banks (Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, Commerz Bank) were once again in the same positions of power. Mr. Prittie's conclusion is significant: "The Germans, it is sure, want a disciplined and cohesive economy. They believe that cartels will play their own part in that and that Allied action in destroying the trusts was no more 'final' than that of the child who knocks down his bricks—only to build them up again tomorrow."

(3) A report to the Christian Science Monitor (12-31-53) noted that British and American officials in contrast to the French, were inclined to compromise relative to cartel and anti-trust legislation.

(4) The New Republic (1-11-54) disclosed that the German businessman was "reconstructing his prewar cartel system and, in the name of free enterprise, demanding that the Bonn Government hand over vast state-owned industries built up over the decades." The New Republic report confirmed the reports mentioned above with regard to the resurgence of the three major banks which had dominated Hitler's Germany. It further mentioned that "the Ruhr and steel magnates dream of transforming the organization (the European Coal and Steel Community) into the logical continuation of the International Steel Cartel of 1926." In this connection it should be noted that as early as September 21, 1953 the authoritative financial weekly Barron's declared, "The Coal-Steel Community now functions as a massive steel and coal cartel."

The tendency of the European Coal and Steel Community to adopt cartel practices was noted by a number of countries at the recent conference of the "General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT)" at Geneva (New York Herald Tribune 11-12-54). (The record shows that the old iron and steel cartel was dominated by the Germans and served as an effective instrument for the building up of Germany's war potential.) The New Republic report also referred to the appearance of the "old

". . . To the Adenauer clique things looked darkest, of course, when E.D.C. died. Once it appeared there were to be no new German divisions, the Krupps and Kesselrings declared that all possibility of a Franco-German understanding was at an end. The scapegoat? The French Premier, naturally. 'Mendes-France must go,' said Adenauer, as if he were a French opposition deputy. In an interview with the London Times he even threatened to fling the Bonn republic into the arms of the Russians.

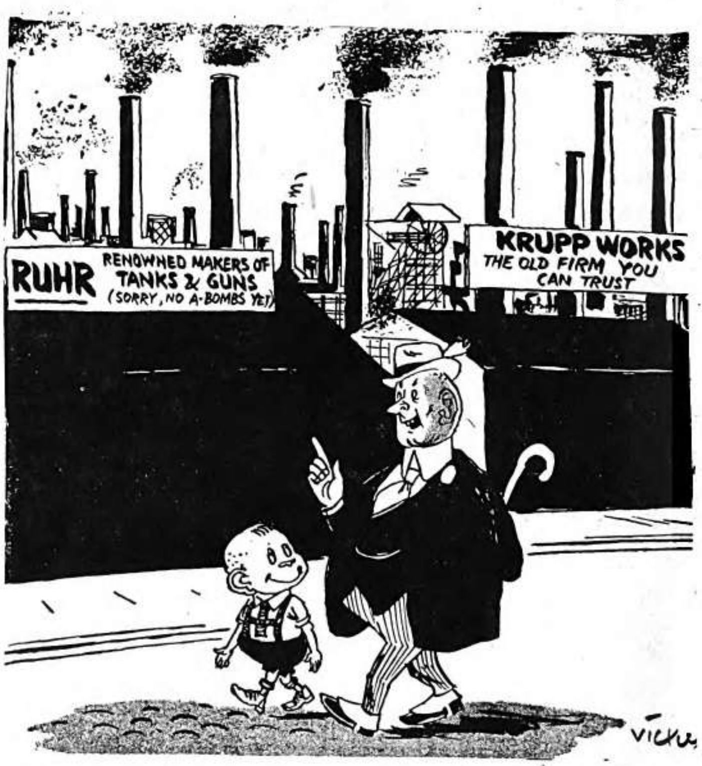
"But after the stormy summer came the sunny autumn. Not the Martians but the Archangel Michael, in the person of John Foster Dulles, descended on London, Bonn, and Paris. E.D.C. is dead, long live E.D.C.! proclaimed the London conference. Amen! said the statesmen at Paris. . . . The German industrialists and generals are smiling . . . the twelve divisions and prosperity are around the corner. The Bonn government is already distributing arms contracts, and German industrial stocks are skyrocketing. . . ."

(Carolus, The Nation, 11-6-54)

* * *

"Meanwhile, what the American public doesn't realize is that German businessmen are descending on Latin America in increasing numbers, offering long-term credit and cheap prices. Thus, while the USA spends money building up Germany, Germany is indirectly using that money to unbuild American trade in Latin America."

(Drew Pearson, 11-30-54)


RUHR
RENOWNED MAKERS OF TANKS & GUNS (SORRY, NO A-BOMBS YET)
KRUPP WORKS
THE OLD FIRM YOU CAN TRUST
VICKY

"Now that we can again produce our best arguments, we've at last regained the freedom of speech!"

powerful trade associations" and observed that the future airplane industry in Germany was rapidly falling into the clutches of a tightly knit group.

(5) Business Week (3-13-54) ran a full length article entitled "German Cartels Try for a Comeback." *"It is the view of some American observers in Germany,"* Business Week reported, *"that by one means or another most German industry will emerge in a cartelized form within a few years at most."* This magazine summed up the effectiveness of Allied anti-cartel legislation in the words of a businessman: *"Why do we need cartels legalized when all we need is a telephone to make our arrangements?"*

(6) During March 1954 the New York Times carried several reports from Germany indicating that there was a bright future for the return of the German trusts and cartels. One dispatch (3-23-54) quoted the President of the German Federation of Industry Fritz Berg to the effect that the U. S. could never bring about the economic integration of Europe without industrial cartels.

(7) The Wall Street Journal (7-16-54) carried a detailed dispatch from Germany entitled "Farben's Return." This refers, of course, to the re-emergence of Germany's chemical trust. I.G. Farben which was probably the most important economic prop for the Nazi regime. Here is the way the Wall Street Journal describes the return of Farben: *"A ghost is stalking through some of America's big foreign chemical markets these days. Its name is I.G. Farben."* The Wall Street Journal's report notes that under Allied orders Farben has been built up into three individual firms which must remain in that state until 1956 but also reports that pressures are growing and the Farben crowd is becoming "impatient." Whether they will wait for 1956 is an open question. Indeed, many of the preliminaries for the merging of the so-called independent companies have been accomplished. By the time 1956 rolls around, whatever needs to be done in that direction will be anti-climax. Thus, the New York Times (7-26-54) states: *"Decartelization restrictions imposed by the Allies expire in* 1956. *Immediately afterwards a new I.G. Farben is expected to emerge. . . ."*

(8) The Manchester Guardian (8-26-54) returned to the question of cartels in Western Germany. Here is the way the Guardian's correspondent begins his report: *"The Allied High Commission is unlikely to offer any objection to the regrouping of the German steel industry which is reported to be fully under way. This regrouping will result in an exact reversal of Allied policy in the Federal Republic, which was based on the intention to break up 'undue concentration of economic power'."* Interlocking directorates have become a common practice among the major Ruhr steel concerns. Vertical trusts are once again developing. Mergers are reoccurring in such a way that *"the process of reconcentration may leave fewer than a dozen firms in a dominant position in the German steel industry."* In other words, the reconcentration of heavy industry is developing with such intensity that by 1956 the world will probably witness a cartelized, trustified Germany on a scale which could very well make the monopolies of the Hitler era seem puny.

(9) The Wall Street Journal (10-5-54) published an article from Bonn which reported that, when West Germany is granted full sovereignty, *"one of the casualties will be the American decartelization crusade."* It noted that the so-called crusade *"has been going badly almost since it formally began. . . ."* The Wall Street correspondent predicts that the retreat may well become a rout by the time the Germans obtain their sovereignty. He further states that the Germans *"do not believe free competition would work for Germany. . . ."*

(10) The New York Herald Tribune (10-21-54) carried an article by its Bonn correspondent revealing that the German cartels have succeeded in perverting the objectives of Allied anti-cartel legislation. For all practical purposes Germany's industrial war lords will have a clear field ahead because the Bonn Government is cooperating. *"The industrialists of West Germany who backed Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in the national elections a year ago, exercise a strong influence. . . ."*

(11) A dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune (10-31-54) announces that West Germany's bankers *"are expected to revive the big three banks of prewar Germany"* after the Paris accords are ratified. The Tribune correspondent writes that the German financial world welcomed the deliberate deletion from the new agreements of an earlier Allied-German provision calling for the continued deconcentration of the German banking system. *"The nation's financial press is already discussing the problem of when and where — not whether — the great banking institutions of the past will be restored."* How quickly it is forgotten that the big three banks had originally been split up precisely because they were the backbone of Hitler's aggressions resulting in the ruthless looting of German occupied Europe.

* * *

Does this brief chronology of the status of the German trusts and cartels give cause for optimism? Can we truthfully talk as though they have not emerged as yet? What does this all mean to the average person, be he an American or a European? They have heard of or experienced the unspeakable crimes perpetuated by the Nazis. But do most of them know that without the decisive help of I.G. Farben, Krupp, Mannesmann, the big three banks, etc., there would have been no concentration camps, no gas chambers and no World War II? That is why the subject of cartels and trusts is not merely the concern of the historian or the economist. It is a matter of life and death to every person who cherishes liberty and peace.

In 1945 the U.S. adopted a program which had as one of its primary objectives the smashing of German cartels and trusts "to prevent Germany from endangering the safety of her neighbors and again constituting a threat to international peace" and to "destroy Germany's economic potential to wage war." The U.S. program was prepared on the basis of careful investigations by hundreds of specialists who uncovered the influence of these forces of war and economic aggression. U.S. investigators had learned that only a few years after the end of World War I, Germany's industrial war lords, yes, even under the much advertised democratic Weimar Republic, had begun to seize the military power of Europe. Colonel William Taylor, the Paris agent for Dupont, wrote his company in 1924: "The European monopoly in military material (is) passing slowly into German hands."

It is a fact that from the very first day of peace after World War I to the moment of Hitler's accession to power, Germany was being carefully prepared for World War II through the unmatched resources and planning of a comparatively small group of trusts, monopolies and cartels with their principal location in the Ruhr. Their sinister activities had a definite impact on American security. The U.S. Government agency, The Office of Facts and Figures, in its first "Report to the Nation," issued January 14, 1942, stated: "*(The enemy) has worked for many years to weaken our military potential. Through patent controls and cartel agreements he succeeded in limiting American production and export of many vital materials. He kept the prices of these materials up and the output down. He was waging war, and he did his work well, decoying important American companies into agreements, the purpose of which they did not sense. Our businessmen were peaceful traders. The enemy's businessmen were and are all over the world agents of aggression.*

"The list of materials affected is long—beryllium, optical instruments, magnesium, tungsten carbide, pharmaceuticals, hormones, dyes, and many more. When you match each product with its military use, the significance of the attack becomes clear. Beryllium is a vital element for alloys that make shell springs; magnesium makes airplanes and incendiary bombs; tungsten carbide is essential for precision machine tools.

"Concealed behind dummy corporations, the enemy went unchecked for years, using our own legal machinery to hamstring us."

To be sure, the Germans lost World War II. But how meaningful is that defeat when the very instruments of her aggression are preserved?

Old Sights in the New Germany

The dispatches were filed by different men in different cities, writing at approximately the same moment:

BERLIN, Nov. 25—Berlin's Jewish communal organizations and several other groups protested today against an alleged revival of anti-Semitism and ultranationalism at a rally of the German party . . .

Several students were attacked and beaten by the crowd, apparently when they failed to stand for the singing of "Deutschland Ueber Alles." The foreign reporters were abused and menaced when they did not sing . . .

Booted orderlies quickly moved in on anyone who did not sing. Two students, reportedly mistaken for Jews, were set upon . . . At the meeting the loudest applause was for representatives of an organization of former members of the Waffen SS, the branch of Hitler's elite guard in the Army.—*From a dispatch by Walter Sullivan to The Times.*

BONN, Nov. 25—Two of the four government coalition parties asked today for a general amnesty for all German war criminals before the Paris agreements are ratified . . . On the basis of the record in parliament, even the Social Democratic party is expected to support, at least partly, the two right-wing parties' motion. Little doubt is felt that a large proportion and possibly a majority of the German people and members of the Bundestag do not accept the doctrine of German war guilt.—*From a dispatch by Albion Ross to The Times.*

* * *

Thus the sickening echoes multiply as West Germany prepares to be affectionately welcomed into the free community.

Yet there is still no sign that the U.S. Congress will seriously debate our German policy. Many months ago it became an axiom of American political life that the Germans were the guardians of Western civilization, and that there could be no serious argument on the point.

Nevertheless it becomes clearer each day that something has gone disastrously wrong with post-war Germany. The Communists offer each episode as proof that "Western imperialism" is sponsoring a revival of Nazism; in reality, of course, the re-emergence of fallen Nazi heroes was officially sponsored in Communist-ruled East Germany long before manifestations of intolerance became acute in the Western zone. There is little comfort for free men, however, in the reminder that things are grim all over.

What is essentially being demonstrated is the failure of the Occupation. In the Eastern zone the totalitarians changed brown shirts to red; but it was in the West that the victorious battle for democracy was presumably to be waged. What happened to the forces of freedom?

Possibly the simplest answer is that the emphasis on German rearmament—rather than on German re-education—became the keynote of allied efforts long before the Germans had absorbed any lessons.

There was a steady disintegration, too, in the calibre of Occupation personnel, partly because of the irrational severities of the security program. Imaginative men who saw Germany as a challenge to creative democratic planning were replaced by brass-hats who saw Germany as a new military bastion, and who could not tell a democrat from a storm trooper.

No doubt there have been other factors: Germany is not a simple story, and there have been affirmative moments. In the Eastern zone German workers staged their memorable uprising against despotism not long ago. In the West there are decent men like Berlin's Mayor Schreiber who have spoken out eloquently against the newest outrages, and the Bundestag itself has condemned the incidents.

But democracy in Germany remains on the defensive, losing rather than gaining ground. As this is written neither President Eisenhower nor any other Western leader has taken note of the latest demonstrations; Prime Minister Churchill is busy trying to explain why he contemplated arming captured Nazis in the closing days of World War II.

How much more must happen before free men recognize and challenge the ominous symptoms?

(Editorial, N. Y. Post)

The "Agonizing Reappraisal"

Last year Secretary Dulles warned our Western Allies that unless Germany was returned to a status of power and influence, the United States would undertake an "agonizing reappraisal" of its foreign policy. Offhand, it would seem that the recent Paris agreement restoring the sovereignty and military might of Germany, would obviate such "drastic" action. Yet, we had a hunch that the so-called reappraisal project is proceeding full steam ahead. This is not to say that we can expect a radical change in the direction and content of American policy in Europe. On the contrary, we have the feeling that the "new look" will turn out to be a more intensive preoccupation with the development of ways and means which would enable Germany to dominate Europe.

Unveiling the Blueprints

An important clue, indicating where this "reappraisal" is leading us, has been provided by an expert on Germany, Professor James K. Pollock of the University of Michigan. Prof. Pollock unveiled the blue prints in an address before the Residential Seminar On World Politics at Bryn Mawr (September 1954). In a sense it was most appropriate that Prof. Pollock should choose the Bryn Mawr Conference to expound the latest thinking on the German problem. After all, the Conference was attended by influential educators from all parts of the country and their favorable response to Prof. Pollock's propositions could help condition American public opinion.

Professor Pollock began his address with a moderate declaration that his proposals were made on his own responsibility "as a working scholar without the least official connection or benediction, and only with the hope that what I say will be helpful and at least stimulating." That Prof. Pollock should make this detour before going to the heart of his subject is in itself a cause for suspicion. In any event, the humbleness of his words need to be weighed in the light of the fact that during the formative years of the American occupation of Germany he was considered "the No. 2 political adviser in the American Military Government of Germany" (AP, March 31, 1946). Any history of the development of U.S. policy in Germany since the end of the war would be inadequate if it did not take into consideration the great influence exercised by Prof. Pollock in Military Government affairs. Indeed, despite Prof. Pollock's self-effacing gesture, his address must be regarded as one of the most significant pronouncements with respect to the future course of American policy in Germany.

Germany's Destiny

Professor Pollock's talk revolved around several main topics. In the first part of his address he bemoans the fact that for almost 10 years after the surrender of Germany "we are still fumbling and talking about the German problem . . ." In this connection he denounces "the mistakes of the past decade in trying to work with what we thought were our friends. . . ." Among our false friends the French are especially condemned by Prof. Pollock.

Throughout the rest of his address the anti-French attitude of Prof. Pollock is as obvious as is his pro-German bias. Since the French cannot be trusted, according to the Professor, it is necessary that all of our plans be based on the leadership of Germany in Europe. This is what Prof. Pollock means when he proposes that "we should strike out boldly and originally along completely new lines in the development of a sound and realistic policy toward Germany." Hitherto U.S. policy has been ineffective because, in the words of our expert on Germany, the U.S. has failed "to give sufficient weight to the potentialities and dynamic power of Germany, as we are now failing to utilize that other dynamic power in the Far East—Japan." The United States must now make good its dismal failures. Let no one dare to stay in the way, the Professor thunders, "the dead feet or hands or maybe soul of France can no longer control the direction of our policy toward Germany, nor should any other similar force in any other country be permitted to prevent the formulation of a new American policy toward Germany."

What Professor Pollock is suggesting is simply this: that the country which brought untold ruin and misery to a world in two wars, which desecrated every human value, which made Europe into a vast cemetery—that nation must now be placed on the pedestal of power. As for the rest of the world —who cares!

After sounding off on behalf of Germany the Professor turns to the business at hand. The first step in implementing the "new" policy must be the remilitarization of Germany together with the granting of full sovereignty. These steps are the least that can be taken at once in view of the fact that Western Germany is "the only pro-American government in Europe." As a follow-up the Professor demands that Germany be admitted to NATO as a full fledged member. If the French or any other country expresses opposition they will, in due time, be forced to recognize "the position and power of West Germany." (At this writing it appears that the above mentioned demands of Prof. Pollock will be carried out following the Paris agreements.) Once Germany is able to regain her power and influence "to which it is entitled," the United States must develop a vigorous support for a United Europe under German leadership." Here Prof. Pollock approaches the core of his plan.

Negotiations With Moscow

The concept of a United Europe under the domination of Germany is linked up with Prof. Pollock's idea regarding Russo-German relations. The Professor demands that the U.S. underwrite "realistic German proposals for negotiations" with the Kremlin. To make sure that this proposition is not misunderstood, Prof. Pollock emphasizes that in all such moves "the Germans should be given the initiative with the Russians" and the U.S. "should be content to advise and warn." Amplifying this concept, Prof. Pollock avers, "there is no sense in reconstituting a German force and initiative if we do not intend to use it in the direction of an improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union." Therefore, the Germans must be given the go ahead signal to do business with the Russians and "the burden of planning and action should rest with them." (Professor Pollock would have us believe that the Germans are going to wait until we say, "go.")

Professor Pollock's views concerning Russo-German negotiations are not without precedent. As a matter of fact, important sections of the German press have been spouting this line for several years and many of Germany's leading politicians including Chancellor Adenauer have also dwelt on the coming of a Russo-German rapprochement. Thus, the second part of Professor Pollock's address boils down to a plea for a meeting of the minds between the Russians and the Germans.

The Pan-German Dream

A Russo-German understanding, as advocated by Prof. Pollock, would be a major prerequisite for the establishment of Germany's paramountcy over Europe. He estimates that "German power could conservatively be calculated to increase steadily over the next 25 years." Under these circumstances it will be necessary to encourage and develop Germany's talents and influence in "legitimate areas and activities." Ergo, "Central and Eastern Europe is a natural area in which German abilities may be utilized. . . ." Toward realizing this grandiose objective Prof. Pollock proposes that the Germans be given "the idea of a Central and Eastern European Treaty Organization similar to NATO. . . ." The construction of such a block of nations would "then provide a proper outlet for German energy and ability."

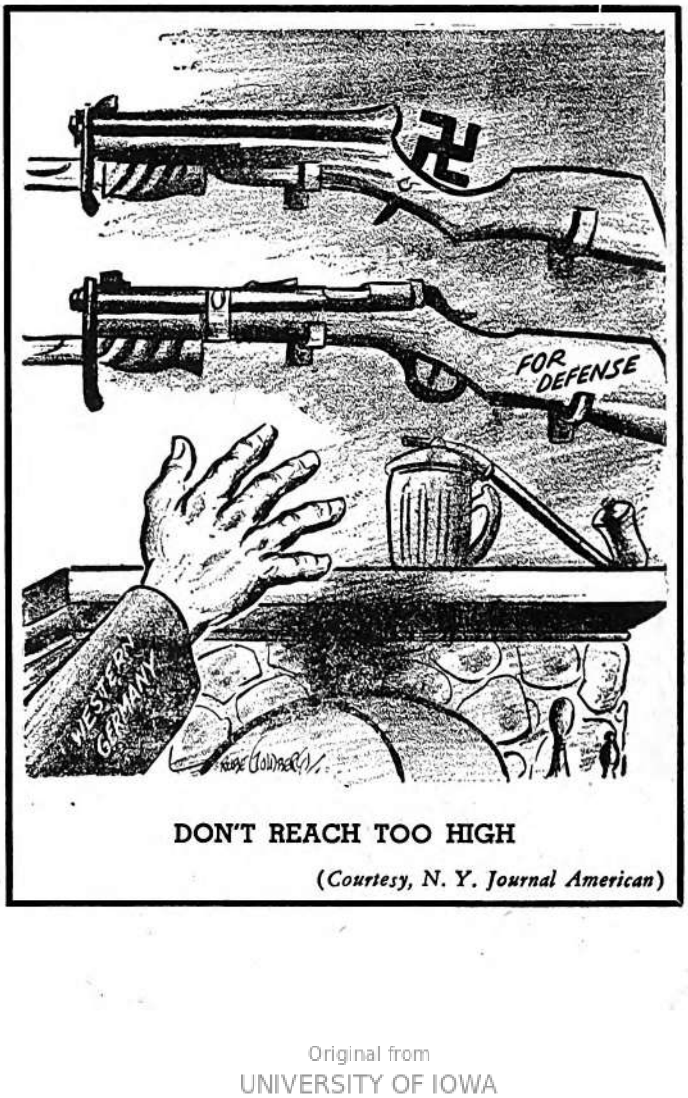
Professor Pollock does not advocate anything which is startling original. It is a matter of record that this program has been at the heart of the Pan-German idea of a Greater Reich. As early as 1810 Adam H. Müller in his "Ueber König Friedrich II" declared, *"the great federation of European peoples which will come some day as sure as we live, will also bear German hues, for everything great, fundamental, and eternal in all European institutions is certainly German."* Müller's theme "engaged nearly every German writer and thinker of prominence throughout the 19th century—Friedrich List, Wagner, Nietzche, Treitschke, Ranke." One of the most articulate proponents of a Pan-German Europe in recent times was Friedrich Naumann who, incidentally, is considered to be the intimate collaborator and teacher of the President of the Bonn Republic Theodor Heuss. In his book "Middle Europe," published in 1916, Naumann called for the organization of a European power bloc dominated by Germany. This bloc, as envisaged by Naumann, would comprise the old Austria-Hungary, Turkey, the Balkans, and would stretch from the Baltic deep into Asia Minor. "The population," wrote Naumann, "of the German Empire and of Austria-Hungary together amounts to about 116 million. Then there is the German colonial population of perhaps 14 million. If we count in with these 25 million of Asiatic Turks and about 20 million of other Europeans, with perhaps 25 million of other non-Europeans, the population of the Middle-European economic world group would be roughly reckoned at about 200 million."

In this world group Naumann wanted to have included

". . . under the London Treaty, the Germans will become the arbiters of Europe's destiny. Once the Federal Republic is a sovereign State, it can veto any negotiations with the Russians and with the Americans, continue to organize the cadres for armed insurrection in the Eastern Zone. Alternatively, it can use its sovereign powers to come to an agreement with the Russians; and, in that case any agreements reached with the West are no longer binding.

"We are well aware that even to express such doubts about the London Conference will be regarded in certain quarters as akin to treason. The Western alliance, we are being told, has been saved by British statesmanship, and we should all be ready to pay the very high price required in order to achieve that end. We would not grudge any price if the result were the creation of conditions for peaceful co-existence in Europe. Indeed, if similar guarantees had been offered to France at any time before 1950, we should have welcomed the initiative. What is ironical is that they are now being offered not in order to counteract the German menace but as a means of persuading France to connive at its revival."

(The New Statesman and Nation, Great Britain, 10-9-54)



DON'T REACH TOO HIGH

(Courtesy, N. Y. Journal American)

some countries of Western Europe. He stated: "We shall not say very much of the Northern (Scandinavian) powers, the Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks, and also of Holland and Switzerland, for it would be a mistake to include these smaller states in our scheme from the outset as fixed quantities, whilst actually they still have a breathing space before making a decision."

The "breathing space" was the First World War, whose outcome at the time Naumann published his scheme was still undecided. Professor Pollock's rhapsodic visions of a German dominated Europe are merely a more up-to-date expression of the age-old Pan-German dream.

After outlining the central idea of his program, Prof. Pollock concluded that if Germany's Europe is properly organized and encouraged "it can become next to the United States a great constructive force for economic well-being and freedom and peace in the world." Of course, Prof. Pollock is not insensitive to the fact that the satellite countries in Eastern Europe might not relish the idea of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. However, he quickly dispels these fears by trying to assure his listeners that the Germans have learned "what bitter mistakes they have made . . ."

Presumably, by "mistakes" the Professor refers to such episodes as the wholesale slaughter of peoples and the ruthless devastation of an entire continent. Prof. Pollock appears to be confident that these "mistakes" will not be committed again and that the peoples of Europe are just about ready to grasp the blood stained hands of their tormentors. In any event, he insists that "only Germany" can "rescue" Central and Eastern Europe from Soviet domination. Ironically, Prof. Pollock claims that the foregoing recommendations will go a long way toward curbing the voracious appetite of German nationalism!

The Professor's Consistancy

Professor Pollock's singular devotion to Deutschtum is not of recent vintage. Even before the end of World War II he expressed views which neatly fit in with his latest plan. Speaking at Carlton College in Minnesota on February 14, 1944, the Professor said, *"Personally, I feel that we should be in no hurry to demobilize the German army. In fact, it would be much wiser to continue to utilize this well-organized force for civilian purposes . . . German armed forces are needed to assist in the rehabilitation of Europe . . ."* He went on to express his conviction that "it would be folly to attempt a reshuffling of European industry solely in the interests of preventing the future possibility of German rearmament," adding that "such a move would be calculated to disrupt the whole European economy, not to mention the untold and unnecessary suffering it would inflict upon millions of Germans."

Elaborating on "Germany's importance" to Europe, he stated that "a very brief consideration of Germany's capacities and resources and the nature of her population and her position in Europe should be sufficient to reject any plan which looks towards the destruction of German industry." The Professor then stated that Germany was a first class industrial country possessing "a productive capacity which will be badly needed in the reconstruction of Europe." All this was said while our GIs were struggling against the Nazi Wehrmacht whose murderous power had been nourished by Germany's "productive capacity."

Domination via Russo-German Deal

And what about Professor Pollock's expert views on the meaning of Hitlerism? In October 1930, Prof. Pollock delivered an address before the American Association of University Women at the University of Michigan. His talk was based on a recent trip to Germany. The Michigan Daily, the University newspaper, reported his speech in its issue of October 13, 1930: *"Pollock concluded by pointing out that Hitler's party embraces a doctrine of sympathy for the proletariat as well as the nationalistic attitude for which it is famous; and that, if it came to power it would, in all probability, not resort to the strong-arm measures feared in some quarters."*

Only ten years ago our country together with its allies were fighting desperately to turn back the Nazi tide which hoped to conquer Europe in its bid for world domination. The Nazi armies marched under the banner of a "United Europe," but they suffered ignominious defeat thanks to the courage and determination of freedom loving peoples. The plan outlined by Prof. Pollock would realize the Pan-German dream of a United Europe as an appendage to the German eagle, blessed and financed by the United States and achieved via a Russo-German understanding.

". . . Germans who command respect here at home, such as former Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, are beginning to criticize the Adenauer government for its close link with the United States. They imply that the Federal Republic is today in a position to strike a bargain between East and West. After all, they say, America needs us and tells us so every day of the year. Why should Germany not begin to take an independent position determined by its own strength, its own needs and desires?

"Even American High Commissioner James B. Conant, who has so earnestly adhered to the policy of everything for cooperation with Germany, is said to have been afflicted of late by doubts. One hears in Bonn of a dispatch he sent to the State Department two months ago which he began by saying, 'I may seem to have changed my mind, but . . .' He is reported to have expressed reservations about the reliability of Germany as a Western ally once the process of rearmament with military equipment supplied by America is completed. Conant, it is hardly necessary to add, admits to no such doubts. . . ."

(Marquis Childs, Washington Post and Times Herald, 7-6-54)

* * *

". . . Most Americans don't know whether arming West Germany is wise. We are putting guns into the hands of a nation with a bent toward militarism—a country that caused two world wars, a country that today crackles with industrial vitality and that may again be tempted by rabid nationalism. . . ."

(The New Republic, 11-1-54)

Items of Interest

DEUTSCHLAND UEBER AFRICA

"An article published in L'Information says an organization known as the 'Fund in Support of German Interests in Africa' has been set up with five immediate aims:

"1. Financing operations of German corporations and individuals in the African trade.

"2. The organization of trips by the funds representatives to Africa and the recruitment of local representatives in Africa itself.

"3. The re-establishment of the 'Reichs-Kolonialschule' and other institutions which formerly interested themselves in Germany's colonial claims.

"4. Financial support of the 'German Overseas Service' (Deutscher Ueberseedienst) which was created by the federal German government in 1952.

"5. The financing of a pro-German propaganda program in Africa."

(Wm. H. Stoneman, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 8-17-54)

★

INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE!

"An attack on French Premier Pierre Mendes-France as a Jew was made today by Major H. Krueger, chairman of the neo-Nazi German Reich Party for the state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

"Addressing a meeting at nearby Duisberg on the question of a United States of Europe, Maj. Krueger told his brownshirted audience that 'we do not want to be ruled by the Jew Mendes-France.' The audience consisted of members of the 'Reich Youth' group, whose brown shirts are adorned with belts, straps and scarves like those of the Hitler Youth formations.

"The Bonn Government recently dropped efforts to ban the German Reich Party alleging there was insufficient evidence of the anti-democratic character of the party's members.

(J. T. A., 11-2-54)

★

THE NEW ARRIVALS

"German technicians are arriving here to take up longterm engineering and contracting jobs with the Saudi Arabian Government.

"The Germans now rank in numbers second only to the American oil colony members. The Germans began to come here earlier this year when two West German companies got the biggest Government engineering and contracting concession in the country.

"The German technicians include a number of men who have adopted the Moslem religion and changed their names. Europeans in touch with the group say that some of these technicians are former Nazi officers who were converted to Islam by Haj Amin al Hussein, the former Mufti of Jerusalem, on his visit to Germany during the war."

(Reuters Dispatch, 7-10-54)

★

UBIQUITOUS KRUPP

"The Krupp interests of Essen, former leading German armaments-makers, were learned to be extensively investigating the possibilities of participation in the expanding economy of Canada.

"This is one of the latest developments in the remarkable postwar rehabilitation of the Krupp concern, which is operating on an international scale that has placed it again among the world's leading industrial organizations....

"Despite the Krupp family's extended difficulties with the Western Allies in the first years after World War II, their family wealth is still estimated at upwards of 90 million dollars....

"This summer, a sign of further interest in Canada came with the disclosure that a Krupp geologist was examining the possibility of applying the Krupp-Renn process in the treatment of low-grade iron ore in the Ungava Bay region of the Labrador Peninsula in Northern Quebec.

"The geologist, Dr. Edwin Krzywicki, visited the western side of the bay to examine the huge iron ore claims of the Cyrus Eaton interests....

"Alfred Krupp has been in the news in another connection this week, as a result of his visit a few days ago to Stockholm, where he was a guest of the Swedish industrialist, Axel Wenner-Gren...."

(Gaston Coblentz, The Washington Post, 10-27-54)

★

HERE WE GO AGAIN

"The German Dornier Aircraft Manufacturing Company has side-stepped Allied curbs on aviation activities in Germany by setting up a subsidiary company in Spain and building its first post-war aircraft there....

"The authoritative British aviation annual (Jane's All the World's Aircraft) recalled that after World War I the Dornier company established a branch at Lake Constance in Switzerland to avoid controls then existing over German aviation progress. In World War II Dornier supplied fleets of combat planes for the Luftwaffe...."

(New York Times, 12-9-54)

★

HOW UNAPPRECIATIVE!

"Dr. Werner Naumann, former State Secretary in the Nazi Propaganda Ministry, will claim damages from the West German Supreme Court for the time he was held under arrest on suspicion of plotting a Nazi comeback.

"The court announced yesterday that it would drop charges of subversive activity against Dr. Naumann for lack of evidence...."

(Reuters, 12-4-54)

★

JAPANESE "BOY SCOUTS"

"A growing band of blue-shirted, black-booted young Japanese aim at the resettlement of Japan's millions throughout Asia and the Pacific as the solution to Japan's pressing population problem.

"'But do not think that we are aggressors,' said Takashige Toyota, 27-year-old leader of the 'Martyr Youth Corps.'

"'There are many areas in Asia and even America in need of development.

"'The Japanese people can help the people in these areas to develop them. Our aim is the establishment of a series of co-prosperity spheres.'

"Toyota's corps is one of the biggest and most active of more than 100 right-wing groups which the Japanese press has labeled 'more dangerous than the Communist Party.'

"Outlawed by the occupation authorities, right-wing organizations which flourished in prewar Japan, are coming into the open again. Thousands of young, aggressive nationalists are joining their ranks . . .

"Toyota said that the membership of the corps is 260,000. If these figures are accurate the blueshirts are twice as strong numerically as Japan's army . . ."

(From Reuters, 7-28-54)

* * *

MISSION TO TOKYO

"Heinrich Georg Stahmer, who came here as Adolf Hitler's secret envoy in 1940 to conclude the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis pact, has returned to seek a Japanese market for Swiss-made guided Missiles and shooting apparatus."

Stahmer became Nazi Germany's Ambassador to Japan in 1943. Taken into Allied custody after the Japanese surrender in 1945, he was held at Sugamo prison from Jan. 1, 1946, to Feb. 21, 1947, when he was released and placed under house arrest at Atami. Later he was repatriated.

(AP Dispatch, 7-16-54)

* * *

DEFEATING THE REDS—GERMAN STYLE

"The Red China trade issue, which has caused bitter American criticism of Great Britain, may also become a source of friction between the United States and West Germany . . .

"Until now, the fact that West Germany surpassed Britain last year in direct exports to Communist China (although not in shipments through Hong Kong) appears to have escaped general attention in the United States . . .

"German industrialists and business men, almost without exception, in the knowledge of this reporter, are caustic in their criticism of American-imposed obstacles to the China trade . . .

"The business lobby in West Germany has perfected its argument to the extent of claiming that the Germans want to help the world-wide fight against Communism by building up Peking's industry. The United States, it is said, is just hampering this laudable objective . . ."

(Gaston Coblentz, New York Herald Tribune, 7-18-54)

* * *

RETURNING TO OLD STAMPING GROUNDS

"West Germany today is turning Indonesia into its principal base of operations in Asia. From here, the Germans seem eager to mount the recapture of their prewar political and trade position in the Far East.

"Doctors in the interior of Borneo are almost invariably German, employed by the Indonesian Government. In the Celebes and Sumatra, German geologists and engineers have investigated the exploitation of manganese ores and coal deposits. In central Java, an Indo-German group has financed the opening of a German radio assembly plant. In the waters around Indonesia, German ships operate on charter for embryo Indonesian national shipping companies. . . .

"In the period before World War I, when Germany was among the colonial powers, the Germans held the eastern half of New Guinea, an area today under Australian trusteeship. Consequently they are not unfamiliar with the region."

(Arnold C. Brackman, Christian Science Monitor, 8-3-54)

* * *

"COMMUNIST CAPITALISTS"

"Germany's top labor leader hinted today that the Soviet Union might be buying into the coal and steel industries of the Ruhr. . . .

"'We are told the buyers are Swedish,' Herr Freitag said, 'but it is to be feared that quite different powers lurk behind them. Let us hope that they are really Swedes and not circles connected with the Soviet Union.' . . .

". . . no one hitherto has suggested that the Soviet Union might be using the conventional weapons of the finance capitalism it despises to acquire influence in the heartland of German heavy industry. . . .

(New York Times, 10-6-54)

* * *

GERMAN INGENUITY

"America's war time Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, who participated in the decision to drop the A-bomb on Hiroshima, warned in 1947 that 'with its (the A-bomb's) aid even a very powerful and unsuspecting nation might be conquered within a very few days by a much smaller one.' . . .

"And while no one expects either Israel or Sweden even armed with a 'super-super' to tackle the great power Goliath, there is less security about a country like Germany.

"'If an ersatz H-bomb costing an insignificant sum is ever built, the Germans will do it," one UN observer declared fatalistically. . . ."

(Joseph Lash, N. Y. Post, 11-26-54)

* * *

ON ACCOUNT

"The Russians seem to mean business with their campaign for more trade with West Germany. Moscow has just opened an account (in sterling) with Dusseldorf's Rhein-Ruhr Bank."

(Business Week, 9-25-54)

* * *

PERON'S PALS

"Otto Skorzeny, who was one of Adolf Hitler's most spectacular commando officers, took part in recent talks at Buenos Aires between Argentine President Juan D. Peron and representatives of the Krupp interests of Essen . . .

"The ubiquitous Mr. Skorzeny's home for the last six years has been in Spain . . .

"The principal Krupp representative at the talks was Eckhard von Maltzahn, an envoy of the Essen office. The conversations are said to have covered a considerable range of possible business which Krupp might undertake in Argentina."

(Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-19-54)

* * *

"SPAIN WAS RIGHT"

" 'España tenía razón'—Spain was right—is a slogan much in vogue at the moment. By 'Spain' is meant Franco, for, according to another much-stressed catchphrase, 'Spain is Franco and Franco is Spain.' And what people mean when they say that Spain was right is that Franco was right in overthrowing the Republic in 1936-39 and right in sending the Spanish Blue Division to the Russian front in 1941 to help the Germans. Conversely, the Allies were wrong, after defeating Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, to penalize Franco Spain by imposing an economic and political boycott on the country. . . .

"As if to prove the point, the Spanish Government on October 25 presented the Grand Cross of Aeronautical Merit to Professor Willy Messerschmitt, one of Hitler's top designers of combat planes and today a resident of Spain. The ceremony, fully reported in the Spanish press, was the occasion for sentimental references to Spanish-German collaboration during the Civil War and World War II. 'Your compatriots shed their blood in the Spain of Franco, and the [Blue Division] volunteers of the great general Muñoz Grandes shed theirs alongside the Germans,' Air Minister General Gonzales Gallarza told Messerschmitt as he made the presentation. It was the Messerschmitt fighters, he added, that bore the brunt of the air struggle 'during the difficult times experienced by the German people.' "

(Richard Mowrer in The New Leader, 11-22-54.)

THE $64 QUESTION

"Herr Theodor Blank, Dr. Adenauer's 'Defence Minister,' this week posted the first of 140,000 application forms to Germans who have already volunteered for the new German army.

"He and his advisers have put down 36 questions which would-be recruits have to answer. This is three less than the number which millions of Germans had to answer when the Allies took over after the collapse of Hitler.

"But Herr Blank leaves out the big query that loomed on the form of those days. It was: 'Were you a Nazi Party member?' . . ."

(The Daily Star, 5-12-54)

* * *

FRANCO'S FAST ONES

"Though a year has gone by since the U.S.-Spanish deal for military bases was signed, Dictator Franco still lags on his end of the arrangements. In international relations, however, he has been trying some fast plays, at times with assists from that shadowy figure of world intrigue, former Nazi Otto Skorzeny.

"It became known in July that Franco, while anticipating military weapons and equipment from the U. S., was selling mortars, shells and machine guns to Egypt, to the tune of $3,500,000. In Madrid, Skorzeny carries on unmolested, stirring up trouble for the European democracies whenever he can. Now it comes to light that it was he, acting through a dummy outfit in Switzerland, who arranged the deal to supply Egyptians with weapons described as 'ideal for hit-and-run attacks." Skorzeny's chief fame dates from his daring exploit of September 12, 1943, when his airborne commandos snatched the captive Mussolini from Allied custody. . . ."

(Worldover Press, 11-1-54)

* * *

EYEING EGYPT

"The announcement of the eventual withdrawal of British troops from Egypt has again revived sentiments for closer German-Arab relations. As the Empire sun sets, perhaps the German economic sun may rise. . . .

"No responsible German, however, believes that economic measures alone are sufficient. Germany's road to the Middle East is to be paved by political issues. This means closer German-Arab cooperation in international matters.

"This opinion is also shared by Arab spokesmen. An official of the Arab League who broadcast a few days ago over German radio stations insisted that the businessman is not the best liaison between Germany and the Arabs. He demanded that Germany send more students to the Arab countries to acquaint themselves more intimately with the political issues of the Middle East. He added that the peace of the world rests on German-Arab cooperation. . . ."

(Martin G. Phillips, WPS, 8-6-54)

* * *

REUNION AT HEIDELBERG

"Fifteen thousand veterans of Germany's World War II Afrika Korps held a reunion today. They were told a new German Army must be based on the old military principle: 'bravery till death.'

"The advice came from former Gen. Ludwig Cruewell, who succeeded Marshal Erwin Rommel as commander of the corps in 1943 . . .

" 'It is hoped that German soldiers will eventually be able to write Europe next to Germany on their flags.'

"Taking part in the reunion were Marshal Rommel's widow and former Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, sentenced to death for war crimes but later freed."

(Report to The New York Times, 9-13-54)

* * *

The New German Imperialism

by
T. H. TETENS

Almost two years ago, T. H. Tetens presented in his book "Germany Plots With The Kremlin" startling documentation to support his thesis that U.S. policy in Europe was "leading toward a blind alley" and that the Bonn Republic "was secretly maneuvering for a new Russo-German collaboration."

In the light of recent events Mr. Teten's book has gained even greater significance. We have asked the author to give us his analysis of the present trend in Bonn's foreign policy.

Germany's struggle for the "integration" and final domination of Europe has not been interrupted or in any way diminished since the French National Assembly refused to ratify the treaty of the European Defense Community. This negative action reflected the deep rooted distrust of the French majority towards a supernational device which doubtlessly would have furthered Germany's time-honored aspirations to dominate the European continent.

Dr. Adenauer's Disappointment

The collapse of EDC had a deep psychological and political impact on German public opinion. It dashed the high hopes which Dr. Adenauer had raised with luring statements since he became Chancellor in 1949. He had repeatedly told the Germans that Western integration would mean the overcoming of the defeat of 1945, that his policies would revive the old European "Empire of Charlemagne," and that unification of Europe would result in a strong "Third Power Bloc" independent from East and West. No wonder that the French refusal to ratify EDC was a crushing blow to these dreams. German papers were full of recrimination and innuendoes. There was strong criticism among Dr. Adenauer's own following to the effect that his policies were not flexible enough and that he had put all his chips on Washington's support, and thereby had totally neglected European realities.

To the Chancellor himself, the French action came like a thunderbolt. When his dreams and schemes were shattered, he lost his posture. Unrestrained by the customary rules of conduct among friendly nations, the Chancellor gave free reign to his real feelings. His first angry outburst was, "Mendès-France must go!" (Frankfurter Allgemeine 9-23-54) In an interview to the London Times and in other statements, he accused Mendès-France of having sabotaged the European idea. Adenauer's attack was the cue for smears against the French Premier who was accused of playing Moscow's game. There even appeared reports that Dr. Adenauer had placed his liaison men in French political circles with the assignment to mobilize influential French factions for an organized drive to oust Mendès-France. (Der Spiegel, 9-15-54; 10-15-54.)

The New Approach

The fit of anger was only of short duration. By the middle of September the Bonn policy shapers had decided on a new approach. Indications are that they adopted a plan of action which was hatched by the industrialists within the Adenauer coalition. It is obvious that the managers of Rhine and Ruhr and their geopolitical advisors who had worked quietly for years to advance the scheme for a greater "Lebensraum," were not inclined to admit defeat. While Anthony Eden toured the European capitals in order to find a political "Ersatz" for EDC, intense negotiations were carried on between French and German industrial leaders.

Suddenly, by the middle of September, Secretary Dulles was urgently called to Bonn. After lengthy conferences on September 16 and 17, Adenauer and Dulles agreed on a new strategy. The underlying idea was to make a fresh attempt for European integration with the emphasis on Franco-German economic collaboration. Chancellor Adenauer pointed to this new strategy in the Bundestag as follows: "A United Europe," he said, "is still the aim of our policy. If we cannot reach it directly, we have to take a detour."

The "detour" calls for furthering by all means the plans of the German industrial octopus, the tentacles of which have already reached out all over Europe and into other parts of the world. As was done in the past with the Schuman Plan and Pleven's Defense Plan, it was decided that the new line should not come from Dr. Adenauer or Secretary Dulles. Thus, the gap between France and Germany was bridged by Mendès-France himself who announced a large scale program of economic collaboration with the long range view that common industrial projects in North Africa shall finally lead to European unification.

The African Enterprise

What caused the sudden switch in the attitude of Dr. Adenauer and Dulles who both had first deliberately snubbed the French Premier after the defeat of EDC? From a careful study of the German press the following picture appears: When leading statesmen were not on speaking terms and the diplomatic machine was stalled, the German industrialists carried on high level negotiations with their French counterparts. Dr. Fritz Berg, the influential President of the Association of German Manufacturers, as well as Dr. Pohle, director of the great Mannesmann concern, mobilized their friends in the "Conseil National du Patronat Français" who paved the way for an overall agreement based on a close Franco-German economic collaboration. A gigantic European industrial cartel is in the making, a trend that has been going on for the last few years. These negotiations center around several multi-billion dollar projects; among them is the development of new basic industries in Northern Africa, of hydroelectric power production in Africa as well as in the European Alps, and also a great armament pool.

Europe, Africa and the Arab world constitute a potential market of approximately 700 million people—four times greater than the United States and thrice as large as the Soviet Union. The necessary capital for these great investments are to be raised partly in Europe and partly in the United States.

It was on the basis of these tremendous projects that the German industrialists insisted that Dr. Adenauer should make the necessary political "concessions" to Mendès-France on the Saar issue. Without these "concessions" no French Premier could hope to gain the necessary support from the National Assembly for the far reaching treaties paving the way for German sovereignty and rearmament.

The German scheme for the industrial exploitation of Africa is an old one. At the beginning of the century, the Mannesmann concern almost precipitated a world war when imperial Germany tried to put the French out of Morocco. During the Weimar Republic, German industrialists saw clearly the great possibilities in Africa and played with the idea of a Franco-German combine for the exploitation of the Dark Continent. When Hitler had conquered Europe, the plans for many of these projects were ready for implementation, but the Nazi industrialists had to wait until the Adenauer-Schuman-Monnet crew, supported by Secretary Dulles, had prepared the political stage for a Germanized Europe with Africa as Hinterland. Dr. Adenauer acclaimed the Schuman Plan as the beginning of "a long range economic venture in Africa" (Rheinischer Merkur, 5-20-50). The details of the Adenauer-Dulles scheme on Africa can be found in my book "Germany Plots With The Kremlin." There, on the basis of considerable documentation, I pointed out that "the Germans are today the most vigorous and energetic pushers of the great African exploitation projects."

For many years, Germany's newspapers and magazines have published glowing articles about the great possibilities in Africa. On June 25, 1952, the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" pointed out in a sensational editorial the gigantic projects waiting for Franco-German collaboration in Africa. The paper stated:

"What is shaping up is based on the idea of creating a third great trading area between the 'Lebensraum' of the Soviet Union and the United States. The colonial quarrels among individual states are a thing of the past. Today we must build continental blocs."

The man who is pushing this big project is Dr. Adenauer's African specialist, the former Nazi Dr. Johannes Semmler, a member of the Bundestag and a delegate to the Consultive Assembly of the Council of Europe. Behind Adenauer and Dr. Semmler are the industrial and financial captains of Western Germany, such as Dr. Robert Pferdmenges, Hermann Abs, Dr. Fritz Berg and scores of others. These industrial lords are the architects of the so-called "Strasbourg Plan," of which the New York Times said:

". . . The 'Strasbourg Plan' proposes to create a vast new trading area embracing the British Commonwealth, Western Europe and its overseas territories, and matching either the Soviet bloc or the U.S. in economic power . . .

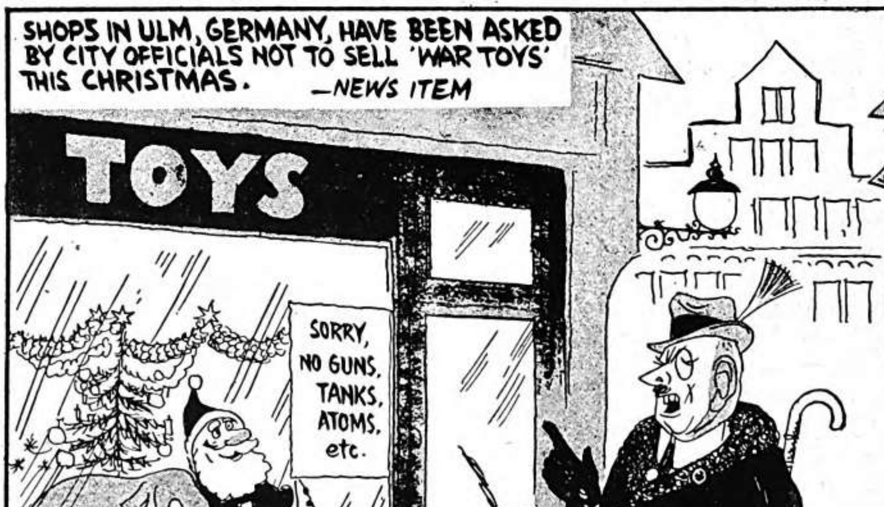
". . . Herr Semmler said the territory of the proposed economic development pool made up more than one-third of the inhabitable parts of the globe, covering a larger area than the Soviet bloc and Communist China together." (Nov. 26, 1952)

This is the 'Lebensraum' that Hitler's armies could not conquer, but which could now be economically "integrated" by Adenauer, Dulles and Monnet, to benefit the tycoons of the Franco-German supranational cartel.

This great African venture is slated to be carried out not through "political unification" but via the detour of "economic integration." This far-reaching project and the German demand for the immediate granting of sovereignty were the main topics of the Dulles-Adenauer talks in Bonn in the middle of September.

Franco-German "Collaboration"

The Frankfurter Allgemeine (10-21-54) called the Mendès-France proposal for Franco-German economic collaboration "a sensation." The next day the same paper stated, *"all this allows only one conclusion: the idea of a unified Europe is shared by Mendès-France."* The Rheinischer Merkur, however, still mistrusts Mendès-France and puts its entire hope on the initiative of Jean Monnet, former chief of the Schuman Plan Authority. In its issue of 11-19-54, this


SHOPS IN ULM, GERMANY, HAVE BEEN ASKED BY CITY OFFICIALS NOT TO SELL 'WAR TOYS' THIS CHRISTMAS. —NEWS ITEM
TOYS
SORRY, NO GUNS, TANKS, ATOMS, etc.
VICKY

'Never mind, son, Daddy'll be getting his toys back any day now!'

Adenauer weekly praised Jean Monnet's program for a United States of Europe and underscored his demand for a "European Parliament," "a common European foreign policy" and "a thorough political and economic integration."

The Rheinischer Merkur, together with the neo-Nazi magazine, "Nation Europa," appear as the most vigorous advocates of this new Europe-Africa scheme. The editorials in both papers seem to be a repetition of those sinister articles which Dr. Goebbels once wrote in his paper, "Das Reich." The same phrases about the "Balkanization of Europe," the "New Order," Germany's "Right to have Europe," and the concept of a "Third Power Bloc" are frequently peddled by both the Rheinischer Merkur and "Nation Europa."

In its issue of September, 1954, "Nation Europa" propagates the idea of a *"European Union . . . which must become so strong that it can independently exist between the giants—the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union."* The same article recommends European partnership in Africa but demands specifically *"the exclusion of America."*

In the August issue of 1954, "Nation Europa" declares:

"Based on . . . (the wealth of) Africa and backed by the multiple Franco-German strength, we could doubtlessly force the U.S.S.R. to withdraw their troops from all non-Russian territory. Such a Europe would at the same time be able to convince the Americans that it might be wise for them to scurry on to their ships and get out."

Of course, the Americans are expected first to finance this attractive African project to the tune of many billions of dollars, just as they did during the Twenties, when they were fleeced by the same industrialists and the Stresemann "democratic" German Republic.

The new plan of Franco-German economic cooperation, officially proposed by Mendès-France, and loudly hailed by Adenauer and Dulles, is not a new beginning in Europe, but an old scheme skillfully revived by the Nazi industrialists and their collaborating pals from the Vichy days in France.

* * *

How will the new experiment in Franco-German collaboration work out? Will the "Ersatz" give more substantial protection to the West than the doubtful EDC? Does Washington now feel more assured that German divisions will be forthcoming? To answer that question, we must know what is in the back of the mind of Adenauer and his old Ribbentrop diplomatic brain-trust.

The Chancellor's Mission

On July 23, 1954, Dr. Adenauer's paper, the Rheinischer Merkur stated editorially that *"EDC is only a means to serve the great end of unification."* In another editorial (Feb. 19, 1954) it was stressed, that through EDC the Bonn Republic will become *"an international factor which will be attractive for the West, but will become far more interesting for the East."* For those who remember the wealth of documentary evidence presented in my book, "Germany Plots with the Kremlin," it will be easy to grasp the real meaning of the above weasel-worded editorial.

One thing has to be made clear from the beginning. Despite the flowery speeches he has made, Chancellor Adenauer has never regarded it as his task to become the defender of the West, but to overcome Germany's defeat. In this he has truly worked miracles. He has lulled Americans into complacency on German nationalism and he has milked billions from the U.S. taxpayers. Today Germany is the most powerful nation on the European continent because Dr. Adenauer has changed the defeat into victory.

Soon after Roosevelt's death, American policy shapers, anticipating strained relations between the war-time Allies, embarked on a new course, first to fill the power vacuum in Europe and Asia, and later endeavoring to build situations of strength in order to "contain" and "roll back" the engulfing wave of Communism.

Very early Washington planners envisioned a resurrected Germany as the "arsenal of the West" and Hitler's idle Panzer and SS divisions as "the bulwark against Bolshevism." In the case of Japan, a similar diplomatic formula was applied. However, we are failing in both objectives. During the almost ten years since the collapse of the Axis, State Department and Pentagon officials have constantly lived, and live still today, in a fool's paradise.

German leaders and industrialists have expressed their reluctance to the present booming export industries toward a new armament economy. This is the reason why they have suggested setting up a new armament industry located in North Africa, and financed with billions of dollars by the U.S.A. Thus, there will be no arsenal for the West in Germany proper.

"Rearmament"

As far as German divisions are concerned, we have to face the same resistance and doubtful performance.

American correspondents stated that political conditions in Western Germany have changed considerably in recent months. It has been reported that the German masses show a great apathy toward the new Paris Treaty. German youth is openly and militantly opposed to service in a new Wehrmacht. Dispatches from Germany reported that the future Minister of Defense, Herr Blank, was shouted down in mass meetings and was even personally attacked. Other reports in the German press tell us of the great manpower shortage in Germany which will make it difficult to conscript hundreds of thousands of young men. German youth appear to be satisfied with their civilian jobs. According to the German press, they are deeply suspicious of the ultimate objectives of a rearmed Germany. (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 11-10-54)

The "Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung," often used as the mouthpiece of the Blank Office, stated in a front page editorial (11-15-54) that it will probably take several years until German divisions can be set up and organized. The question is, where will the 200,000 men, officers, non-coms and administrators come from for the creation of the first cadres?

War criminal Kesselring and other Hitler generals have declared that the former SS blackboots are "indispensable" in the new Wehrmacht. Thus, the Blank Office has to accept members of the former Waffen SS, the Nazi killers, the efficient professionals of Hitler's Panzerwaffe of which the Pentagon planners had dreamed as early as 1947 and Sir Winston Churchill even in 1945.

The uneasy feeling regarding German rearmament was recently aired by the conservative London Economist (Oct. 26, 1954) with the reminder that the officers of the new German Army will be recruited from the ex-colonels of the Wehrmacht, by men who once served "a criminal lunatic." As a point of consolation, the Economist has this to say:

"The most reassuring thing about the future German army is that it is not wanted by the public. It is being pressed upon the Germans as a whole by the Atlantic powers, by Dr. Adenauer, and by the professional soldiers—in each case with a different motive."

We must put the emphasis on "different motive." It has been reported from Germany that the more cautious elements among the German officers have gone into civilian life and are not inclined to go back into uniform, for the time being.

However, the rabble-rousing SS officers are eager to start all over again. But is there anyone of sound mind to believe that these butchers and criminals are willing to die for the defense of the West? These unreconstructed plotters have a burning hatred for France, Britain and the United States. The Americans have even the "honor" of being portrayed in the most contemptuous manner by the German nationalistic press.

No wonder that the highly respected "Frankfurter Hefte" (October 1954) sounded the following alarm:

"German re-militarization amounts to a catastrophe . . . An armed Germany will increase the risk of war and provocation considerably . . . Western Germany rearmed will bring a revival of the evil militaristic tradition and will lead to full (Nazi) restoration."

For Moscow's propaganda the German remilitarization is a gift from heaven. Moscow is able to rally the East European satellite peoples firmly behind its leadership because the Nazi horror is still fresh in their minds. The French people is in deep fear that the German remilitarization will lead to another catastrophe, as it did in 1939. The New York Times correspondent Harold Callender reported from Paris (10-31-54):

"The French hold it to be an axiom that the Germans are dynamically unstable, always prone to break out of bounds and upset something, as for example the peace of the world.

"This is why the French want British and American troops on German soil forever if possible. This is why the French are not in any hurry to see Germany unified in spite of official Western professions in favor of it. . . ."

The "Eastern Angle"

Contrary to the French, the Germans are eager to get the American troops out of Europe as soon as they are able to make a bargain with the East. The documentary record shows that Dr. Adenauer "follows a tremendously bold plan: first armament, followed later on by talks with the Russians, in order to persuade them to remove their armies behind the Bug River." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, April 3, 1952.)

Let us remember that Germany's leading geo-politician and foreign political adviser of the Adenauer CDU, Dr. Klaus Mehnert, stated bluntly as early as 1951:

"It would be necessary that we first create a united, healthy and strong Western Europe in whose name the following offer to the Kremlin could then be made: Continental Europe would break away from the Atlantic Pact if the Soviets agree to withdraw their forces behind the Pripet-Marshes and release not only the Eastern zone of Germany, but the whole of Eastern Europe into the European Union." (Christ und Welt, 12-27-51)

The Germans want no part in the risky Dulles' policy of "liberation." Their immediate aim is to regain full sovereignty in order to be free for unhampered negotiations with Moscow. Leading German papers, such as the "Frankfurter Allgemeine," the "Deutsche Zeitung," "Deutsche Kommentare," as well as the influential monthlies, "Aussenpolitik," and "Geopolitik" have suggested in recent months that Adenauer must keep "the wires to Moscow open" and be prepared for a vigorous pro-Eastern orientation. On September 29, 1954, the "Deutsche Zeitung" reminded Dr. Adenauer to conduct his Western policies always "with an eye towards the East." The "Frankfurter Allgemeine (Sept. 21, 1954) suggested the mobilization of American support for an effective German "Ostpolitik" and stated:

"Reunification must remain the primary objective of German Ostpolitik. . . . Germany must no longer be prevented from what all other nations constantly do, namely, negotiate with the countries of the Eastern bloc."

The "Fortschritt," mouthpiece for the Ruhr industrial interests, asks in a front-page editorial (Oct. 14, 1954) for a "keen German alternative in the great game of world politics." America, says the paper, is losing its influence rapidly in the world, England and France are flirting with the Soviets, and Germany is in danger of becoming the loser. Thus, the "choice of the alternative should not be too difficult."

A leading pro-Adenauer diplomat, Hans Georg von Studnitz recommends in the "Aussenpolitik" (Aug. 1954) a German foreign policy which seeks to gain the utmost from *"all combinations"* in a "constantly changing world situation." Taking advantage of U.S. foreign policy in Germany was the right thing in the past, but to achieve reunification, Herr von Studnitz suggests "going together with the Soviet Union against the United States."

In the "Geopolitik" (Oct. 1954) Werner von Hentig, until recently an active diplomat in the Bonn Foreign Office, asked "full political independence from West and East and the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Europe." Germany will even take "the risk of staying unarmed" and will wait for future developments to find solutions for the territorial questions of the Saar and the Oder-Neisse-Line.

"Nation Europa" (August 1954) gives the following advice:

"Germany must not sacrifice her biological substance in a 'holy war' against Moscow. Is there a salvation against this danger? Only if Germany frees herself from ties with the West, and adjusts herself in a new Rapallo policy. Our limited freedom of action, available under the occupation regime, must be exploited to the utmost in order to serve the interests of a national 'sacro-egoismo.' This without consideration of historic sentiments or ideological complexities."

During the last year, four former Chancellors of the Reich—Dr. Wirth, Dr. Bruening, Franz von Papen and Dr. Luther—have come out in favor of a more active pro-Eastern orientation. For several years the Bonn Government has kept secret contacts with top Russian diplomats. A few months ago it was reported in German papers and in the "Christian Science Monitor," (4-17-54) that Bonn representatives had secret meetings with high Russian officials in 1950 in Moscow and another one in August, 1952, in Copenhagen. From German press reports it is known that Dr. Adenauer, in the beginning of 1954, encouraged the rightist Bundestag member, Dr. Pfeiderer, to travel to Moscow and Peiping in order to negotiate secretly on mutual Russo-German problems. (Frankfurter Allgemeine, May 14, 15, 17, 1954)

The real issue for the Soviet Union is

(*Continued on page* 49)

How the Germans Are Miswriting Their History

by

TERENCE PRITTIE

Sir Lewis Namier picked on one of the most significant features of German thinking when he pointed out, in his book *The Nazi Era,* that Germans themselves persistently miswrite German history; and what is being served up to the German public today as genuine history are absurdly unreliable memoirs and biographies. Such, for example, have been the books of Von Papen, Schacht, Fritzsche, Weizsäcker, von Dirksen. All these books have been apologia for the authors, for Germany, in places even for the nazi regime.

The German people is in a receptive mood for apologia of this kind, and these muddled memoirs may well take the place of real historical studies in their minds. Sir Lewis Namier gives numerous illustrations of their unreliability, and takes perhaps the classic example from the momoirs of Erich Kordt, a member of the pre-war German Foreign Service. Kordt printed the text of an imaginary letter sent by Mussolini to Hitler on August 25, 1939. He left this letter out of the second edition of his book presumably because he had discovered that it had never been written. But Hitler's former interpreter, Paul Schmidt, borrowed the letter from Kordt's first edition, and used it in his memoirs. So did other so-called German historians. "In short," Sir Lewis writes, "it has become a fixture in German historical literature."

The Germans, Sir Lewis thought, invent, dream, and remember collectively. This may be the reason for their approach to history, which is to sort out convenient facts in order to prove a favorable historical theory. One need only ask intelligent Germans today about the last forty years of their country's history in order to discover the effects of this method. They will tell you, as they told me, that the first world war was caused by the *Entente Cordiale;* that Versailles was a deliberate act of political vandalism; that the Western Powers later sabotaged Stresemann and the Weimar Republic; that the British twice thwarted the German resistance by capitulating to Hitler, at Munich, and by formulating the doctrine of unconditional surrender; finally, that the British and Americans are responsible for the present ills of the world because they invited the Russians into Europe.

These are some of the fables which are almost universally believed . . . But all that the counter-arguments, about the German invasions of neutral countries and what happened there, will produce is the reaction of the German journalist who said to me with a bright smile: "Well, let's admit that we've all made much the same mistakes; if we admit that, then we can get on perfectly well together" . . . It may be that these strangely mixed feelings drive Germans to the recurrent rewriting of history in order to satisfy their consciences.

Here, for instance, are a few examples of how this rewriting is done in the columns of the daily press. In May of this year, the Refugee Press Service decided to explain away the eighteenth-century partitions of Poland. Prussia and Austria only took part, the writer maintains, because otherwise Russia would have taken more, or even the whole, of Poland. Poland, moreover, had shown herself incapable of resisting continuous Russian interference. This was the secondary reason for Prussian annexation of Polish territory; and the writer points out with vapid inconsequence that the difference between Poland then and Germany today is that the latter is a vital factor in the balance of world politics. Versailles, another Refugee Press Service contributor writes, created the Polish Corridor. The Polish Corridor was the cause of the second world war. *Ergo,* the Poles were responsible for its outbreak. It would be a waste of time to quote to such people the words written in 1922 by General Von Seeckt, creator of the post-1919 Wehrmacht. "Poland's existence," he wrote in an official memorandum, "is intolerable, and incompatible with the needs of Germany. She must disappear." Von Seeckt would hardly have held different views had he lived in 1772.

"Not as Bad as All That"

Not long ago, one of the joint editors of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* Erich Dombrowski, produced a leading article entitled: "It was not as bad as all that." This paper is well produced and generally reliable. These were some of its editor's views. Louis Napoleon was primarily responsible for the war of 1870 because he "launched a ruthless counter-offensive to the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish throne." The French were largely responsible for the first world war. Countries should therefore stop worrying about their own histories, which are bound to be prejudiced. "For what is history," Dombrowski asks rhetorically, "save a sequence of stories, a ripple on the tides of eternity?" This is not an unfair description of the German approach to their own history.

"Who ever assaulted France?" was the heading chosen by the *Cellische Zeitung,* which went on to quote Dr. Adenauer as saying that French policy in the Saar was dictated by the "idea" that France was attacked by Germany in 1940, and occupied for four years. The *Cellische Zeitung's* "explanation" was that the German Government did not expect the allies to enter the war after the invasion of Poland. The Polish campaign, anyway, lasted only eighteen days, and for the rest of that winter Germany "tried every possible means of preventing an extension of the war." "The French campaign," this paper goes on, began a full nine months later, and because "France declared war on us in the first place." The *Cellische Zeitung* makes no mention of invasions of neutral Scandinavia and the Low Countries, and concludes: "Any talk of an assault on France is unjustified."

Part of the job of these re-writers in the popular press is to destroy the idea that Prussia was ever militaristic. "We should all keep on Prussia's side," wrote Egmont Roth in the weekly *Deutsche Zukunft*. And went on: "In referring to Europe, the British invariably refer to the Continent, with their feeling of aloofness from the center of gravity of the old world. This aloofness is the germ of the British policy of the balance of power after the Treaty of Utrecht" . . . Britain is Roth's chief villain in European history, and his theory is supported by the Refugee Press Service, which points out that England waged ten wars between 1815 and 1914; Russia seven; France five. Prussia waged only three; and these lasted under a year in all.

The same writer goes on to demolish that "gross lie," as he calls it, that the Prussian and German General Staff was the source of Europe's woes. Clausewitz, he pointed out, laid down that military strategy should be subject to political requirements; and the allies flagrantly broke this principle, and "are therefore responsible for the present situation in Europe." The writer does not mention Clausewitz' brilliant pupil, Schlieffen, who evolved the plan of the right hook round the unprotected French left flank. This hook had to be delivered through neutral Belgium, and its delivery brought England into the first world war. Schlieffen's plan, in fact, made German politics exactly dependent on military strategy.

The German press often shows a curious disregard for contemporary history. Richard Tuengel, writing in *Die Zeit*, condemns the Western Powers for refusing to employ ex-nazis of talent; for appointing ex-communists to de-nazification boards; and introducing strange Anglo-Saxon forms of democracy. The *Deutsche Zukunft* maintained that British junior officers manhandled Admiral Doenitz and his staff, and "shot hundreds of thousands of Germans into famine camps which contained as little humanity as the concentration camps." Suddenly, in an article about eastern Germany, the *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten* breaks into a tirade. "Have we not," it writes, "the example of the years 1945-48, when the victor nations weakened us by hunger in order to re-educate us."

When the British authorities in Hanover gave permission for the re-burying of the bodies of German war criminals, executed at Hameln, in consecrated ground, the entire press in Lower Saxony launched an anti-British campaign. Writing of the ninety-one corpses, including those of Josef Kramer of Belsen, the *Hanoversche Allgemeine* stated: "Under the conditions then prevailing, this leaves open the question whether guilty and innocent were not struck down indiscriminately. Out of this gruesome execution, it was not possible to give the executed person even a worthy resting place." . . . In reality, the British gave full particulars whenever enquiries were made; and furnished a full list of the executed, all of whom had been given fair trial for their shocking crimes. The worst of the business is that millions of Germans were deliberately misled and may believe this tale ever afterwards.

It is natural that war crimes are a sore subject for the Germans; but it would be encouraging if at least a reasonable proportion of the German people realized

EDITORIAL versus REPORT FROM BONN

". . . Parliamentary (German) leaders no longer need look to the generals to protect the State from a series of private armies, for since the Second World War no organizations like the Stahlhelm, the S.A. and S.S., the Reichsbanner, the Rotkämpfer have arisen. Nor have the German General Staff and the officer corps retained their continuity; nor do dreams of a glorious greater Reich appeal to Germans today quite as they did twenty years ago. . . ."

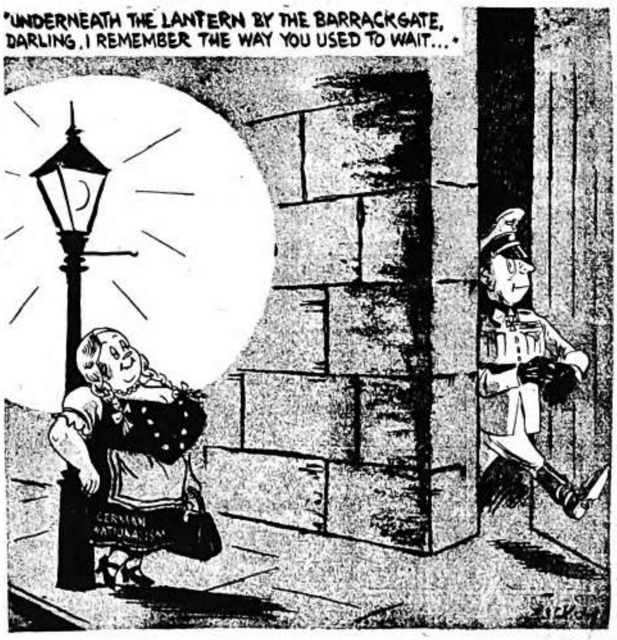
". . . Their (German labor) leaders have been appalled by the activities of ex-Marshal Kesselring, with his bodyguard of uniformed members of the Stahlhelm, and by the return to the German community of men like ex-SS. General 'Panzer' Meyer, a war criminal, and of ex-S.S. General Remer. They have been disturbed by the growing clamour of ex-soldiers' associations and by the certainty that their members will play a leading part in rearment. . . ."

(Manchester Guardian Weekly, 10-14-54)

* * *

"When the former commander of the SS division "Hitlerjugend," SS major-general Kurt Meyer who had been sentenced as war criminal was released from the prison in Werl, thousands gave him a reception. Even the church choir and the fire brigade were present. A big firm in Hagen announced they had a job for him. . . ."

(Bulletin on German Questions, London, 10-1-54)


"UNDERNEATH THE LANTERN BY THE BARRACKGATE, DARLING, I REMEMBER THE WAY YOU USED TO WAIT..."
GERMAN NATIONALISM

RETURN OF "LILLI MARLENE"

what their country had been responsible for during the nazi era. It is lamentably true that few Germans are interested in the subject. The Mayor of Bergen-Belsen can assert that he knew nothing about the camp one mile and a half from his front door. A daily newspaper can write: "But the first gas chamber seen in Germany was brought to Dachau by the conquering Americans in order to fix blame on the Germans."

Persistence of Anti-Semitism

Anti-semitism is a terrible thing to think about after what has happened in Germany. Yet it does still exist there, and takes all sorts of bizarre forms. On April 8 this year, the chairman of the Jewish community in Mainz was asked by the local Ministry of the Interior to inspect Jewish cemeteries in the neighborhood. In nine of them he found over sixty desecrated graves at a time when the Federal Government was outlawing genocide. Local authorities round Mainz were explaining they were not responsible for repairing graves which had been damaged by "larking schoolchildren." Gravestones which would have taken two grown men to shift had been systematically hammered to bits or thrown down thirty yards off. But not a single person has so far been successfully prosecuted for desecrating Jewish graves in Germany.

A few weeks ago poems were being circulated in the Ruhr by a schoolmaster called Strunk. One poem referred to the pre-war Jewish community in Germany as "the 500,000 hyenas who tried to ruin our Germany." They emptied all our shops, and so we kicked them out, the poem goes on: "300,000 went to their Fourth Reich in America and sold up New York in no time. That left 200,000. Half of them cleared out, and we haven't killed off the rest yet. But we're glad to say that Adolf liquidated a cool 6,000,000." The schoolmaster's ode ends: "I want to spit when I see the Jewish memorials go up." Strunk was fined the equivalent of £25, and will now no doubt be pardoned under the terms of the general amnesty.

Racial lunacy still lurks only just round the corner, "Jew, go back to Israel," a voice yelled at a recent Free Democratic Party meeting. "Our members of Parliament know how to waste cash," wrote one local newspaper, "as, for instance, the 3,500,000,000 mark present to Israel." Leading Free Democrats opposed that same reparations agreement because it might adversely affect German-Egyptian trade. In Nuremberg, ex-nazis formed an "Association for Racial Questions," and began to collect money for their anti-semitic campaign.

B'nai B'rith, the society which recently sent its team to Germany, writes: "The assurances which we have received in some quarters that anti-semitism no longer exists in Germany are not borne out by the evident facts. Most Germans, it is true, are embarrassed by discussion of nazi persecutions. They seek to avoid it and block it out of their minds. . . . Opinion-testing since the war has at no time revealed a real lessening of anti-semitism in the group that lived through the nazi period."

It is not surprising that Lord Russell of Liverpool's book, *The Scourge of the Swastika,* has stirred up especial resentment among Germans who just want to forget. The editor of one Düsseldorf newspaper declaimed against the book, which, typically, he has not even read, on the grounds that "at least 100 books about the concentration camps have already been written." Have they? In reality, just one major work, Eugen Kogon's *The S.S. State,* has been published in the German language about concentration camps.

The classic historical study of them, Reitlinger's *Final Solution,* is unlikely ever to be translated in German. Only one German newspaper had anything to say about the English edition of the book. The *Deutsche Rundschau* thought it should not be discussed in Germany because it might disturb the peace of mind of the German citizen. The *Deutsche Rundschau* was right: most Germans prefer to remain blissfully ignorant.

The absence of honest study of the recent past leaves a vacuum, and the German, tidy by instinct and preference, does not like vacuums. All too many foolish and dangerous myths are being evolved to plug the gaps in his convenient memory. There is the myth of the allied bombing of Dresden balancing out with all the evils perpetrated by the nazis, and this simple silly equation is often set boldly down in print.

There is the myth of the Western Powers inviting the Russians into Europe. Does any German remember the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which gave Russia the Baltic States, half of Poland, the Bukowina, and Bessarabia; in fact, all the vital approaches into Europe? There is the story of the second "stab-in-the-back" by the men of the German resistance who undermined the German war effort in the same way as the sailors in Kiel harbor thirty-five years ago.

There is the special myth of the first "European army," in the shape of the *Waffen S.S.* This is what one soldiers' newspaper, the *Heimkehrer* has to say on the subject. "Thousands of Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, and Frenchmen entered the war as Europeans to battle alongside the *Wehrmacht* against bolshevism. They did this as volunteers: they were not even National Socialists. Their crime was to ally themselves with an occupying power against Europe's common danger." "What right," the *Heimkehrer* continues, "have our conquerors to treat as criminals tens of thousands of the first Europeans to jettison their national resentments?" As it happened, I was able, early in 1941, to watch one group of Belgian officers being systematically schooled for enrollment in the *Waffen S.S.* The bribe offered them was to return home from their prisoner-of-war camp, and Russia had not even come into the war at that time. Those Belgian officers were ordered to sing nazi songs, give the nazi salute, and study nazi literature. But if some day the true story of the *Waffen S.S.* is written, will many Germans trouble to read it?

Today a society for the victims of anti-nazi persecution has been formed to claim compensation for "democratic misrule." An ex-general has just been rehabilitated who had a sixty-year-old captain of the Reserve shot during the last days of the war because he tried to stop an artillery unit from defending a hospital crammed with wounded. Ex-Marshal Kesselring personally commended the general.

These happenings are the stranger when one remembers that victims of nazi terror are still trying in vain to get compensation, and that Kesselring, lately in jail as a war criminal, has become the head of the revived and uniformed *Stahlhelm.* Such grotesque events will multiply as long as Germans, with all their good qualities, still do not find out what happened in the immediate past. Nobody should want to teach them anything; but it is perhaps about time they started learning for themselves about themselves.

(Condensed, courtesy, The Listener)

The Pan-German Prince

When Hitler seized power in 1933, the number of German intellectuals who went into exile increased considerably. Many of them received the warm hospitality and protection of the United States. In the eyes of most Americans they were the symbols of "the other Germany." There is no doubt that some of these exiles truly represented the best in the German tradition. On the other hand, there were others who disguised their real character and intentions by outwardly professing a democratic creed.

The late Professor John Brown of Catholic University, Washington, D. C., analyzed the activities of these individuals in an article entitled, "Deutschtum and America." He noted that they had the facility of speaking through both sides of their mouths. In one breath they would proclaim their anti-Nazism and in the next moment qualify it with typical Pan-German arguments.

Anti-Nazi Pan-German

Among those "anti-Nazi Pan-Germans" discussed by Prof. Brown, is Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein, a self-advertised foe of Nazism (at present a member of the German Parliament). The Prince was a former German youth leader and anti-Nazi. He left Germany, so the story goes, because he could no longer stomach Hitlerism. Arriving in this country in 1935, he confidently predicted that Nazism and Hitlerism would not last more than two years. In spite of the Prince's "opposition" to the Nazis, we find that at the outbreak of World War II he protested the British blockade. Yet, even this episode did not detract from his popularity among some intellectual circles in the United States.

Indeed, the Prince was a most successful lecturer in the United States. Wherever he went he was greeted by large audiences who believed him to be a genuine anti-Nazi democrat. Naturally, he put on his best front before such groups describing in vivid terms the vast anti-Nazi underground allegedly operating in Hitler Germany. He was even able to get away with this hoax among more sophisticated and presumably better informed persons in the academic world. The Prince was among a number of alleged anti-Nazi democrats who were welcomed in the lecture halls of American universities, where he was able to put across his "line" to students and professors.

Commenting on a letter written by the Prince to the New York Times on August 22, 1943, Prof. Brown declared that it is a significant "indication of how even the sincere Christian anti-Nazi cannot escape the strain of the Pan-German." Implicit in Prince Hubertus' letter is an attempt of the Prince to portray Nazism as some sort of freakish phenomenon and not as the logical outgrowth of the warlike and predatory traditions rooted deeply in the history of Germany.

"International Morality"

Professor Brown's characterization of Prince zu Loewenstein is supported by the writings of the Prince during his stay in the U.S.A. as an anti-Nazi exile. One of his most definitive articles on the German problem appeared in The New Leader of April 15, 1944. This date should be borne in mind because the Allies were still at war and hundreds of thousands of our troops were locked in bloody battle with the Nazi Wehrmacht. His article had a very imposing title, "International Morality Versus Expediency."

What are some of the important elements comprising the Prince's views with respect to international morality? Among these elements is a recommendation that the Allies allow the German armies to remain on the Eastern Front mobilized until the "independence" of the eastern countries "has been fully established—with functioning and democratically elected governments of their own. . . ." Thus, while the free world was fighting to destroy the Nazi threat to democracy, the Prince was advocating that Hitler's armies be relied upon to serve as the guardians of the democratic process.

With regard to reparations he proposed a solution which in effect would have made the Allies pay at least part of the damages inflicted entirely by Germany.

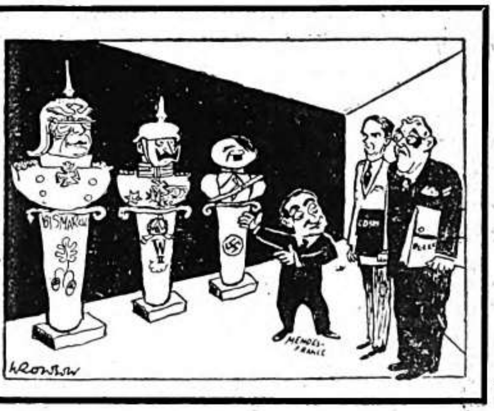
Another part of his morality was expressed in his attempt to equate the armies of the French revolution with Hitler's Nazi hordes. In this connection the Prince spoke of the "undying glory" of the Western world's youth "on whatever side they may now have to fight." No distinction is made between Hitler youth ravaging Europe like a plague of pests, and the young people in the Allied countries fighting to liberate the enslaved from Nazi tyranny.

In his crusade on behalf of "International Morality" the Prince avoids the question of punishing the criminals who brought the world to the brink of ruin.

Writing in a liberal paper like The New Leader and making a generous use of liberal phraseology, the Prince appeared to be speaking as a democrat. This is the way he operated during his sojourn in the United States. However, upon his return to his beloved Fatherland, the liberal banner began to fade and the martial

The German Hall of Fame is the French Chamber of Horror.

Courtesy Aufbau



colors of Deutschland Ueber Alles emerged in all their glory. Reporting on an article which he had signed for the German language weekly, Deutsche Wochenschrift, The Overseas News Agency concluded that the Prince had now "come out for a form of Pan-Germanism as extreme as the Nazis" (12-12-46). The following are among his choice statements:

"The restoration of a German Reich is the first and most urgent of all tasks confronting the people in Germany and all those of Geman descent everywhere who are concerned with the survival of the German language culture. On the basis of natural justice, the future Reich must include all the provinces which historically belong to Germany. This means the restoration of the 1914 borders. (The territory in question involves Alsace-Lorraine, the Belgian cities of Eupen and Malmedy, Northern Schleswig, ceded to Denmark, and that part of Western Poland which belonged to Germany until 1918).

"The future Reich should also include German Austria, together with the South Tyrol. The Sudeten Germans, who have been driven out by the Czechoslovakians, must be permitted to return to their homes in which they lived for a thousand years and to decide by plebiscite whether their territory is to form part of the Reich. In general, plebiscites should be held in all contested territories."

Propagandist Par Excellence

From 1946 onwards, Prince zu Loewenstein has frequently written in German language newspapers and for some English language publications. An examination of his writings shows that he has had two primary objectives, (a) to break the western alliance and (b) to prevent the implementation of those policies which the United States had originally devised for the postwar treatment of Germany. He alleged that the Germans were starving; that their treatment at the hands of the Allies was far worse than that experienced by the victims of Nazism; that the English and French were looting German resources and that the Americans too were profiting at the expense of the Germans!

It is difficult to determine the precise influence of the Prince's propaganda but if we note how American policy shifted radically during the years 1946-47, then it is safe to say that the Prince helped to contribute to this change. His propaganda may perhaps best be summed up in his attempt to write a history of Germany. The quality of this work was described by the New York Times reviewer as follows: *"It is five hundred pages of historicism, mystification, scholarly pretension and propaganda, adding up—in so far as it is coherent and comprehensible—to a flatly controvertible fabrication. In common with a number of recent books of German apologetics, it is the work of a German political exile enjoying asylum in this country."*

Besides his frequent blasts at the Allied occupation through the medium of the German language press in the United States, Prince zu Loewenstein has taken an active role in whipping up nationalistic feelings among the Germans. Thus, in 1950 he took upon himself to become the spokesman and leader of a German protest movement against the British policy to demolish the German naval base in Helgoland. His melodramatic antics helped fan the flames of German nationalism. He cast himself in the role of a national hero dedicated to upholding the honor and integrity of the Fatherland against "perfidious Albion."

The Prince's hatred of the British and the USA is only exceeded by his fanatical diatribes against the French. The New York Herald Tribune (April 12, 1954) reported the Prince as calling for the isolation of France and for the establishment of a German-US alliance. He voiced the opinion that such an alliance "would finally bring the French Government to its senses." His nationalistic ravings against the French have been particularly virulent as regards the future of the Saar. He has denounced the U.S. for having accepted what he alleged to be a "pro-French" solution. In this connection he has tried to comfort the Germans by stating that prominent politicians including Senator McCarthy, were of the opinion that the U.S. was under no obligation to support its original pledges and policies. It is interesting to note that this boast, made in the spring of 1954, was part of an address delivered at the Rhein-Ruhr Club, a favorite haunt of the Ruhr barons.

Prince zu Loewenstein's anti-Communism should not confuse his position on relations with Russia. In the very same speech before the Ruhr industrialists he supported the efforts of the German politician Pfleiderer to renew diplomatic relations with Moscow. He insisted that

"Before the resonant tones of diplomatic jubilation on West German rearmament subsided, an important sideshow scrap began.

"It concerns money; money for the Germans' contribution to Western defense and to their new army. Chancellor Adenauer's government is not inclined to be extravagant with its highly prized Deutsche marks and the Finance Minister, Dr. Schaffer, is a tough man with a mark. . . .

"He is thinking of his own home industries. They are thinking about themselves, too, and they can reach Schaffer's ear quite readily. At the moment they are pretty annoyed that arms control can lay bare all German industrial secrets to other competitors, namely British and American. . . ."

(Seymour Freidin, N. Y. Post, 10-19-54)

". . . The Russians hold big assets for a deal with the Germans: unification, withdrawal of the army of occupation, rectification of the frontiers, resettlement of the expelled refugees, trade, and great political influence in the destiny of Europe. This is no imaginary affair. There is powerful evidence that the pull towards a Russian deal is gaining momentum not only in the opposition to Dr. Adenauer but within his own coalition. Is it possible to prevent such a deal by a treaty which is designed to tie West Germany's hands? . . ."

(Walter Lippmann, St. Louis Post Dispatch, 9-24-54)

the Berlin Treaty of 1926 with Russia must be the aim of German foreign policy. This treaty, incidentally, served as an effective counterweight to the professed western orientation of Germany following the Locarno Pact.

More recently the Prince, in his capacity as "Fuehrer" of the so-called German Action Movement, demanded the immediate rearmament of Germany without restriction or the holding of a Four Power conference. In any event, he advocated immediate reestablishment of German diplomatic relations with the Kremlin (Manchester Guardian 9-9-54).

It is interesting to note that in outlining the program of his German Action Movement, he speaks of "German states of special character" and writes: "Switzerland is a part of Germany, the connection of which with the Reich was severed in 1648. However, the German speaking Swiss people together with the Alsacians and the Germans in South-Baden form a unity in the sense of an Allemanic race. The Swiss culture is determined by this unity of race and through it, is spiritually connected with the Reich. Only the cultivation of this awareness makes the loss of the external attachment bearable."

The voice of the Prince is not isolated. Indeed, he expresses the views of the most decisive element in Germany today. It may be summed up in his own words: *"The restoration of a German Reich is the first and most urgent of all tasks confronting the people in Germany and all those of German descent everywhere who are concerned with the survival of the German language and culture."* It should be obvious that this ambitious program knows no limits for it not only includes Europe but pertains to all other countries and areas abroad, yes, even the United States. It is Pan-Germanism pure and simple.

A Story That Has a Lesson

The story of Prince zu Loewenstein—his exile as an "anti-Nazi," the welcome he received in the United States, his posture as a liberal intellectual, his ability to dupe many well meaning Americans, his return to the Fatherland on the very first boat in order to unfurl the flag of "Deutschland Ueber Alles"—should help us to be more discriminating when it comes to judging real and alleged friends and to increase our vigilance against those who take advantage of our generosity so as to distort the real issue.

It is noteworthy that the Prince is but one of many exiles who posed as liberals in the United States only to return to the Fatherland to resume their deadly game of attacking the Allies and paving the way for a resurgent Germany.

Indirectly related to the Loewenstein "saga" is the Exchange Program financed by the U.S. Government, under which German youth is given the opportunity to visit our country, enjoy its hospitality and learn about its institutions. We recall that after World War I, democratic countries such as Norway instituted physical rehabilitation programs for German children who stayed with Norwegian families. As youngsters they came as guests, but under Hitler they returned as conquerors specifically chosen for the subjugation of Norway because of their knowledge of the Norwegian language.

The case of Prince zu Loewenstein should remind us that those who are really bent on our destruction may exploit our hospitality to further their sinister objectives.

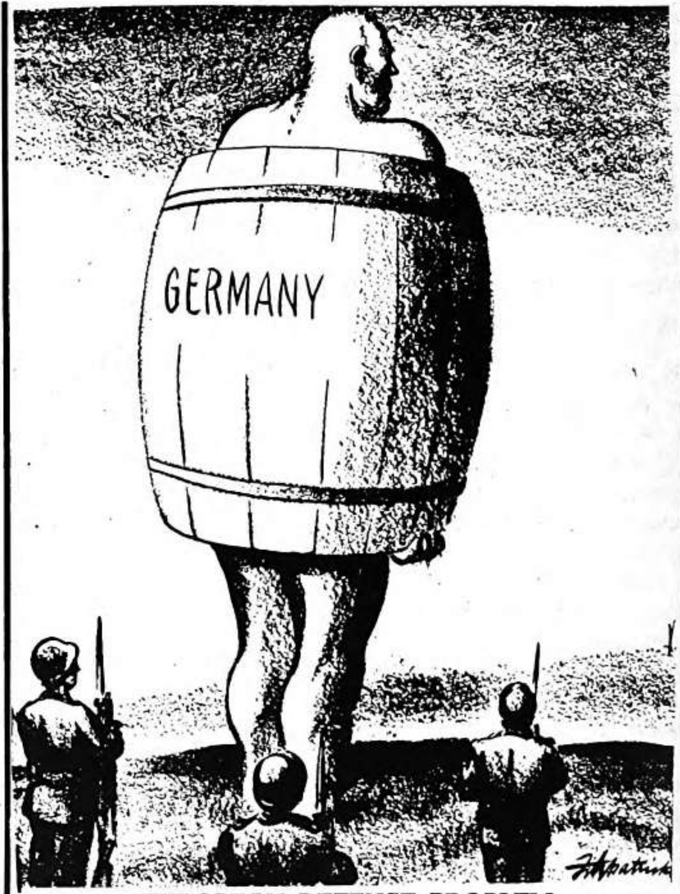
"From the news of the past few months I guess it is safe to venture that the German victory in the last war is now clear-cut, as was the Japanese, and that if we play our cards right the Germans and Japs soon will take us into the family of nations. . . .

"The strutting that has been going on by the backslid Nazis over the last year or so is almost unbelievable—unless you've seen it. At home in West Germany and abroad, the Deutschland ueber Alles refrain is ringing again to the point where the toe of an old GI boot is apt to itch. . . .

"I consider the Germans a goose-step nation, ever ready to follow the new messiah, and head right back to supermanhood again. They are overbearing conquerors and sniveling supplicants. When they're up they're arrogant and when they are down they whine.

"I know nothing of foreign diplomacy, but that ain't strange, since the records shows that the diplomats don't know much about it, either. But I can smell things, like an animal smells, and what I have seen of the German abroad in the past year doesn't smell good. It smells like 1933. . . ."

(Robert C. Ruark in N. Y. World-Telegram)



EUROPEAN DEFENSE PROBLEM

Inside Germany

REWARDS

"The Bavarian state radio and the newspaper Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich have disseminated charges that officials are systematically withholding payments to victims of Nazi persecution but rewarding former Nazi officials and their heirs with jobs and pensions. . . .

"The authors of the charges, Helmut Hammerschmidt and Michael Mansfeld said only 136,000 of 500,000 claims filed in the United States zone of Germany had been satisfied as of April 30 this year. . . .

"Aside from the material difficulties in settling the cases, the authors cited examples of officials who, for spurious reasons and frequently for reason of discrimination, refused to accept claims.

"One case cited was that of a 76-year-old widow of a man who was killed in the ghetto of Riga, Latvia. She could not get damages because she could not produce witnesses who had seen her husband murdered. The authors said the officials had taken this line despite documentary evidence that all 27,000 inmates of the Riga ghetto had been liquidated by the Nazis.

"As opposed to this treatment of the Nazi victims, the authors cited the following cases of readiness to reward former Nazi officials and their heirs: Rudolf Diels, first head of the Gestapo, received a pension. The wife of a war criminal held in the Landsberg prison also has received a pension."

(The New York Times, 11-21-54)

★

"LEGAL"

"The compulsory sterilizations and castrations ordered by the Nazi regime, often under 'eugenic' pretexts in the case of political opponents, were not illegal, according to a decision handed down by the Superior Court in the Westphalian city of Hamm.

(J. T. A., 11-8-54)

★

IN WHOM WE TRUST

"A former prodigy of the German general staff is America's No. 1 spy abroad.

"Without Reinhold Gehlen's name ever being mentioned in an appropriation's debate in Congress, he spends six million dollars a year from the United States Treasury.

"Thousands of agents of diverse nationalities are on his payroll, together with the elite of the old German army's counter-intelligence corps . . .

"The Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon appear to trust this retired German lieutenant general more than they do any Allied statesman.

"On his secret reports, which evaluate the findings of his costly anti-Soviet espionage operations as far beyond the Iron Curtain as Siberia, depends much of American defense planning . . ."

(Daniel de Luce, Washington Post, 9-19-54)

★

ANSCHLUSS I

"West Germany's highest court ruled today that 75,000 Austrians living in Germany are still German citizens under laws passed in the days of Adolph Hitler.

"The supreme court said this status will continue for Austrians living here until a peace treaty or an agreement between Austria and Germany settles the question finally."

(From a UP Dispatch, 10-30-54)

★

ONLY THE "GOOD" FEATURES

"Walther Langhammer, 35-year-old Hamburg vegetable store employee, is trying to form a political party which will revive the "good features" of Nazism.

"Political sources said today that Langhammer calls his organization the 'National People's Party' and claims a membership of 4353, some of it in Communist East Germany. Among its aims are a return to Germany's 1938 boundaries, and introduction of a German welfare state.

"In Argentina this week Adolf Galland, ex-general in the German air force denied reports that he had connections with Langhammer. The latter recently described Galland as his friend and a 'hero of Germany.' "

(Report to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 10-8-54)

★

DENAZIFICATION

"Two thousand former Nazi Party members have called on the West German and state governments to annul all de-Nazification court convictions and pay damages to Nazis interned after the war.

"The resolution, adopted overwhelmingly at the Aug. 22 meeting of the association of Former Internees, also demanded restoration of property which de-Nazification courts had confiscated and public pensions for dependents of Nazis who passed on in internment."

(Dispatch to The Christian Science Monitor, 7-23-54)

★

THE EUROPEAN "HONG KONG"

"The North German port of Hamburg is making progress toward recovering its pre-war business with Czechoslovakia and Hungary. This is encouraging some Hamburg businessmen to visualize the city as becoming a profitable European 'Hong Kong' in addition to its other, larger trade as West Germany's most powerful port. . . .

"Moreover, the notion is making headway in Hamburg that it may be possible to provide the smaller Red nations with major trading advantages—if they plan to do business on the world market on a more serious basis than heretofore."

(N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-30-54)

★

MEMO TO TAXPAYERS

"The United States will be the main arsenal for the rearmament of West Germany.

"More than $1,000,000,000 in American "heavy military equipment" (tanks, planes, field artillery, naval vessels) will be required for this purpose in the next two years."

(Robert S. Allen, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 10-22-54)

* * *

IN AND OUT

"Former Nazi Gen. Otto Ernst Remer, a leader of the first sizable neo-Nazi party in postwar Germany, surrendered to German authorities after an 18-month-long police hunt.

"Remer disappeared in March, 1953, shortly before he was to start serving a three-month prison sentence for defaming members of the anti-Nazi resistance. Prosecution officials said he reported at Oldenburg jail today to start his sentence, but was set free a few hours later."

(AP Dispatch, 9-29-54.)

* * *

HEUSS HAILS KRAUSS

"One of West Germany's highest decorations was today awarded to Werner Krauss, a German actor who is identified in the public mind with the most repulsive manifestations of Jew-baiting on the Nazi stage.

"Bonn President Prof. Theodor Heuss awarded the Federal Grand Cross to Krauss on the occasion of the actor's 70th birthday. The presentation was made today in Berlin by Sen. H. Tibertius, head of the City's cultural and education department."

(JTA, 6-24-54)

* * *

"CRIMES AND PUNISHMENT"

(Exhibit I)

"Nazi Field Marshal Erhard Milch, former inspector general of Adolf Hitler's Luftwaffe, has been released on parole from Landsberg war crimes prison.

"Milch, now 62 years old, was Hermann Goering's deputy....

"Milch was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Nuernberg war crimes tribunal in 1946 for his part in exploiting slave labor. His sentence was reduced to 15 years in 1951." (UP, 7-3-54.)

(Exhibit II)

"Sgt. Robert D. Raynor, of Detroit, was ordered dishonorably dicharged today and sentenced to serve ten years in prison for thefts and frauds committed while he was absent without leave in England." (UP, 7-20-54.)

* * *

TOASTING TO THE "GOOD OLD DAYS"

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer last night toasted the health of Emperor Hirohito at a dinner given in the chancellery in honor of Japanese Premier Shigero Yoshida, who is visiting European capitals.

"In his toast, Adenauer said Germany and Japan, wartime allies, had enjoyed happy relations for a century." (From an AP Dispatch, 10-14-54)

* * *

THE "NEW" GENERATION

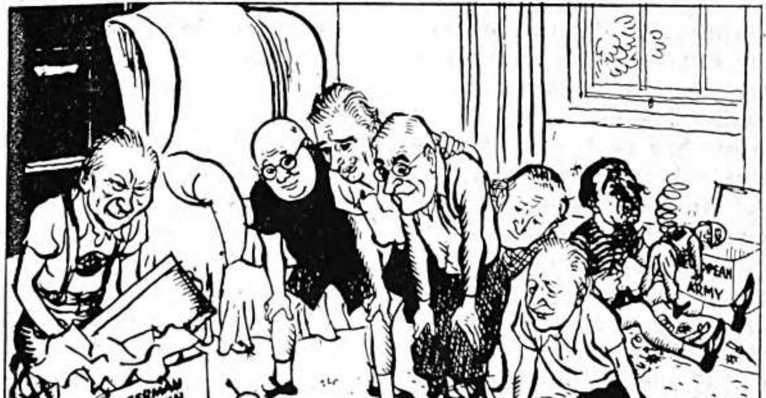
"Students duels have been resumed on a mass scale. Thousands are fought every year.

"This correspondent recently witnessed a dueling session. It was a deeply disturbing experience—a glimpse into the mood of the Middle Ages. . . .

"New generations of students are starting their careers with the facial scars that in former years became a symbol of German militarism. . . ."

(Walter Sullivan, 7-25-54, New York Times)

A BRITISH CARTOONIST LOOKS AT THE GERMAN QUESTION



"The new toy"

(Illingworth in The London Daily Mail)

REPORT ON GERMANY

"In May I began my lectures at the University of Munich. This once-famous institution has been partly gutted by allied bombs. It is being rapidly repaired; but the damage that Hitler wreaked upon education will exist for many years to come.

"Too few of my graduate students knew the work of Germany's great social scientists of the Weimar era. . . .

"Like other Americans, we met with a heartening welcome from the Muncheners. How could these people, we wondered, be the same who cheered the mad speeches of Hitler. How could they have tolerated the horrible Dachau concentration camp just a few miles outside of the city? If one looks for war criminals, he is apt to conclude that he is in the wrong country. . . .

". . . Two years ago, several German public opinion institutes reported these results of a new poll: Ten per cent express unqualified enthusiasm for Hitler; another 22% gave their qualified approval. On the other hand, 28% did condemn Hitler in unqualified terms, but another 40% softened their condemnation by qualifications. . . .

". . . The worst apathy, as a recent study of 3,000 German youth shows, exists among the new generation. . . . The 3,000 German youth studied showed that they feel a bitter sense of having been betrayed by their elders and by leaders who filled them with impossible values. Very dismaying is the fact that they refuse to assume collective responsibility for a fresh democratic organization. . . ."

(Harvey Wish, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 10-25-54)

★

THE PRICE OF IGNORANCE

"It is an old habit of American diplomacy to put all its eggs in one basket when dealing with foreign governments . . .

"American officials appear completely absorbed in Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. They are, of course, obeying in this the signals from Washington . . .

"To an increasing degree, also, the Bonn Americans are being isolated from the broad stream of German life and politics by their own vast new housing project, colloquially called 'The Golden Ghetto' . . .

"Finally, the American view has been restricted by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's war on the State Department and the Voice of America, in which Scott McLeod, the McCarthy friend who is security officer in the State Department, has enthusiastically participated. There has been a real purge here, and the failure of the High Commissioner, Dr. James B. Conant, to fight it more vigorously has cost him some of the prestige that was his as president of Harvard.

"The result is that there are many new people at occupation headquarters. Some of them—perhaps all—are experienced men. But, antiseptic though they may be and dear to McLeod, they have one fatal flaw. They don't seem to know anything about Germany.

"This is the price of McCarthyism. Unless we are very lucky, it will be a high price . . ."

(Doris Fleeson, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 9-9-54)

BOOM—BOOM!

"West Germany's economic boom has hit a record high and shows signs of further expansion. Steel and automobile production and foreign trade are smashing all previous records. . . .

"Industrial production, which accounts for more than 50 per cent of the total output of the economy, stands at 185 per cent of the 1936 level, or about 10 per cent above a year ago. . . .

"Business leaders predict that the gross national product this year will be at least 6 to 7 per cent above 1953.

"Germany's massive steel industry expects 1954 production to reach 17,500,000 tons, compared with 15,419,000 last year. . . .

"German automobile production in October ran 33 per cent above October, 1953. In October 48,100 vehicles were turned out, to push total production for the first ten months of this year to 420,000. West Germany ended 1953 as the third biggest manufacturer of cars and trucks in Europe. The industry this year expects to better last year's output of 490,000 . . ."

(The New York Times, 11-8-54)

★

PROMOTION

"Schleswig-Holstein's newly-elected Christian Democratic premier, 41-year-old Kai-Uwe von Hassel, has reappointed Hans Adolf Asbach, an important official of the wartime Nazi terror and murder regime in the Ukraine, as Minister for Social Affairs, Labor and Expellees in his new Cabinet.

"Asbach started out to be a lawyer, but never progressed beyond the preparatory examination. Instead, he joined the Nazi Party and by 1934, he had turned into a full-time Nazi Party functionary as Regional Legal Supervisor and Social Policy Advisory of the German Labor Front in all of Pomerania. His Nazi record was so black that, after the war, the Bar Association at Eutin in Schleswig-Holstein refused to admit him to the practice of law. He qualified as a journeyman bricklayer, but soon abandoned it for a political career in the ranks of the Nazi-infested BHE Refugee Party."

(JTA, 10-19-54)

★

JUST WAIT!

"A Swiss correspondent said that he had been threatened by a cabinet minister for having reported a speech by the German minister advocating the recovery of territories lost to Czechoslovakia and Poland.

"The threat, made to Dr. Eduard Geilinger, correspondent of Die Neue Zuericher Zeitung, is being publicized by the West German newspapers as proof that the government cannot be trusted when it alleges it has no intention to control the press through the newly created coordinating committee.

"Dr. Geilinger said the minister who had threatened him was Dr. Hans Christoph Seebohm, Minister of Transport. Dr. Seebohm, a former member of the Nazi party, told Dr. Geilinger on the telephone 'we'd take care of you if we had our sovereignty.' . . ."

(The New York Times, 6-24-54)

FRANCO'S PROFITABLE ANTI-COMMUNISM

"Another aspect of Spain's international trade relations is a Moscow radio report of the existence of a trade agreement between Spain and the Soviet Union. . . . Following are extracts from the Spanish Economic News Service, published in Madrid:

"March 30, 1954: 'Last week Bonn mentioned a deal of Spanish wine for Polish coal.'

"April 27: 'El Economista affirms that a deal for 200,000 tons of coal for Renfe (Spanish State Railways) in exchange for 300,000 tons of iron ore is in full swing. Licenses are said to have been granted . . . to ships are about to leave with Menera and Setolazar ore destined for Upper Silesia' (Poland). 'If samples are satisfactory other important shipments will follow . . .' "

(Richard Mower, Christian Science Monitor, 7-10-54)

★

A NEW HIGH

"West Germany's economy, certain to set post-war records in both industrial production and foreign trade this year, has a valuable asset in merchant shipping.

"While the nation's merchant fleet recently passed the 20,000,000-ton mark, about 50 per cent of the pre-war figure, tanker tonnage has reached a new high. . . .

(New York Times, 11-7-54)

★

". . . The common distrust of Germany which unites Frenchmen is aimed at the so-called ruling circles, the group that unseated the Weimar Republic and which Frenchmen regard as once again firmly seated in the Bonn and Ruhr command posts.

". . . 'We are all for French-German reconciliation,' one high French government official told me. 'But you know as well as I do that the Bonn administration employs thousands of former Nazis and that Dr. Adenauer's foreign office is run by many of the same arrogant people who served under a Ribbentrop. Do you expect us to stage a French-Nazi reconciliation?' The official then added:

" 'This is a fundamental matter. You Americans are a moral people par excellence. You apply the highest standards of integrity in your own Civil Service. How can you blind yourselves to the real character of these men in Bonn? Do you really believe you will find security by letting these men fill Europe's streets with the clutter of German soldiers' boots again?' "

(G. W. Herald, Gazette and Daily, York, Pa., 9-22-54)

* * *

"There is danger West Germany may be rearmed without safeguards against revival of German militarism and aggression.

"This—rather than the much publicized fear that the French will prevent arming Germany against Soviet aggression—is what worries the American and British governments. . . .'

(Ludwell Denny, N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun, 7-2-54)

The New German Imperialism (*Continued from page* 39)

not the twelve German divisions, but the establishment of American bases in Europe and Asia. Russia's efforts are aimed at forcing the American withdrawal from their present European and Asiatic footholds. In the light of this basic problem, Dr. Adenauer's diplomatic maneuvering over the past five years—playing the East against the West and vice-versa—has been rewarded with fabulous success. The German Chancellor believes that he is in the driver's seat and that he can extort more concessions from the U.S.A. as well as from the Soviet, as long as the present situation continues. This fact was emphasized and came clearly to light when the "London Daily Express" published the ill-famed memorandum of the Bonn official, Dr. Sonnenhohl, who recommended agitating continuation of the Cold War in order to exact greater concessions from East and West. The fact is that the Germans, at the present time, are fearful of war but like to go on fishing expeditions in troubled international waters.

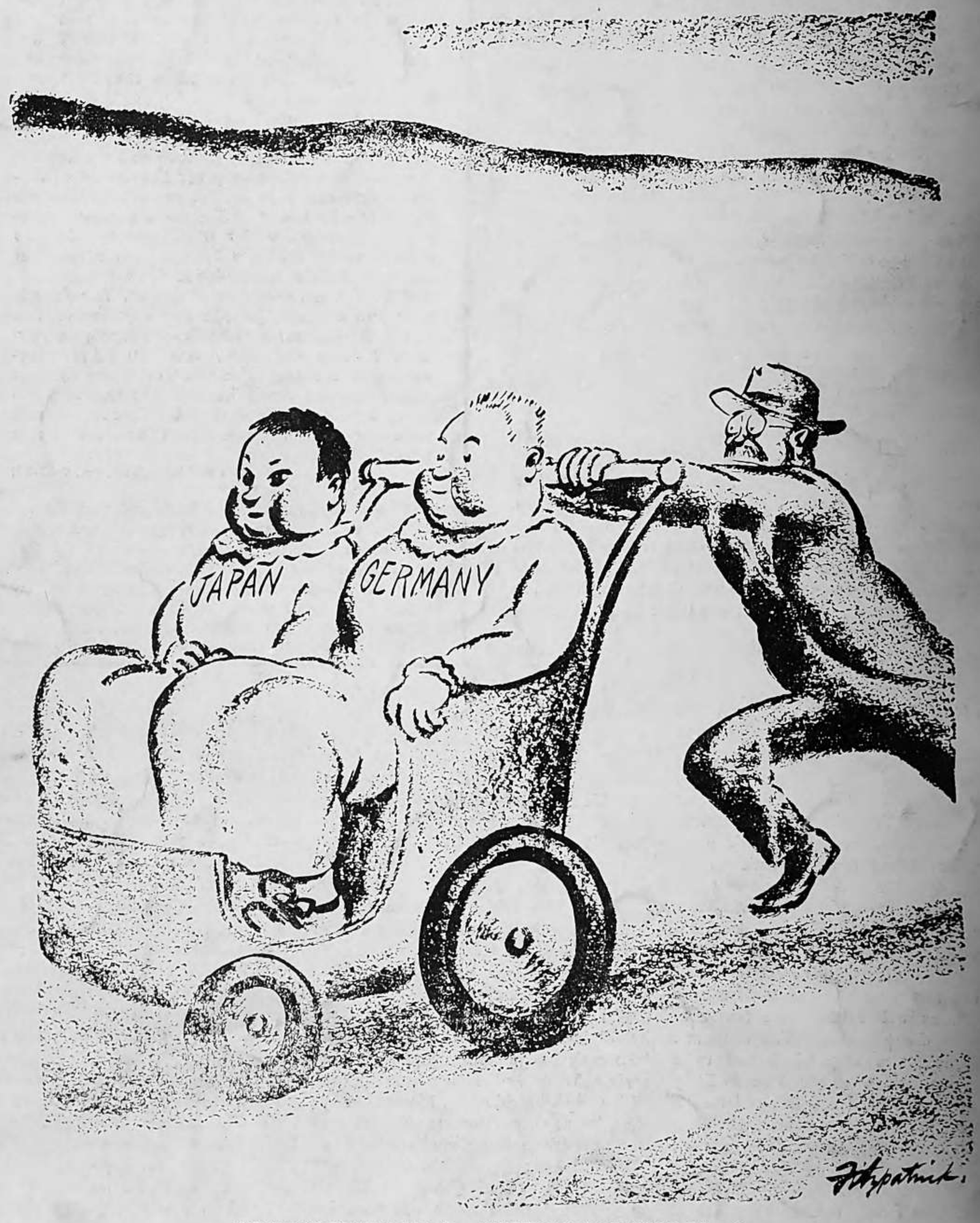
"Blitzkrieg" Diplomacy

The German industrialists and Herr Adenauer know that they do not have available another $300 billion dollars for a new super-modern Juggernaut to conquer "Lebensraum." So why should they arm in the first place? It is for this reason that they have concentrated all their ingenuity, trickery and double-talk into large scale diplomatic efforts in order to achieve the same results which in former times were harvested only by armed aggression.

If Dr. Adenauer can build an empire by diplomatic "finesse," by Western "economic integration," by playing East against West, and finally winding up with a super-bargain with Moscow—why should Germany resort to suicidal expenditures for a super rearmament? The "Old Fox" knows that it is much safer, profitable and effective to apply "Blitzkrieg diplomacy" than to get stuck in "blitzkrieg warfare."

There is no doubt that a sovereign Germany has to bargain with the Russians if it goes ahead with building its empire in Europe and Africa via the detour of Franco-German "economic cooperation." Germany, says the "Aussenpolitik" (June 1954) "must become attractive as a partner for the Russians" and that it has "to pay any price for reunification."

The whole German history demonstrates the striking fact that all dynamic German moves were made either with the tacit understanding of or in active collaboration with Russia against the West. Dr. Adenauer is continuing the time-honored tradition in German world politics. The only difference is that in former times the Germans had to raise and pay for huge armies in order to conquer their "Lebensraum." However, under Dr. Adenauer, they have developed a refined procedure for imperialistic aggrandizement. Today, the masters of Rhine and Ruhr are achieving their old Pan-German objectives through Dr. Adenaur's skillful diplomacy—so highly admired by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.


JAPAN
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AFTER WORLD WAR II. AFTER WORLD WAR III —?

(*Courtesy, St. Louis Post Disptach*)

No. 46
SUMMER ISSUE
1955

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
ociety for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. **Tel.: PLaza 3-4985**

No. 46 **Summer Issue, 1955**

The Prerequisite for World Disarmament

Does the Russian proposal to negotiate directly with the Bonn Government vindicate our German policy, or is it final proof of its futility? To answer this question it is necessary to compare the main objectives of that policy with the results obtained.

According to U. S. policy makers, the restoration of Germany's prewar power, integrated both politically and economically with our European Allies, has been a cardinal aim. It was assumed that by this process the unity of western Europe would be so strengthened as to induce the Soviets to retreat all along the line. The program received the highest priority and was underwritten with billions of dollars from the U. S. Its success was publicized as a sure thing because the Germans, so we were told, were the "most reliable anti-Communists" and by culture and conviction the "most pro-Americans."

It is obvious that the program has produced spectacular results, but is it not also patently clear that they are of a different character from those presumably contemplated?

The spectre of a resurgent Germany has provoked bitter cleavages among the peoples of Western Europe. Communist and anti-American propaganda has had a field day. The haunting vision of being isolated and confronted by a new German Wehrmacht was skillfully exploited by the Russians when they scrapped their treaties with Britain and France. The impact of a resurgent Germany has also had its effects on the satellite countries. The current stirrings of nationalism and militarism in Germany have spread fear among the captive peoples of eastern Europe and thereby strengthened the grip of the Soviet commissars.

In the wake of the strife and suspicion which has sapped the hopes of the peoples of Western Europe and strained their friendship with the U. S. A., the Paris agreements were put into force. Chancellor Adenauer put his finger on the significance of these agreements when he told the German Parliament that hitherto the Bonn Government had been "a mere object of international policies." "Consequently," he declared, "it is one of the first aims of the Federal Republic to achieve freedom and self-determination . . . Thereby, the Federal Republic also will obtain freedom of action on behalf of all Germans."

Then he predicted, "the Russians will negotiate and they will do so not in spite of, but because of the realization of the agreements" (N. Y. Times, 12-16-54).

It is in this context that the meaning of the Soviet proposals to Bonn become clear. They indicate that all of the conditions climaxed by the Paris agreements are being met for the preparation of a Russo-German deal.

For years, this Society has warned that our German policy would create the very conditions which would undermine it ultimately. In our analyses we sought to distinguish between the transitory and constant factors governing Germany's behavior. Thus, we were not surprised that the Germans, after the initial shock of defeat, should proclaim their love for the West, bearing in mind that they obtained hundreds of millions of dollars by a similar performance after World War I.

The constant factors determining Germany's actions were of greater significance to us than their professions of attachment to the democratic cause. (See "German Realities" 1953-1954, Nos. 42 and 44, PREVENT WORLD WAR III.)

In our analysis of Russia's policy and propaganda (No. 43, PREVENT WORLD WAR III) we stated that the Russians, in spite of the twists in their propaganda, favored the creation of a Germany *"that would possess the material wherewithal to launch its own independent actions and be able to pursue an independent policy in all directions. This would open up great possibilities for the Russians, because it would offer the Germans the vast markets in the East. Moreover, as a consequence, it would create military and political guarantees of a nature which would enable the Germans to exert its power against the West. In other words, only a 'strong' Germany can create* *an independent Germany, so far as the Russians define the word independent, and such a Germany would enable the Russians to gain another trump card in its dealing with the West."*

That this Germany is in the making can hardly be doubted. Yet, the tragic irony of it lies in the fact that this dangerous development received its nourishment from U. S. German policy. The inherent fallacy of that policy cannot be overcome by handing over additional billions to the Germans, be it in money, machinery or armaments. In the eyes of the Germans, such grants are considered a form of tribute and will only serve to enhance Germany's attractiveness, thereby producing the ideal setting for close Russo-German cooperation.

This Society never accepted the myth, so assiduously cultivated, concerning Chancellor Adenauer's "trustworthiness." In the summer issue, 1953, of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, we stated that the Chancellor was not opposed to dealing with the Russians per se. Though he feared Allied negotiations with Russia over Germany and sought to discredit such a step "it would not in any way prevent the Germans from making their own secret deals with the Kremlin." This, we contended, was the real key to Chancellor Adenauer's diplomacy.

A Russo-German deal does not necessarily require direct negotiations. If Adenauer can have the Western Allies further the German cause under the illusion that they are advancing their own interests, then Adenauer might very well give his blessings to a Big Four meeting on Germany. Regardless of the tactic, the U. S. and her Allies must face the geopolitical reality that it is Russia who holds the key to the realization of Germany's ambitions. Foremost among these aspirations is the unification of Germany in full possession of its freedom and "Wehrhoheit" (*the German term describing a country's exclusive prerogative to determine the size and disposition of its armed forces*). These are the stark facts which should guide our policy makers.

In this connection, Mr. Walter Lippman reminds us that:

"The Germans know they can reunite Germany only by a deal with the Soviet Union; if they make the deal, France will become a third rate power in Europe in comparison with a reunited Germany which is on good terms with the Soviet orbit. The French know that if the German Soviet deal is to be prevented, they and their English speaking allies first must come to an agreement with the Soviet Union. Down deep at the bottom of the fight between Paris and Bonn is the question of whether the future of Germany is to be negotiated between Bonn and Moscow or by the Big Four powers" (Washington Post, 12-30-54).

Is a Russo-German tieup really unavoidable? To admit it is to believe in the inevitability of World War III. The Society does not believe that the western cause is lost. Nor do we mean to imply that there are no longer any means of preventing Germany and Russia from upsetting the delicate power of balance in Europe to the detriment of the West.

A Big Four agreement on Germany which maintains the integrity, freedom and security of the democracies and would, at the same time, preclude the emergence of a German-Russian bloc dominating Europe, should be based on the following principles:

a: That both East and West Germany be permanently demilitarized under United Nations control.

b: That the territorial integrity of East and West Germany becomes the responsibility of the United Nations.

c: That the United Nations shall establish armed force contingents to be located in the states bordering Germany for purposes of implementing that responsibility.

d: That both East and West Germany shall pay in cash to the United Nations a sum in an amount roughly equivalent to the cost of any occupation forces, or any other forces, which would have to be sited on German territory for the protection of peace and the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. Such funds shall be employed to support the armed forces established by the United Nations for the protection of Germany's territorial integrity.

The implementation of these principles could pave the way for the ultimate unification of Germany in peace. More than that, it would create an international climate of goodwill and confidence which are the prerequisites for the success of a general program of world disarmament.

Modern Germany has been the breeding ground of two world wars. The powers who have defeated her aggressions have had to sacrifice the flower of their sons and daughters. Let them keep faith with those who have paid with their lives. Let them give hope to our children, and their children. As for Germany, the acceptance of this program would test her readiness to show the way toward world disarmament and her will to peace.

> **"It is possible that the Russians may risk the resurgence of German militarism rather than face the inevitable prospect of a unified Germany integrated with Western Europe. If they choose this course, they are in a position to make important economic, territorial, and other concessions to the Germans. Moreover, they could withdraw their occupation forces and expand the nucleus of German militarism which already exists in the East German Communist Army. They could, in other words, offer Germany a unification with real nationalistic inducements and ask in return only that the Germans separate themselves from Western Europe . . ."**
>
> **(Senator Mike Mansfield, Congr. Rec., 1-10-55)**

Editorials

THE NEW LOOK

Now that the German Wehrmacht is in the process of rebirth, a number of articles have appeared describing how "different" this army will be from that which served Hitler and the Kaiser.

Writing in The Reporter (1-13-55), Norbert Muhlen claims that many of "the young former officers" of Hitler's armies exhibit an aversion to Prussian militarism. "Their disillusionment with traditional German army attitudes and manners has led them to become progressive reformers."

The Reader's Digest also devoted space to this subject (January 1955). The writer of the Digest piece, Frederic Sondern, Jr., states that the top German official in charge of the rearmament program, Theodor Blank, is dedicated to democratic ideals which he is determined to infuse in the new German army: "For four years now Theodor Blank and a staff of military, political and economic advisers have been laboring at the colossal task of planning a military system which breaks entirely with German traditions. A visit to the old red-brick building in Bonn which houses Blank's office, is a surprising experience for anyone who knew German military headquarters of former years. Heel clicking is rare; there is no parade ground; voices are seldom raised; no one swaggers . . ."

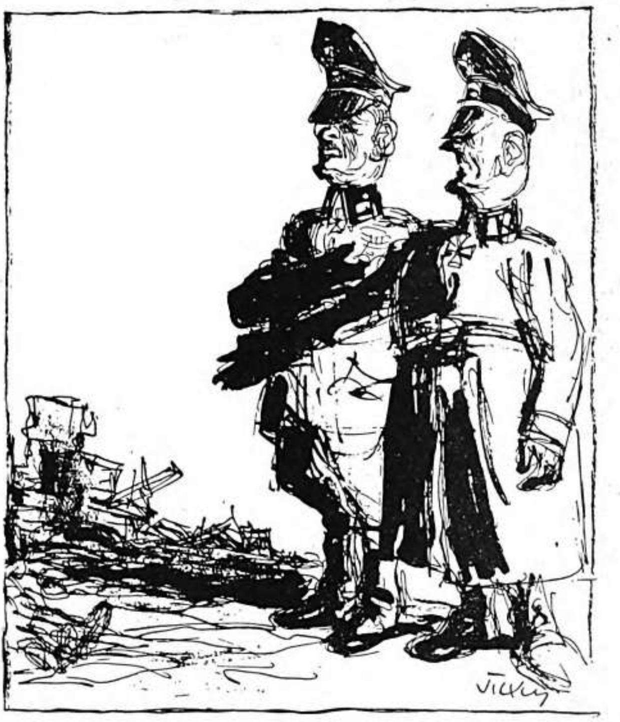
The "new look" is described in some detail by Charles W. Thayer in The Reporter (4-21-55). We are told that the German soldier will be permitted to wear civilian clothes and to participate in community and political life. They "will salute only the officers of their own units." The German soldiers, Mr. Thayer says, are going to be taught the principles of democratic "teamwork." "In the barracks too, the principles of teamwork will be emphasized. Each squad will live together—the non-coms with their men." Barrack discipline will be deprussianized. Even the uniforms of the Germans will change although the color of the uniform still poses difficulties. Mr. Thayer notes, "German fieldgrey might stir unhappy memories among the Western Allies, whereas American khaki is apt to recall to the German the early and not always happy days of the occupation. This problem has yet to be solved."

These and similar articles have set us to wonder. Is there any real grounds for believing that the new army will be more democratic in makeup than other branches of the Bonn Government which are crawling with Nazis as, for example, the Foreign Office? Needless to say, changing the outer trappings of German militarism will not suffice: the color of the uniform will not affect the quality of the soldier.

Mr. Muhlen referred to "progressive reformers" among the German officers but he did not identify them. Therefore, we feel that our readers are entitled to know the backgrounds of some of the leading lights who have been entrusted with the organization of the "new" German army:

1) *General Adolf Heusinger.* He is at present the top man in the new army setup. Mr. Sondern describes him as "spare, ascetic, clipped of speech, he looks the typical Prussian officer." Heusinger was Chief of the Operations Branch of the Nazi armies and worked out the plans for Hitler's aggressions against Holland, Belgium and France. In a recent book he attacked Hitler for failing to wipe out the British army at Dunkirk. General Heusinger was a close pal of General Jodl, hanged for war crimes at Nuremberg. He has characterized Jodl as "a perfectly decent fellow."

2) *General Ludwig Cruewell.* He succeeded Marshal Rommel as Commander of Nazi Germany's Afrika Korps. The New York Times (9-13-54) reported that General Cruewell addressed a reunion of 15,000 veterans of Hitler's African armies. He declared that "the new German army must be based on the old military principle: 'bravery till death.' " Cruewell told his enthusiastic audience, "It is hoped the German soldiers will eventually be able to write Europe next to Germany on their flags." According to the Times, Marshal Rommel's widow took part in the reunion celebration as well as Fieldmarshal von Kesselring "sentenced to death for war crimes, but later freed." Von Kesselring is the leader of the notorious militaristic organization "Stahlhelm." General Cruewell is the man



"GIVE US THE TOOLS—WE'LL FINISH THE JOB!"

(Courtesy New Statesman and Nation)

most frequently named as the future military commander of the "new" German army.

3) *Major General Freiherr Smilo von Luettwitz.* He played a decisive role in the Nazi destruction of Warsaw. He also commanded a tank division when Hitler's armies invaded France. Von Luettwitz' father gained notoriety when, as a general of the old Wehrmacht, he participated in the Kapp Putsch of 1920 which was designed to overthrow the Weimar Republic. For services rendered to Hitler, Smilo von Luettwitz was given the second highest Nazi decoration, the "Knight's Cross with Laurels and Swords." Von Luettwitz is a member of the Officers Selection Board which has been assigned the mission of screening reliable cadres for the "new" army.

4) *Colonel von Claer.* He is an important adviser to Herr Blank, present head of the German Defense Ministry. A few months ago von Claer told representatives of the German Ex-Prisoners of War Association that "it was high time that the people stopped talking about coddling the German soldier . . . The German soldier would on the contrary, have to be tougher than his predecessor of the second world war . . ." Von Claer said that the release of German war criminals was a precondition for the formation of a new German army. He maintained "that this was also the official view of Herr Blank's defense office" (Manchester Guardian, 1-27-55).

5) *Colonel Count Johann von Kielmansegg.* From the very beginning the Count has played an important role in organizing the "new" army. In discussing the development of German rearmament with the writer for Reader's Digest, Herr Blank said that von Kielmansegg "is one of my closest associates—an aristocrat, cavalry man, former officer of the General Staff. We get along perfectly, I think that decent people with a common goal usually can."

How "decent" is von Kielmansegg? In a sworn affidavit at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials Ernst Rode, former SS Brigadeführer and member of Himmler's personal command staff, revealed that von Kielmansegg, as a member of the German General Staff, participated in the preparation of Draconian measures against anti-Nazi partisans. He stated that these measures "were ruthlessly carried out . . . a thing which was also quite in keeping with Hitler's desires or intentions." These measures, the Nazi Rode declares, were not only directed against partisans but against Jews and other "non-Aryan" peoples. Indeed, Rode admits, these so-called anti-partisan warfare which was conceived by von Kielmansegg together with other members of the German General Staff, "gradually became an excuse for the systematic annihilation of Jewry and Slavism."

6) *General Hasso von Manteuffel.* An influential and articulate military figure in Germany today is General von Manteuffel, former Commander of Hitler's "Greater Germany Division." Von Manteuffel was one of the key organizers of the so-called Brüderschaft, a sinister military association established in Germany a few years after the end of World War II. (For a detailed exposé of this organization see issues Nos. 35 and 37 of Prevent World War III.)

The Brüderschaft was an instrument for the preservation of Germany's military spirit and it was dominated by former members of the German General Staff. Its leaders had close ties with the Nazis and the Gestapo. Von Manteuffel himself, according to Melvin J. Lasky, "was Hitler's favorite military adviser to the end" (New Leader, 11-6-50). The German banker Pferdmenges, a close friend and adviser of Chancellor Adenauer, provided von Manteuffel with substantial funds. It is interesting to note that the Brüderschaft had as one of its foremost aims *"the union of the peoples of Europe between the Atlantic and the Ural with the Reich of all Germans in its ethnographic and historic borders as an organic part. European Union and the German Reich are no contradiction . . . Our foreign policy should not lead to a unilateral tieup with the West . . ."* As a matter of fact, leaders of the Brüderschaft advocated a more "friendly" attitude toward the Soviets stressing the affinity between German Prussianism and Russian totalitarianism.

This same Manteuffel delivered an interesting speech in the Bundestag (12-16-54) in which he tried to show how democratic the German army was under Hitler. He alleged that personal contact between the officers and enlisted men was far greater under Hitler than in any of the other armies including, of course, the armed forces of the Western democracies. Von Manteuffel was selected as one of the Germans who will help to develop "democracy" in the "new" German army. He was even permitted to tour military installations in the United States to obtain ideas as to how to go about "democratizing" the "new" Wehrmacht.

• • •

These are some of the German officers who are shaping the "new" German army—which reminds us of the French proverb "Plus cela change, plus c'est la même chose."

Many of the articles describing the "new" German army give the impression that former leading Nazis, members of Hitler's SS and convicted war criminals will not be eligible to serve. Fact is that there is no evidence to support this impression. In this connection, the New York Herald Tribune (6-8-55) reports that in Adenauer's haste to put through a bill that would permit immediate enrollment in the army, there is *"no provision for weeding out the undesirable ex-SS* (Nazi elite guard) *types."* Furthermore, the bill contains no provision for the screening of the 130,000 volunteers who have indicated their desire to enter the army. We wonder if these omissions are an oversight on the part of Herr Adenauer.

Further indication of the German attitude may be seen n the position of Chancellor Adenauer and his Defense Minister Blank. During the general elections of 1953 Herr Adenauer went out of his way to pay a sympathetic call to Germany's worst war criminals imprisoned in Werl. Following his return from the United States in 1953, he boasted that the U.S. had promised to review the cases of these criminals. He then went on to say: *"I would like to stress this today at the occasion of my first public speech after my return, because former German soldiers of all ranks have complained to me that they are much concerned about the fact that there are still many prisoners at Landsberg Prison who have been tried and convicted when, shortly after the end of the war, judgment was passed somewhat hastily. I believe that our former soldiers may be satisfied that the last stigma—if there was any at all—will be removed from our former armed forces."*

The New York Times (1-12-55) reported that Herr Blank assured a militaristic group that *"the West German Government will attempt to obtain the release of the German war criminals still in Western custody before new West German armed forces come into being."*

We are aware of the fact that, while many people are uncertain about the "new" German army, they are confident that as long as Adenauer lives, the West will have nothing to fear. This was the sense of an editorial appearing in the Washington Post (5-18-55). Can the Western democracies afford such a reckless gamble on one man, particularly when he has reached the age of 80? But the gamble of a "new" army has even more ominous implications. This is admitted by Adenauer himself. He has publicly stated his opposition to a German national army, declaring, *"We, as so many others, believe that this would unquestionably lead to German militarism"* (New York Times, 7-3-54). The world knows the record of German militarism. Apparently Adenauer too is aware of its consequences for, according to the Washington Post correspondent Chalmers Roberts (7-11-54), Adenauer has declared that *"he would never agree to a national German army because that would be the beginning of World War III."*

" 'I am absolutely convinced—100 per cent convinced—that the German National Army, forced upon us by Mendes-France, will ultimately be a very grave danger, not only for Germany, but for the whole of Europe, especially, after I'll have left the scene. I really don't know what is to become of Germany, should we not succeed in creating "Europe." '

" 'Believe me, the danger of German nationalism is much greater than one thinks. The crisis of the European policy makes the nationalists bold, they are gaining in self-confidence as well as in followers . . .' "

Konrad Adenauer.

(Quoted from German weekly Der Spiegel, The Tablet, 12-4-54)

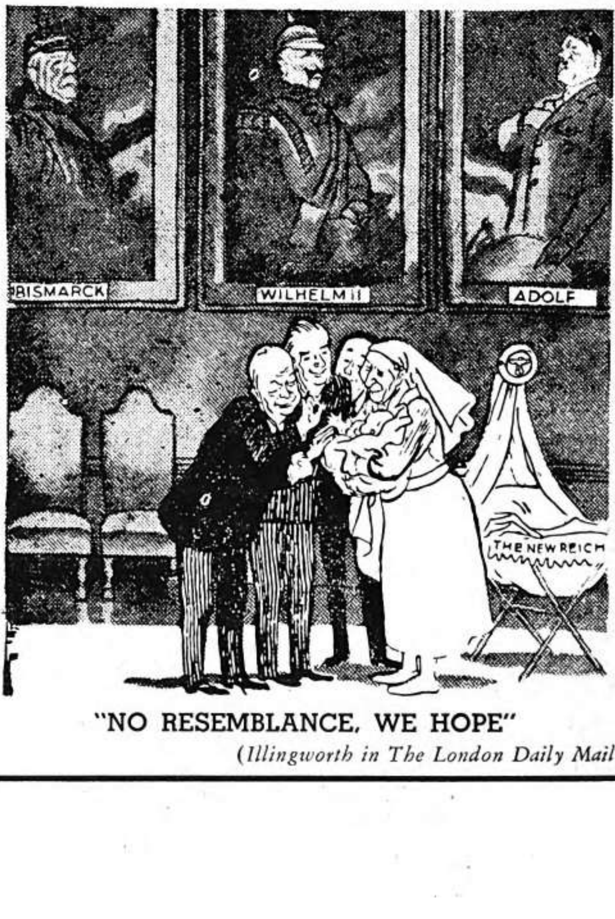
EVIL PEOPLE FOR EVIL CAUSES

In late the fall of 1949 a rather youngish looking man with alert but shifty eyes arrived in the U. S. Hardly anyone knew of his coming, nor does it seem that anyone would have cared. This does not imply that he was disappointed over the fact that the red carpet had not been rolled out in tribute to his visit. On the contrary, the less was said about his presence, the better.

He had every good reason to shun the photographers' flash bulbs. His bank had been charged with the wholesale looting of German occupied Europe and Allied authorities had recommended his indictment and trial as a war criminal. It is no wonder, therefore, that Herman J. Abs should have avoided publicity.

Yet, despite all precautions, Abs was found out. Public indignation began to rise. Senator Guy M. Gillette protested to the State Department, declaring that the *"public interest is not best served by allowing a man with such a record to make unpublicized journeys to the U. S. for any purpose whatever."* Senator Gillette noted that after having waited more than a week for a reply to his letter concerning Abs, he received a telephone call from the State Department's Bureau of German Affairs giving "part of the story." Apparently the Bureau of German Affairs was just as surprised as Abs himself when the visit was uncovered.

The State Department declared that Abs had come to the U. S. to talk with American bankers on certain debts which the Germans had incurred in the early 30s. The State Department also alleged that Abs had been invited



"NO RESEMBLANCE, WE HOPE"

(Illingworth in The London Daily Mail)

to the U. S. by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. However, Senator Gillette learned that the Federal Reserve Bank of Washington, D. C., would not confirm this allegation. Regardless of whether the State Department was trying to pass the buck, the fact is that the spotlight thrown upon Herr Abs, shortened his stay in the United States although it must be admitted that he was able to resume profitable contacts with his friends in American banking circles.

In contrast to the difficulties Abs experienced during his initial visit to the United States, his return to a position of power in Germany was rapid. Indeed, from the very early days of Dr. Adenauer's chancellorship, Abs served as one of his chief advisers. Meanwhile, under the benevolent eyes of the Chancellor, Herr Abs began to rebuild his banking empire. Abs returned to the Board of Directors of a number of Germany's leading monopolies including I. G. Farben's Badische Anilin & Soda Fabrik. Besides his success in the financial and industrial fields, Abs became one of Germany's leading "statesmen." It was Mr. Abs who led the German Delegation to the London Debt Conference which resulted in the scaling down of Germany's debts to the Allies to $2 billion. It was at that conference that Abs hinted to Allied negotiators that Germany might not honor the reduced debt unless she regained her former external assets.

The prestige of Abs grew so rapidly that reports began to circulate that he would succeed Adenauer as the German chancellor. It was during that period when Abs was consolidating his power in Germany, that the Allies began to "reappraise" their German policy. The reappraisal had a decisive influence on the climate surrounding German-American relations. Our experts began to perfume the atmosphere, hoping that in this way the stench of the concentration camps would be forgotten forever.

It was in this "purified" atmosphere that Herr Abs returned to the U. S. in February 1955. This time there were no excuses or buck passing. On the contrary, Herr Abs was warmly greeted by Secretary of State Dulles. In an atmosphere of mutual understanding they discussed the main reason for Herr Abs' return to the U. S., to wit, the return of former enemy assets that were confiscated in accordance with the laws passed by the Congress of the United States. The proceeds from these assets had been used to compensate G. I. prisoners of war and/or their survivors. Now the Germans, in the person of Mr. Abs, were out to make the American taxpayers shoulder the responsibility.

Knowing of Secretary Dulles' professed concern for keeping policies on a moral basis, we called his attention to Mr. Abs' criminal record. In this connection we stated: *"It is said that only evil people can effectively represent evil causes. In that sense the appointment of Mr. Abs to speak for the Bonn Government in its effort to regain enemy assets is not surprising. On the other hand, however, we feel confident that the overwhelming majority of the American people is repelled by the record of Mr. Abs and the cause which he presently advocates."* Mr. Dulles never replied personally to our letter although we received a communication from the Deputy Director of the Office of German Affairs. In his letter the Deputy Director alleged that Allied authorities had no "specific ground" for demanding that the German Government prohibit Abs from holding important positions in the German economy. In addition we were told that it was American policy to permit the Germans "freedom" to choose its representatives and officials.

Space does not permit us to reprint the text of our reply but we quoted chapter and verse from U. S. Government documents attesting to the fact that Abs was one of Germany's leading financiers who *"in an outstanding way thrived under Nationalsocialism . . . , welcomed it in the beginning, aided the Nazis to obtain power, supported it in office, shared the spoils of expropriation and conquest, or otherwise markedly benefited in their careers or fortunes under the Nazis."* We cited the reports of U. S. Government investigators concerning Abs' role in the looting of Europe. We quoted the German banker von Schroeder as stating that Abs' influence with the Nazi Government was "tremendous." That we should have had to devote 3½ typewritten pages to prove what the State Department knows, is in itself a commentary of what has happened to the moral qualities which are supposed to guide our German policy.

To the point that the German Government had the right to choose its representatives and officials we queried whether the U. S. would accept Alfred Krupp or Rudolf Hess to represent the Bonn Government. We did not receive a reply to this letter, nor did we receive any comment from the State Department with respect to our opposition to the return of former enemy assets.

For the past two years the Germans and their lobbyists in Washington have been working overtime to seize these properties. In this operation they have had their helpers in Congress as well as in the State Department. We exposed this give-away deal in the No. 45 issue of Prevent World War III. We showed that the Germans were not particularly interested in what happened to the assets that belonged to "widows and orphans." They have had their eye on bigger fish. Actually their main target is the General Aniline and Film Corporation. They have sought by all devious means to regain this property. They have pretended that General Aniline was owned by a Swiss company Interhandel. This fraud was exposed in one of Switzerland's outstanding newspapers "Die Tat." In a front-page editorial this paper stated:

"It is known far and wide that Interhandel undertook to camouflage the I. G. Farben interests in Switzerland. At that time, the purpose was to put the German chemical interests under a Swiss name before the entry of America into the war and, in particular (to disguise),

the very strong German participation in the General Aniline and Film Corporation.

"As a result, the execution of the Washington accord (to release Swiss property siezed during the war) led to a very unpleasant controversy because, although legally the camouflage was very skillfully done, the fact that Nazi interests were being disguised was obvious" (New York Times, 4-11-55).

Needless to say, the above mentioned article raised a storm of controversy in Switzerland for it struck home the truth that certain Swiss interests were cloaking for the Nazis and therefore acting against the interests of Switzerland itself.

The Germans have also resorted to some "economic" arguments why these assets should be returned. The Bonn Government alleged that the return of these assets would relieve the Germans of great financial burdens. This myth was exposed in the New York Times (2-16-55). It was pointed out that whereas the Western democracies are burdened with huge national debts "West Germany is in the unique position of being almost free of debt."

Finally, the Germans have been talking of the sanctity of private property. One can judge their sincerity by the fact that Herr Abs has been delegated to plead this principle!

There is no question but that Herr Abs will not give up the battle. Does he not possess inexhaustible funds to take care of his American lobbyists and propagandists? Furthermore, he has influential friends. During his stay some of these people paid their respect to him. Among those who visited him in New York, were Gordon H. Michler, Chairman of the U.S.-German Chamber of Commerce and a Standard Oil bigwig; Ernest H. Meili of the J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corporation, one of Secretary Dulles' former legal clients; Joachim Stresemann, Chase National Bank; Marcell N. Rand, Remington Rand Inc.; Rod Herod, International General Electric Co.; Eric M. Warburg; and Dr. Eric Stoetzner, New York Times. The names of these individuals and their connections indicate that the German cartelists have once again built a bridge of friendship with their American counterparts.

It is beyond doubt that, if the State Department has its way, General Aniline and all of the former enemy assets will be returned. We are positive that the American people, if they knew the facts, would strenuously oppose this scandalous giveaway. They would support the resolution of the American Legion which stated, "Believing that the American veteran has a vested interest in enemy assets seized by the United States and that such assets should continue to be devoted to the purposes provided by the War Claims Act, the American Legion opposes any effort to return these assets to their former owners or their governments."

WHO ARE THE WAR CRIMINALS?

When Allied newspaper men travelled through Germany during the early days of the occupation, they reported that it was almost impossible to locate a self-confessed Nazi. Practically everyone—high and low—denied affiliation. The Germans were then aware of the stigma that Nazism carried. Accordingly, most of them played the part of innocent bystanders who were caught in the crossfire of opposing power blocs.

However, within a short time they changed their tune. They soon found out that if one could "prove" to have been "inveigled" or "forced" into the Nazi Party—or if one could obtain a favorable endorsement from an Allied cartel lawyer or high churchman, then past activities on behalf of the Nazis would not be considered sufficient reason for criticism or punishment.

Thus, the circle of the guilty ones was considerably narrowed. Perhaps, the main culprits could be found among former Nazi bigwigs together with a handful of bankers, diplomats and soldiers. But in due time, even this smaller group managed to escape the net.

A new brand of literature began to flourish extolling the industrial Ruhr barons and Hitler's generals. Such literature began to find its way into the United States. For example, last year a former American newspaper correspondent, Louis P. Lochner, devoted a whole book "to prove" that the Krupps and the Thyssens had been duped by naughty Adolf. Parenthetically, it should be pointed out that this is not the first time that Mr. Lochner has employed his pen to blame it all on Hitler, thereby absolving the militarists and their paymasters.

The circle had narrowed to the extent that only a handful of Nazis were to blame. Apparently even this concession is no longer admissible. There is a growing number of publishing firms in Germany which devote almost exclusively all of their efforts to the publication of memoirs and other types of literature glorifying Nazi bigwigs.

But this isn't all. The Germans have been carefully preparing their own counter offensive and the target—the Allied Powers!

As early as 1952, this new twist in German propaganda became discernible. For example, a leading figure in Chancellor Adenauer's Party, Dr. Eric Mende, declared that the German war criminals had been convicted for acts that *"were no different from those committed by the United Nations troops in Korea."* A more blunt statement was made by General Ramcke who had been convicted of war crimes. Following his release from jail he addressed a huge meeting of Hitler's former Waffen SS where he declared, *"Who are the war criminals? They are those who made the Versailles Treaty. They are those who destroyed German towns . . ."* The New York Times reported that the speech was received with "clamorous applause by the assembled veterans . . ." At that time, leading German politicians including Chancellor Adenauer sought to deflate the significance of General Ramcke's remarks by alleging that they did not reflect German public opinion. Whatever might be said to support this view in 1952, the fact remains that the Ramcke thesis is now popular.

For example, the Chicago Tribune correspondent, reporting from Frankfurt, February 12, 1955, writes, *"With West Germany making steps toward regaining sovereignty rights, the people are asking for explanation of what they allege were Allied war crimes . . .*

"West German newspapers, forbidden after the war to criticize the Allied nations and Russia, now are free to print undisclosed facts (sic) *about the Allies."* The correspondent then reports at length about the so-called criminal bombardment of the city of Dresden by the Allied Powers. He writes that the Germans commemorate in memorial ceremonies this "Allied war crime." The Germans, he states, are not satisfied with official interpretations. "They want more details. They ask for precise data. Who planned these raids . . ."

The Associated Press (4-21-55) reported that officials of the State of Rhineland-Palatinate have conducted an investigation on charges that six members of Hitler's SS have been shot to death by GIs after they had been captured during the closing days of the war.

The French, too, have been accused of war crimes. Thus, the Stuttgarter Zeitung (2-2-55) charged the hero of Dien Bien Phu, General Christian De Castries, with having ordered the burning and looting of a German town in the last days of the war.

We can be sure that now that the Germans have their sovereignty, there will be more of such charges and investigations.

Pro-German propagandists in the Western hemisphere are also playing up this new line. The Pan-German magazine "Der Weg," published out of Argentine, refers to Allied war "crimes" frequently. In a recent number (No. 2, 1955) it quoted the German newspaper "Die Zeit" as stating that the Roosevelt Administration and the Communists had conspired to create war between the U.S. and the Axis Powers.

In the United States vicious slanders against the Western Allies as well as the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations are increasing in those publications dedicated to the cause of "Germandom." The Steuben News, published by the Pan-German Steuben Society, and the German language newspaper Bürger Zeitung of Chicago are outstanding examples. In this connection the Bürger Zeitung (5-19-55) dwells at length on the alleged Allied crimes perpetrated against "helpless Germans." The writer of that article, "Politicus," declares that the "enlarged misdeeds" of the Nazis pale into insignificance when they are compared with the crimes perpetrated against the Germans on the basis of the Yalta decisions. Writing in the same vein is the pro-Nazi propagandist, Austin J. App, professor at the Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Texas, a frequent contributor to German language publications. In one of his columns for the German language newspaper Nord-Amerika (March 24, 1955) Herr App accused the Allied leaders of committing war crimes. He charged that they behaved like *"Chicago gangsters after a successful train robbery"* and declared that *"by Nuremberg standards all the active participants at Yalta would have to be hanged as war criminals.*

How does it happen that the Allies are now in the dock? For the answer one must turn to the overall policy which the Allies have been pursuing for the past few years. This policy was designed to revive Germany's power to confront the menacing shadow of Soviet expansionism in Europe. It seemed to be a simple and sound solution—restore the balance of power in Europe via a "rehabilitated" Fourth Reich and all would be well.

Forgotten in the haste to counter the Soviet challenge was the fact that a reinvigorated Germany does not automatically create a balance of power favoring the West. Forgotten, or perhaps deliberately ignored, was the fact that the restoration of Germany to a position of preeminence in Europe entailed a series of measures the cumulative effect of which would discredit the very principles for which the Allies had fought to defeat the Nazis. When the Allies began to water down their original program to decartelize German industry and reduce its war potential capacity; when the Allies no longer cared if important Nazis and Hitler supporters gained key positions both in public and private life; when the Allies closed their eyes to the reemergence of militaristic organizations; when the Allies showed leniency or granted premature freedom to notorious war criminals, they also sapped the basis of their moral authority.

The Germans saw that the Allies were walking into a trap. They knew that a policy which called for the revival of Germany's military power would induce the Allies to embrace many of the very criminals they had pledged to punish. Yet, it is more than a handshake with a Krupp that is involved. By de-emphasizing the record of German crimes and releasing prematurely some of the worst criminals, the Allies have given the Germans the opportunity to defame the Allied cause during World War II. More than that, it undermines the foundations of international law and morality which should guide nations in their relations to each other. (See "Are We Men or Murderers?" page 14.)

The logic of our present German policy confronts the democracies with a grave challenge and we shall have ourselves to blame if we remain silent while the Germans trample on the record of history and on the principles of international justice.

TARGET DATE—1955

Two years ago, an expert on German geopolitics predicted that the year 1955 would witness a major German diplomatic turnabout culminating a series of betrayals from the days of Frederick the Great to the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939. Mr. T. H. Tetens made this prediction on the basis of an analysis of postwar development in Germany, supported by an unusual wealth of documentation. All of this was contained in his book *"Germany Plots With The Kremlin"* which made a strong impression on book reviewers throughout the country. Special editorials were published by newspapers dealing with the significance of this book. The Los Angeles Daily News said:

"We should be well advised to heed Mr. Teten's warning. At least we should read his book. We hope the President reads it. We hope Secretary of State John Foster Dulles reads it, too, for that mattter. It's something that needs telling and the last we can do is listen."

Certainly the reading of this book in 1953 would have armed our policy makers with an insight into Germany's postwar objectives. The fact that the warnings contained in this book based on concrete evidence, were ignored does not detract one wit from its value today. Indeed, it is more urgent than ever before to study *Germany Plots With The Kremlin* in order to cope with the German plan now unfolding before our eyes.

Mr. Tetens was not fooled by Chancellor Adenauer's pledges of eternal loyalty to the West. He pointed out that the Chancellor was a faithful student of German Realpolitik which admitted of no other loyalties than those dedicated to the furtherance of Pan-Germanism. He showed that Chancellor Adenauer's pro-Western policy was basically an opportunistic tactic; that with the help of billions from America the German would be able to weld together a Europe under German hegemony. This was Chancellor Adenauer's concept of the Third Power Bloc. Mr. Tetens quoted the Chancellor as stating on May 20, 1950:

"A federated Europe will become a Third Force in the world, not as strong as Russia or the United States, but powerful enough to intervene successfully—in a decisive moment—to safeguard the peace . . . Germany has again become a factor with whom others will have to reckon in international affairs . . . There is also a long-range economic goal: the colonization of Africa . . . If we Europeans colonize Africa, we create at the same time a supplier of raw materials for Europe which will be of the greatest importance."

Five years later, in a special article for the New York Times Magazine (6-26-55), the Chancellor redefined "the Mission of Germany." He declared that it was "absolutely necessary for a third power to arise. Only a federated Europe can be that third power.

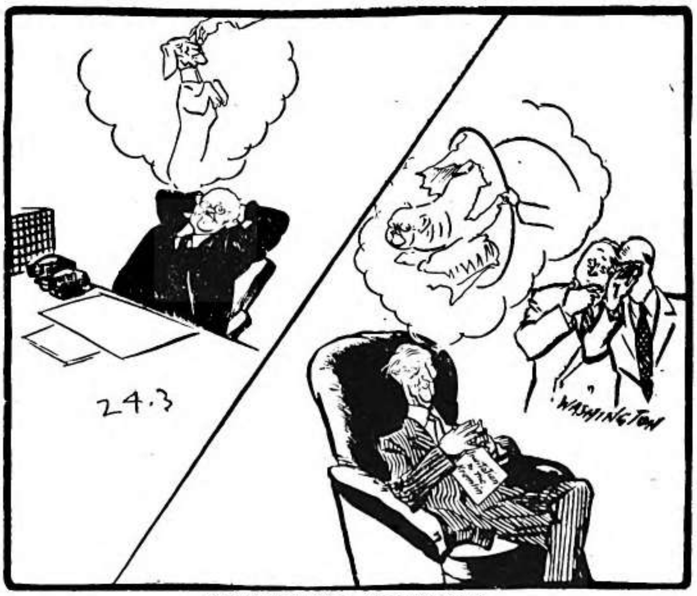
"This federated Europe would never be as mighty as Soviet Russia or the United States. And by virtue of its internal structure it could never be an aggressor. The countries that made it up would be unalterably opposed to war, because they have had enough of it. But such a power as united Europe could throw her weight in favor of peace at crucial moments, when the tensions between the two great powers grew too alarming . . ."

It will be noted that the Chancellor does not make any sharp distinction between the intentions of totalitarian Russia and the United States. On the contrary, implicit in his statement is the belief that the United States might break the peace and in that case, the weight of a German-dominated Europe could be swung against the USA presumably in collaboration with Russia.

From the foregoing it is clear that ideological considerations or cultural affinity do not play a decisive part in Adenauer's calculations. This is the key to his diplomacy and when our policy shapers recognize the fact, they will be able to throw off the hypnotic spell so cunningly cast by the "old fox."

In his book, Mr. Tetens showed that the Chancellor had all along planned a deal with Moscow. However, he realized that under no circumstances must the Germans give cause for suspicion lest they lose the opportunity of extracting billions from American tax payers. In this connection Mr. Tetens quotes the Chancellor as stating, *"We must move very cautiously. We ought not to give the im-*

> **". . . A fundamental American policy has been the reemergence of Germany as a great power and as a counterpoise, as she has been in history, to Russia. Yet it has always been clear that the stronger Germany became, the more she would take charge of her own destinies . . ."**
>
> **(Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times, 5-22-55)**



"THINKING OF YOU"
(*Low, world copyright, courtesy The Manchester Guardian*)

pression, either in Germany or in the United States, that we shall collaborate in any way with the Russians."

The days of caution are approaching an end. Within a few months Chancellor Adenauer embarks on his mission to Moscow. Why has the Kremlin after denouncing Adenauer as another Hitler, rolled out the red carpet? Perhaps they took the advice of Germany's leading newspaper, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung which suggested direct talks between Bonn and the Kremlin because *"only Chancellor Adenauer can convince the Kremlin of the honesty and general usefulness of Germany's policy"* (10-3-53). And what will Adenauer tell Moscow? Perhaps this, too, may be answered by the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung:

"We do not need to call the attention of the experienced men in the Kremlin to the fact that a strong and unified Western Europe can defend its independence against every side. Why should the Kremlin not be interested in such an independence? . . . If the world, which is split today in two parts, could be reshuffled into a numbe of independent power groups, it may prevent this horrible conflagration for mankind. A flexible and prudent Russian policy could, for instance, grant German unification in exchange for the independence of Europe which could be defended against every side. In such a case the reunification of Germany would become a guarantee for peace. The treaties which are presently signed will not prove to be a curb toward reunification if the Russians remain interested in such a solution" (May 30, 1952).

At this crucial juncture in our foreign relations it would be well for our policy makers to read *German Plots With The Kremlin.* A detailed analysis of this book was published in the No. 42 issue of *Prevent World War III.* Because of its significance, the review was inserted in the Congressional Record by Senator James E. Murray, reprints of which may be obtained from the Society upon request.

OUR WIRE TO THE UNITED NATIONS:

JUNE 21ST, 1955

DR. EELCO N. VAN KLEFFENS, PRESIDENT
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNITED NATIONS
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS THE SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III EXTENDS ITS GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES STOP THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS GIVES CONCRETE TESTIMONY TO MAN'S WILL FOR WORLD PEACE STOP THE GRAVE CRISES OF THIS FIRST POSTWAR DECADE HAS PUT THE UNITED NATIONS TO SEVERE TESTS STOP THESE INITIAL SHOCKS REVEALED THE TRUE WORTH OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND HAS STRENGTHENED ITS PRESTIGE AMONG ALL MEN OF GOODWILL STOP WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT DURING THE NEXT DECADE THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL BECOME EVEN MORE INFLUENTIAL IN DETERMINING THE STANDARDS OF CONDUCT AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD STOP AS A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION ACCREDITED TO THE UNITED NATIONS THE SOCIETY HAS DEEMED IT A PRIVILEGE TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN ITS GREAT WORK AND WE PLEDGE OUR CONTINUED FULL SUPPORT

FOR THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ISIDORE LIPSCHUTZ, TREASURER
ALBERT SIMARD, SECRETARY

Du bist wie eine . . .

(after Heine)

Suffering has transformed and purified the German nation. Dr. Adenauer

As fair as is a flower,
So pure you are, so bright!
The radiance you shower
Fills all the West with light.

We gaze upon your petals
But memory calls to mind
You *were* like stinging nettles
Of the most annoying kind.

You are such sweetness shedding,
So fresh, so pure, so clean! . . .
You *were* like darnel spreading,
So lothsome, so obscene!

You *were* like fungus spotted,
So vile, so full, so rank!
You *were* like bindweed knotted,
And *Himmel!* how you stank!

But now with fragrance laden
The parterre you perfume—
The budding Hitler-maiden
Becomes Bonn's choicest bloom!

You are transformed, transplanted;
So bright, so fresh, so new,
The First Prize gladly granted
In Nato's show, to you.

As fair as is a flower,
So pure you are, so white,
Says Dr. Adenauer—
But is the Doctor right?

Sagittarus
(Courtesy, The New Statesman and Nation)

A Nazi Comes to Town

by
N. PETER LEVINSON

She was tall, blond, and blue-eyed and she had a preference for tailored suits. Her hair was combed straight back, her walk mannish, and she reminded you of the amazons Hitler had recruited for the B. D. M., his favorite youth organization. Marching along the streets of Hamburg, Munich, and Berlin, its girls had once been heard singing of their flag fluttering in the breeze and the blood of Jews dripping from the knives.

She was an exchange teacher on a tour of the States, perhaps sponsored by the State Department, and her mission was ostensibly to acquaint herself with the methods and techniques of the American public school system. Perhaps she was also to learn something of the democratic way of life. For she was young and supposedly of open mind. On the other hand, it was probably expected that she would do her part in dispelling the prejudices many Americans still harbored against the German people. For Western Germany was today the "bulwark of democracy" and its indispensable defender. As a typical representative of the new German youth she would be an ambassador of goodwill to a formerly hostile nation.

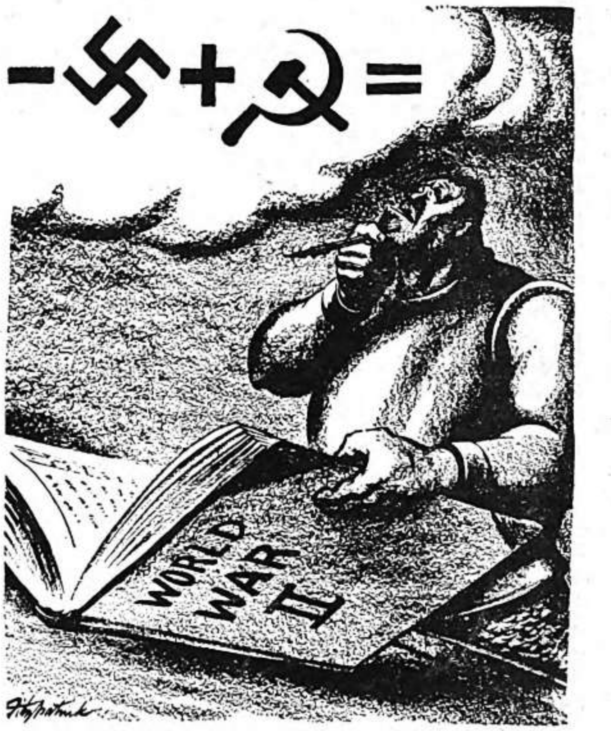
Our small town welcomed her with true Southern hospitality. She was showered with friendliness and several homes that would ordinarily be closed for many a good American citizen were opened to her. Miss Hilde Meyer went around the schools and addressed classes. She gave talks at civic clubs and before churches. Within a few days the entire town was singing her praises and quoting her authoritative views on Communism and the current political situation in Europe.

If we were to ask ourselves to which particular quality Miss Meyer's success was to be attributed, the answer would be simple. Certainly, it was not her scholarship, her profound knowledge of contemporary affairs or the like. It was on the one hand the universal desire to accept her, and on the other, the admiration of the average small town citizen for the educated foreigner, the one who has come to visit—and not to stay. For this is the essential difference between the visiting foreigner and the so-called refugee. Since the former is not interested in making the United States his home, he is subconsciously considered to be superior—he does not need us. The refugee, however, is suspect, even though he has made democracy his choice, or more accurately, precisely because he has chosen America in preference to his former home. Miss Meyer was definitely no refugee. And since she did not want to be one of us, she could be quoted as an authority.

Above all, it was the "continental charm" which captured the hearts of her listeners, to say nothing of the amazing fluency of her English. "Isn't she wonderful?" her admirers would exclaim, "Just imagine us giving a talk like that in a foreign country." And while everybody tried to outdo the other in their praise, they would comment on her choice of words, the level of her education, her sense of humor, and her poise. It all culminated in a rapturous article which appeared in the local newspaper. Nobody, however, in all this whirl, seemed to have listened to Miss Meyer's words or to have noticed what she actually said, which is essentially the point of this article.

Miss Meyer's talk was well constructed. Appearing before the local Rotary Club she discussed the Germany before, during, and after the war. The period immediately before the war became the subject of many nostalgic reminiscences. How wonderful it all had been in Germany, how there had been no poverty, no unemployment, or scarcity, but only prosperity, wealth and abundance. What she failed to mention and what most of her listeners missed was that she was describing the peak of Hitler's power, the years of wealth and affluence attendant upon Germany's annexation of half of Europe. Indeed, in the measure in which the peoples of Europe were plundered, robbed, and deprived of their livelihood, the victorious Nazis had grown fat, smug, and satisfied. No wonder that in the memory of Miss Meyer these years of Nazi supremacy appeared as symbols of pride, glory, and accomplishment.

However, when she spoke of the years of the war her mood changed abruptly. Where there had been triumph there was dejection, where there had been exaltation there appeared gloom. Miss Meyer was describing the sufferings of the Fatherland—the death, the bombings, the destruction. She told of historical landmarks being wantonly destroyed, of cultural centers annihilated, of the agonies of men, women, and chil-



WHAT BALANCE TEN YEARS LATER?

(Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

dren. She spoke with all her conviction and with righteous wrath and indignation. In her audience there were men who had participated in the bombing of German cities. I was wondering whether they listened and how they felt. For here the finger was being pointed at them.

But there was no mention of those who had been responsible for the tragedies of this war, of German guilt and shame; no notice was taken of the millions butchered by the Nazis, of many more tortured in concentration camps. It was the fatherland that had suffered; German culture that had been trampled in the dust. There were no tears shed for the cultural treasures of many nations consigned to the pit. And it was expected that here in America we would join in the chorus and perhaps beat our breasts for having desecrated German soil. Her words could have been uttered by Communist agitators in Eastern Germany who today brand our Armed Forces for the "terror" bombings of Dresden and Berlin.

Her final remarks were devoted to a description of today's Germany, the miraculous revival of her industries, the devotion of her peoples to the cause of the West, the problems of Communism and democracy.

While the speaker had shown her true convictions throughout her talk, it was in the questioning period that they became most pronounced. At one point Miss Meyer declared that there had been good in the Nazi Party. Asked to enumerate those qualities which she considered "good," she replied without hesitation: *"The feeling of fellowship and comradeship in the youth movement, and the healthy patriotism, the love of country, which you Americans likewise cherish."* In one breath she had cheered the party and dared to equate Nazism with American patriotism.

So much for Miss Meyer's stay in Mississippi. It is bad enough that she could have voiced these sentiments without protest in an average American community. For not even in Germany today could she get away with openly praising Nazism—there are still some democratic Germans left, not to mention the victims of the Nazi regime. What was disturbing about the occasion was not so much Miss Meyer's address as the inability of the audience to see through it. They seemed to fall for her lip-service to democracy and utterly failed to comprehend the implications of her glib words. Surely our enemies speak in the name of democracy, peace, brotherhood, and some may even speak in the name of God. But in these perilous times we must be alert to distinguish between the genuine friend and the masked foe.

(Courtesy, "Congress Weekly")

"The release by Soviet authorities of ex-Marshal Schoerner, notorious Nazi war criminal, has aroused public indignation in Western Germany, where Schoerner is regarded, and probably rightly so, as the very type of the Nazi war criminal. The ex-marshal has settled in Munich and has put in a claim for a pension . . .

"Schoerner, a fanatic Hitlerite who was known as 'the terror of the Eastern front,' distinguished himself by his violence and brutality . . . He was wearing civilian clothes when captured, though he had condemned to death all German soldiers who had tried to stop resisting when the situation had grown hopeless.

"The indignation of the Germans is comprehensible and justifiable. However, there seems to be a contradiction in German public opinion. Its violent reaction in Schoerner's case seems to be due to the fact that he committed crimes against Germans; it would be difficult to find as much contempt and hostility toward military men or civilians who deliberately exterminated foreigners—that is, millions of Jews, Poles, Russians and others . . .

"Are we to conclude that, for the general public in Germany, war crimes are serious only when the victims are Germans, and that the extermination of non-Germans is of 'lesser importance'? I raise the question; I do not answer it. But I do admit that I have been struck by the difference in attitude.

(Henrik van Hoven, The World Veteran, 3-55)

"Chancellor Adenauer is back in Bonn, having reassured the U. S., France and Britain that so far as he is concerned, there is no country more solid than Germany in the Western camp.

"Der Alte is a hard bargainer and he knows what he wants for the good of Germany in a united Europe. In Washington, however, there are many fingers crossed. Suppose the German-Russian talks just amble along for the sake of appearances until Adenauer is no longer around to hold the line? What then is something the masterminds in Foggy Bottom, creators of the indispensable man in the indispensable country, haven't yet figured out."

(Theodore Kaghan, N .Y. Post, 6-20-55)

"What I like about Dulles is that he insists on having the best of both worlds—of the God of vengeance and the God of mercy. It is hard to catch him without a theologian's cap and a reference to the Man Upstairs, at the same time that he thunders about American atomic might.

"Thus, in asking Congress to accept the German rearmament treaty he referred to Europe as 'The Cradle of Christianity.' It was an unhappy reference, considering that it was a plea to rearm the German nation which had acted in a somewhat less than Christian way.

"It was also an unlucky stroke, considering that Christianity was actually cradled in the Middle East and may die—along with other religions—from something that may start in Asia."

(Max Lerner, N. Y. Post, 3-30-55)

On the Paris Agreements

A Pandora's box was opened when the U. S. Senate ratified the Paris Agreements granting Germany sovereignty and the right to rearm.

The Society was aware of the dangerous implications in these agreements and intended to have its spokesmen testify at length before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Unfortunately, the unusual haste with which the Senate proceeded to sanction these agreements, though they dealt with problems of major importance, precluded our testifying. Therefore, we submitted a letter to Senator George which summarized our views. This was inserted in the Testimony of the Hearings of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. (3-30-55)

In view of current developments with respect to Russo-German relations, we print below the text of this letter.

March 30, 1955

The Honorable Walter F. George
Chairman Senate Foreign Relations Committee
U. S. Senate Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator George:

In view of the crucial importance of the Paris Agreements in terms of American security, the Society submits herewith its views on this subject for the earnest consideration of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

1. At the outset, the Society takes this occasion to welcome your courageous and far-sighted declaration that the tools of diplomacy must be actively employed as the alternative to war. On the other hand, the Society believes that the efforts to achieve positive results through diplomatic negotiations may well be vitiated by hasty ratification of the Paris Agreements.

2. So far, our dollars and our diplomacy have strengthened Germany economically and politically. Now, under the Paris Agreements, we will reinvigorate Germany's military potential. In the process, we have given relative short shift to dependable allies whom we have forced into an uneasy alliance with their former oppressor.

3. Restoring Germany's power and uniting Western Europe simultaneously are irreconcilable concepts. As this fundamental contradiction deepens, the opportunities for Soviet machinations increase. Soviet propaganda has already exploited skilfully and effectively these incompatible policies. In Western Europe this propaganda raises the ominous spectre of German militarism while in Germany it revives the spirit of Tauroggen and Rapallo—symbols of Russo-German collaboration.

4. Despite the reaction to the ratification of the Paris Agreements, it is doubtful whether there is any justified grounds for optimism. Indeed, the consensus of expert opinion is that with the best of luck and cooperation, it will be from 3 to 5 years before 12 West German divisions can be organized. What would prevent Russia from overrunning West Germany before German armed forces are ready? As a matter of fact, it is highly doubtful whether only 12 German divisions added to NATO could appreciably weaken Russia's capabilities for invading Western Europe.

5. It is the considered judgment of the Society that Germany, at the present time, cannot be trusted as a dependable ally. Once Germany obtains full sovereignty, all prior commitments made by West German politicians become subject to abrogation. That Germany, if her interests so dictate, will repudiate the pledges of the present Chancellor or that he himself may do so, must be expected in the light of Germany's notorious record on that score. In this connection we respectfully draw your attention to the views of Chancellor Adenauer's legal adviser who declared that the Paris Agreements would become invalid and inapplicable after Germany's reunification. The New York Times (12-21-54, clipping attached herewith) reported:

"The view of the adviser, Prof. Wilhelm Grewe, can be taken as the authoritative opinion of the Chancellor and his most intimate political associates. It means that a reunified German state, automatically liberated from the obligations of the Federal Republic to the Western alliance, would be free to pursue any foreign policy it desired vis-a-vis the West and the East."

It is noteworthy that Prof Grewe's opinion was published in a special edition of the Federal Government's Official Bulletin (12-15-54).

6. To qualified students of German politics the unquestioning confidence reposed in the present German leadership by U. S. negotiators could place the United States in an untenable position. Is it not short-sighted to pursue a policy—embodied in the Paris Agreements—the success of which depends on the continued good health and popularity of a single—and a very aged German political leader? Thus, the ratification of the Paris Agreements may produce grave consequences. To use President Eisenhower's words while he was Chief of Staff after World War II:

"I do not think even this one savage defeat has destroyed their (Germany's) will for war when you consider their history."

7. Soviet Russia is apparently very anxious not to have West Germany rearmed as contemplated under the Paris Agreements. She may be willing to make concessions at the proposed Four Power Conference which may be of some value. She may be willing to prevail on Red China to avert armed conflict over Quemoy and Formosa. It is not possible to prophesy the course of events, but so long as it is within our power to confirm adherence to the Paris Agreements, then so long as these remain unconfirmed, at least for the immediate future, we would retain our bargaining power without shutting the door to a modus vivendi with Russia, if that should be possible. In short, we ought to retain the largest possible bargaining power for use at any future negotiations.

8. Haste in ratification of the Paris Agreements would impair our bargaining power without advancing our ultimate objectives. Because the foremost remaining aim of current German policy would then become the reunification of Germany, the ratification of the Paris Agreements (granting sovereignty and rearmament) may very well facilitate the reemergence of a Russo-German understanding at the expense of Western security and world peace.

Respectfully submitted,

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, INC.

Albert Simard
Secretary

Isidore Lipschutz
Treasurer

Are We Men or Murderers?

by

NORMAN COUSINS

(*Editor, The Saturday Review*)

Something happened not long ago that made no headlines and was hardly even reported. In fact, it was all but lost in the flurry over Formosa. But it was as important as any single event in the past ten years. What happened was that the United States Government quietly repudiated its historic position under which heads of enemy governments at the end of the last war were killed or punished for the crime of war. Without benefit of national debate or a vote of Congress or even an explanation to the American people, the United States reversed itself on the principle of world law under which we had earlier declared that no nations but individuals make war and are therefore to be held accountable for war.

Before fixing our gaze on the incredible historic liability we have just incurred, let us review the background. Almost as significant as victory itself in World War II was the proclamation of a new principle, investing sovereignty in the community of nations as a whole. Under this principle it was decreed that war was a crime by individuals against the world community. Accordingly, eminent jurists from the victorious nations came together in a Four-Power Tribunal to define the principles of world law under which individuals were to be tried. Hundreds of political and military leaders from the Axis powers were arraigned, tried, sentenced, and punished. The indictment drawn up against the inner Nazi circle, for example, charged twenty-two men with (1) participating in a conspiracy to commit crime against the peace and against humanity, (2) planning and executing a war of aggression, (3) violating the rules of warfare by mistreatment of civilians and prisoners of war, (4) murdering and enslaving people because of race, religion, or political belief.

The Tribunal condemned twelve high-ranking Nazis to death by hanging. Seven were sentenced to long prison terms; three were set free. Subsequently, acting under these precedents, and with prosecutors from the Allied nations, other trials were held. The final score was 456 death sentences and 1,112 convictions with lesser penalties. In Japan, acting under the same legal sanctions, the United States tried twenty-eight Japanese war leaders, executing seven and imprisoning eighteen.

Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, who headed the American staff of jurists participating in the Nuremberg trials, made it clear that this country was not using the forms of legality as a cloak for vengeance. Even though there was no government of the whole to represent the human community, the community existed and possessed certain basic rights. When these rights were violated it became the responsibility of that community not only to protect itself but to invoke the mechanism of legality at its disposal against the criminals. Individuals who operated or governed aggressive nations could not escape responsibility by pretending to be merely the agents of those nations. Their decisions were the ones that led to the crimes.

Seldom in human history had there been anything as epochal as the definition and application of these principles. In essence, they laid down the basis for world law. They also made implicit the need to create a constitutional basis for the community of nations in order to enable it to deal with world criminals *before* and not *after* the damage was done. In any event, we had made certain specific commitments to basic legal and moral principle from which we could not depart without becoming world criminals ourselves. For if the decisions that were to send more than a thousand human beings to their death were to be undone, we would stand condemned under the very statutes we invoked to condemn others.

To repeat, the big challenge after the Nuremberg trials was to incorporate its basic provisions into the Charter and structure of the United Nations, which was vested with the responsibility for keeping world law and order. This meant that the Nuremberg principles would have to be codified and given the full machinery of implementation. Since aggression did not disappear with the end of World War II and since, indeed, it became essential to create within the shortest possible time the adequate means to safeguard world peace, the principles of the Nuremberg Trials offered a magnificently prepared ground on which to build. If a human community did in fact exist, and if there were threats to that community, then Nuremberg represented both a mandate and a fixed need.

However, the work of drafting a code based on the Nuremberg principles went slowly in the councils of the United Nations. Finally, the issue recently came before the General Assembly of the United Nations and a preliminary decision had to be made. It was at this point that the United States opposed the arguments of the representative from the Netherlands. On November 17, 1954, Charles H. Mahoney, U. S. Representative, explained the American position. There was nothing ambiguous about our statement, nothing which would enable us to avoid the condemnation of history. What we said, in so many words, was that the United States Government did not wish to subject its citizens to "those regular and continuing processes of investigation, prosecution, and trial by international agencies which would be necessary for real enforcement of an international criminal code." We also said officially that "the project for a code of crimes under international law in today's world is impractical and inappropriate."

Impractical? Is it more practical to wait until a billion human lives are expunged before we decide that something ought to be done about the principle of individual responsibility? Is it practical to construct an elaborate legal mechanism in the name of justice and then to turn away from it when it fails to serve our purpose? Inappropriate? Is there anything more inappropriate than to be guilty of a double standard in the eyes of history, seeking immunity from the very legality we solemnly impose upon others? There is an equally important question that concerns Supreme Court Justice Jackson and the able corps of American jurists who worked with him at Nuremberg. Have we by our action before the United Nations converted them into murderers? If the legal basis of their work is to be dissolved, what status are they to occupy in history?

Ever since the United Nations was founded, American delegates to the United Nations have chafed under the frequent use of the veto by Soviet Russia in the Security Council. But not once have we reminded the world that we ourselves proposed the veto. Nor have we ourselves proposed that the veto be replaced with binding obligations—on us as well as everyone else. Similarly, we have made dramatic postures against aggressors and world criminals but when the hard question of individual responsibility actually comes up we ourselves have run for cover. Most perplexing of all is the presumption of our Delegation in saying that the American people are not ready for the measures that are an organic part of world law and therefore world security. Has the question been put to our people? Has there been a national debate? How does the Delegation know?

Is it possible that the American Delegation to the U. N. is more concerned over the probable attacks by certain Senators who fear world commitments than they are over the moral and historic significance of their reversal of Nuremberg? It is undoubtedly true that some Senators will shout to the skies against the creation of a higher sovereignty. That is their right. But it is also the right and privilege of the Government to take the fight to the people.

The American Delegation to the U. N. has put the American people on the spot. Whether we get off it or not depends on whether the American people will allow their name to be used lightly in the world, even by their own government.

(Courtesy, The Saturday Review)

"In the struggle ahead unity of approach by France, Britain and the United States is of primary importance. And there is one difference between London and Washington that could have important repercussions in relation to the big four conference in Germany. Secretary of State Dulles' repeated remarks about the necessity to bargain for a changed status for the satellite states causes a certain uneasiness in the British foreign office. It is feared here that any proposal for 'freeing' the satellites in eastern Europe of Russian control will bring a counterproposal with respect to Germany.

"And when it comes to bargaining, Adenauer has close at his elbow some shrewd and resourceful diplomats who are prepared to take part in this game of power politics . . .

"One may be sure that for all of Adenauer's fine speeches and sincere protestations of loyalty these diplomats in the immediate background will be determined to get all they can for Germany from both sides . . .

"So the lines are being sharpened, and the German people, so lately denounced, despised and condemned, find themselves smiled upon and flattered from the east and the west. Whether this rivalry will ultimately mean peace or war the coming months may well determine."

(Marquis W. Childs, Newsday, 6-13-55)

". . . There is a line of thought common among the German people that predates by hundreds of years the 'master race' theory of the Nazis. It views all Slaves as primitive and the Russians as the most uncivilized.

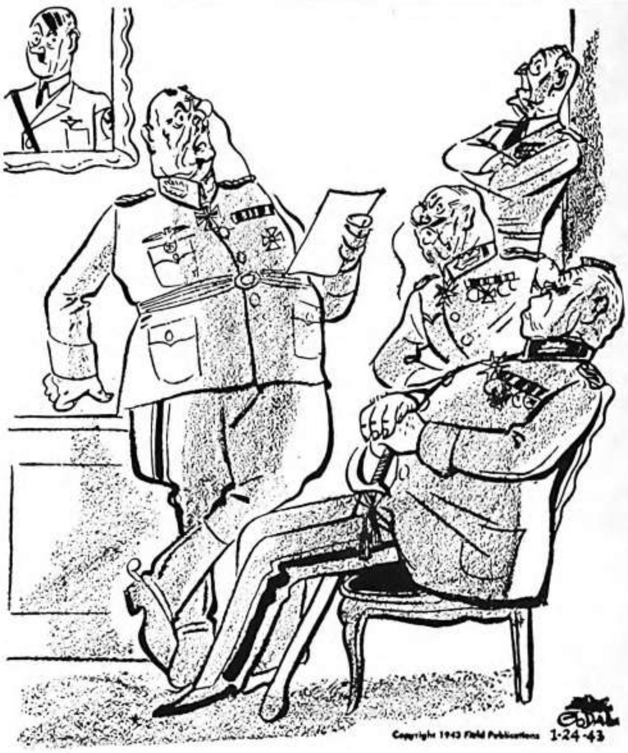
"In contrast to this is another tradition of thought known as the 'Tauroggen complex,' which stems from the alliance formed with the Russians at Tauroggen when Prussia languished under the heel of the Napoleonic occupation. It led to the liberation of Prussia and Prussia's regeneration as a modern state.

"Thus was born the idea that any successful foreign policy must be based on an alliance with the Colossus to the East.

"This point of view had strong adherents in the German General Staff. It was reflected in the Treaty of Rapallo when the two outcasts, Germany and Soviet Russia, banded together in 1922, and in the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. In the postwar years, the Russians have done their best to cultivate the remnants of this attitude.

"Emissaries have been sent quietly from East Germany to make contact with former generals in Bavaria and political leaders in Bonn considered susceptible to such wooing. Last year's defection into the east of Dr. Otto John, head of the West German internal security organization, probably was linked with this effort . . ."

(Walter Sullivan, N. Y. Times, 5-15-55)



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"WE MADE THE KAISER—THE KAISER FLOPPED. WE MADE HITLER—HITLER FLOPPED. WE NOW WILL HAVE TO MAKE DEMOCRACY AND AGAIN LIBERATE THE GERMAN PEOPLE."

The Mannesmann Saga

In the summer of 1905 the Port of Tangier, Morocco, was the scene of an unusual event. Amidst much fanfare, stimulated by skilled propagandists, His August Majesty, Kaiser Wilhelm II, debarked from his warship to announce to the world that the day of Germandom was at hand. In a bristling speech, punctuated with aggressive threats, the Kaiser asserted, *"We are the salt of the earth . . . God has created us so that we should civilize the world."*

Needless to say, the Kaiser's belligerent boasts made the newspaper headlines and the so-called Moroccan crisis was on in full fury. Historians tell us that the Moroccan crisis was an important contributing factor to the growing tensions preceding the outbreak of World War I. It is also a fact that behind the Kaiser's dramatics lurked powerful predatory interests coveting the mineral resources of North Africa. The industrial war lords of the Ruhr were resolved to throw out the French—no matter how. Consequently, the Kaiser's show was merely a coverup. In reality the Kaiser was performing the services of a travelling salesman from the Ruhr.

Stranger Than Fiction

Among the powerful interests for whom the Kaiser fronted in Morocco, were the Mannesmann Works whose main specialty is the manufacture of steel tubing. The Mannesman story is indeed stranger than fiction. Mannesmann power thrived during the two world wars and survived the hazards of peace and defeat. Mannesmann outlived the trappings of monarchy, republicanism and dictatorship, although in each case it found conditions congenial to its worldwide ambitions.

From the time it was founded by the brothers Max and Reinhard Mannesmann in 1890 the Mannesmann interests worked closely with the Kaiser. This cooperation was maintained when in the first decade of the 20th century, the Mannesmann works came under the control of Germany's most powerful banking monopoly, the Deutsche Bank.

Thus, the Kaiser's junket to Morocco received the blessings of the Mannesmann interests which sought to lay hands on the iron ore riches of North Africa. It turned out that the high pressure salesmanship of the Kaiser fizzled and when that occurred it was not long before German troops were goose stepping their way to the French border.

As was the case with other powerful industrial interests, Mannesmann spared no effort toward preserving and reinvigorating Germany's industrial war potential following World War I. In this connection, Mannesmann worked jointly with the Vereinigte Stahlwerke to capture and control the international steel tube cartel. Indeed, through this cartel Mannesmann became so powerful that it was in a position to dictate its own terms to American producers of steel tubes.

Nazi Rewards

Under the direction of the Deutsche Bank, Mannesmann's influence and power became world wide. The ultimate objective of the Mannesmann combine was the complete ownership and/or control of the world's tube production facilities. The Mannesmann Works had benefited considerably under the Weimar Republic, but those in control of this monopoly felt that democracy had its limitations. That is why its leaders were particularly interested in securing Hitler's victory. They were convinced that Hitler had much more to offer in the way of realizing Mannesmann's ambitions. Therefore, the Mannesmann combine was most cooperative in furthering the cause of Nazism between 1933-1939. The Mannesmann Works were very active in the distribution of Nazi propaganda abroad. Utilizing its world wide connections, the Mannesmann interests performed invaluable intelligence and espionage services for Hitler.

Mannesmann's reward for services rendered came after the outbreak of World War II. With the help of Nazi bayonets, Mannesmann agents began to loot the occupied countries of Europe and in the process seized practically all of the tube making facilities. This was in keeping with the plan which the Mannesmann interests had outlined in 1939 envisaging the seizure of the tube industries in Holland, Luxembourg, France, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

Because of the favorite position the Mannesmann Works enjoyed among the Nazi bigwigs, the plan went through without any serious obstacles. Thus, in Rumania the management of the Mannesmann Works cooperated on close terms with the head of the Gestapo, Himmler and it was through Himmler that Mannesmann was able to seize control of the important Rumanian steel production unit, the Titan Nadrag Callan.

Mannesmann made enormous profits from the employment of slave labor provided by Hitler's SS. Allied investigators uncovered records attesting to the fact that the Nazi Government allocated more than 10,000 slave laborers to man the company's plants during the war.

To sum up, Mannesmann's close ties with the Nazis were most rewarding. Production at Mannesmann had tripled between the years 1926-1943 and at the end of World War II the Mannesmann combine controlled 140 companies both in Germany and abroad.

Across the Atlantic

Mannesmann had made significant progress in capturing the steel tube markets in the Western hemisphere. As early as 1908 it established the Sociedad Tubos Mannesmann Ltd. in Buenos Aires, Argentina. It is interesting to note that the Mannesmann properties in Argentina escaped confiscation during World War I because the manager of the properties, one Max Pahlke, had succeeded in acquiring Argentine citizenship. Herr Pahlke performed the same services during World War II. In Chile and in Brazil Mannesmann representatives carried out important assignments for Nazi intelligence during World War II. The United States too was involved in the Mannesmann espionage network. Its chief agent in the United States during World War II was Gerhard Wagner. Herr Wagner, like other Mannesmann agents, wore two hats. He not only served Mannesmann business interests but also performed *"valuable services for the intelligence service of the German High Command by transmitting blueprints and other details of machinery orders for war plant in the U. S. on which Mannesmann's American agency submitted bids."* This statement is taken from the book "All Honorable Men" by James Stewart Martin, former Chief of the Decartelization Branch of the Military Government in Germany. Mr. Martin writes, *"copies of letters from the High Command and blueprints and reports from Wagner were attached as appendices in order to convince the Economics Ministry that it was desirable to keep this channel open even at the expense of using some of the precious dollars which the German government wanted to hoard."*

Zangen and Rasch

Since 1934 the leading figure of the Mannesmann combine was Wilhelm Zangen. He joined the Nazi Party in 1930. Zangen had been appointed to take over Mannesmann by the Deutsche Bank and because of his intimate ties with the Nazis he was able to combine his business activities with his duties as a loyal supporter of Hitler. Zangen was a close friend of Himmler and was one of Hitler's mainstays in providing funds for the Party. He had been a charter member of the so-called "Keppler circle" consisting of powerful German industrialists whose main task it was to keep Nazi finances in the black.

In 1938 the Nazi government appointed Herr Zangen chairman of the top organization for mobilizing the German economy on a war basis. As a result, when the war broke out, Mannesmann was in a strategic position to increase its power at the expense of its competitors both in Germany and in those nations that were to lay prostrate under the Nazi heel. This, of course, was in keeping with the reputation of the Deutsche Bank under whose direction Zangen operated.

The criminal role of the Mannesmann interests was recognized by the Allied authorities and therefore this combine was designated as one of the major steel monopolies to be deconcentrated and decartelized. But while Allied policy called for the breaking up of this monopoly, Mannesmann agents were able to gain influential positions in connection with the shaping of Allied policy in Germany. This scandalous situation was exposed in detail in the February-March 1947 issue of Prevent World War III under the title "The Mannesmann Combine." As early as 1947 a Mannesmann agent, Dr. Harold Rasch, became the guiding spirit behind the so-called Executive Committee on Economics, a German setup which decisively influenced Allied bizonal economic policy. Dr. Rasch was one of Herr Zangen's trusted lieutenants who had administered steel plants in Czechoslovakia seized by the Nazis. Dr. Rasch's record was well known to Allied authorities, yet, his advice had an important influence on determining Allied economic policy.

Decartelization in Reverse

Perhaps the latest information will provide our readers with an idea as to the success of Dr. Rasch's efforts. According to the New York Times (12-28-54) Mannesmann announced *"its remerger with two sister companies made independent only last year under the Allied decartelization program."* The two companies involved in the fusion are the "Consolidation Bergbau" of Gelsenkirchen and "Stahlindustrie & Maschinenbau" of Düsseldorf. Mannesmann is now larger than it was before. This is the verdict of the Manchester Guardian (2-24-55). The Guardian states that "the Mannesmann trust controls a production of 6 million tons of coal and 1.4 million tons of steel a year." In contrast, Mannesmann under Hitler produced 1.1 million tons of steel. Not only has Mannesmann gained more power than it had before the end of the war, but there is a plan afoot to once again revive the steel tube cartel under the aegis of Mannesmann and the reconcentrated units of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

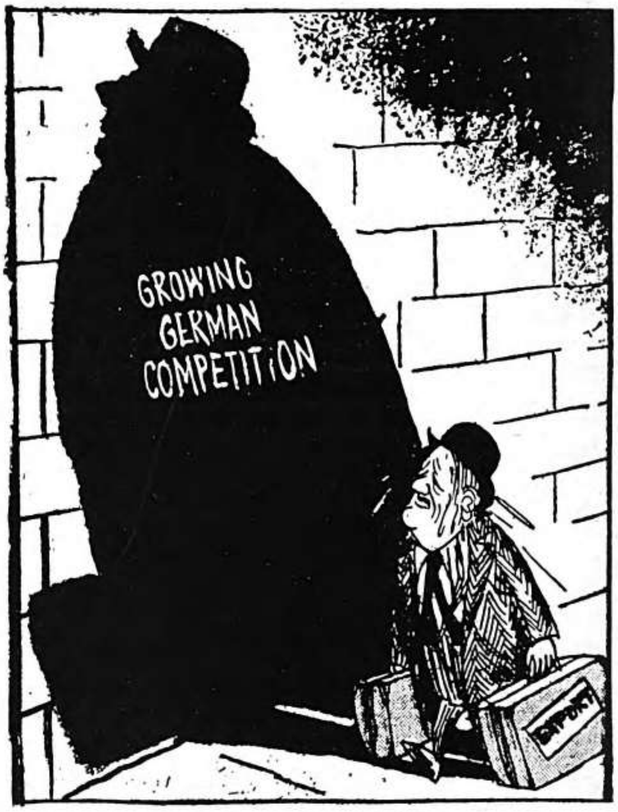
It should be noted that the High Authority of the Schuman Plan gave its blessings to the reconcentration plans of Mannesmann. The conversion offered to share holders of Consolidation Bergbau and Stamag are very attractive. A leading Mannesmann official boasted that the share holders of the two companies would receive more substantial dividends under the plan for reconcentration than they had had so far. This top official went on to paint a very promising picture for Mannesmann's future. He stated that the days of deconcentration and decartelization were over. *"We have entered the final phase of the so-called dismemberment, in our case a redismemberment."*

By including a mining company which formerly belonged to the Flick interests, Mannesmann's power will even be greater. According to the Rheinischer Merkur (1-14-55), "the Mannesmann concern has at its disposal a decidedly broader coal basis than before the war and is in a position to even expand the combine."

The Mannesmann official who boasted about the restoration of Mannesmann's power was none other than Wilhelm Zangen. He, like his firm, managed to survive the early postwar period and to once again appear on the scene as the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Mannesmann A. G. The work of his trusted assistant Herr Rasch, was not in vain.

Valuable Friends

Yet all of the credit for the rebirth of the Mannesmann combine does not go to the efforts of Zangen and Rasch. They



'LIFE OR DEATH OF A SALESMAN'
(Vicky in The London Daily Mirror)

found understanding friends among Allied officials who had been entrusted with the task of breaking up Mannesmann. These friendships paid off handsomely. It appears that among those who worked diligently on behalf of the Mannesmann interests was the J. Henry Schroeder banking house of New York. This private bank has had a long record of close cooperation with pro-Nazi circles in Germany. During the war and immediately thereafter the Schroeder banking house managed to place its high officials in strategic positions where they could keep in touch with the situation in Germany. According to "La Tribune Des Nations," Paris (7-23-54), the Schroeder banking house of New York played a decisive role in protecting the Mannesmann interests. Of course, such activities by the Schroeder banking house were in flagrant violation, at least in spirit, of the Allied decartelization laws. But the Schroeders had the right men in the right places. This must have helped no little in obtaining the necessary assurances that the Mannesmann reconcentration plans would not be opposed. In this connection La Tribune Des Nations states, *"It is permissible to conclude that the American law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell* (to which Mr. John Foster Dulles belonged) *which defends the interests of the Schroeder banking house in New York, has played an appreciable role in the matter."*

This story would not be complete without a few words on the status of the Mannesmann interests in the United States. In our previous study of the Mannesmann combine it was pointed out that the Maschinenfabrik Meer, another company connected with the tube industry, was controlled by the Mannesmann Works. The combination of the two exercised a profound influence over the machines supplied to or withheld from its domestic or foreign competitors. It was predicted that if this combination were restored, it would once again place a stranglehold on the tube making industry, not only in Germany but abroad including the U. S. A. In August 1953, the New York Times carried a small item tucked away in its Financial Section. It read in part: "Mannesmann Works and Maschinenfabrik Meer A. G. of Germany have formed a company in Easton, Pennsylvania . . . A full line of seamless tube mill machinery, hydraulic equipment and special mill machinery for the metal industry will be offered by the new company."

Perhaps readers of this article are curious to know the fate of Dr. Gerhard Wagner, the man who represented the Mannesmann interests in the U. S. and provided the Nazi High Command with intelligence material during World War II. According to the New York Times announcement, Wagner was named President of the new Mannesmann-Meer Engineering and Construction Company, Easton, Pa. He maintains a suite of offices in downtown New York.

". . . There are those who look upon any German visit to Moscow with the pessimism of no confidence, and there are optimists who think it's perfectly alright and no real harm can come of it. There are armchair tacticians who already see the German army aborted and lost to us, and there are careful people with memories who think maybe that wouldn't be so bad, particularly if peace resulted.

"What our peerless leaders see in their crystal balls beyond faith in an old man of almost 80 doesn't come through clearly. What happens to Mr. Dulles' plans for Germany when Adenauer isn't running the place is something we don't hear much about, and there are some people who think that's because nobody in Washington really knows."

(Theodore Kaghan, N. Y. Post, 6-9-55)

"Never before has a bombed-out, defeated and despised nation risen so far and so fast as Germany, which regains sovereignty today 10 years after the Nazi armies began unconditional surrender . . .

"Despite her new democratic political institutions, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's leadership and the people's genuine desire to live down the Nazi past, most social institutions and ways still essentially are authoritarian . . .

"The future danger is not from the present new-Nazi elements, but from a new form of chauvinistic patriotism, inflamed by another demagog, supported as before by big business, and followed by an emotional mass which still obey too automatically . . ."

(Ludwell Denny, N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 5-5-55)

". . . Bled to exhaustion by Hitler's goose-stepping locusts who converted the whole of France into a national prison-camp which they labelled 'occupation,' the people of France secretly nursed the hope for liberation; secretly worked for it, and heroically fought for it in the underground. We are apt to forget that in the first months of World War II, France suffered nearly a million casualties!

"To understand present-day French progress, we should remember that Hitler's retreating hordes blew up and laid waste enormous French areas. In bridges alone they destroyed a total of 2,800. Their calling card was occupation; their 'thank you' note was destruction.

". . . Significantly, all the moneys given to France by the United States since 1946, every dollar and more, in a budgetary sense, was spent by the French Government in pursuit of a war against communists in southeast Asia. This meant that while other countries of free Europe—foremost among them Germany, our deadly enemy of World War II—received billions of American dollars in reconstruction aid, the French people were obliged to rebuild a weakened and ravaged France with their own depleted resources, their own toil and sweat. Little wonder that their standard of living fell dangerously low, to the delight of the communist-vultures . . ."

(A. N. Spanel, Chairman, International Latex Corp., N. Y. Times, 2-27-55)

Ten Years After

by
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

In looking back at World War II, for instance, we Westerners might be tempted to ask ourselves: "What was the sense of putting ourselves through this awful war in order to hoist communism into the saddle over half the world?" And, vice versa, the Communists, I suppose, might be tempted to ask themselves: "What was the sense of going through it in order to leave capitalism still in power in half the world?" On both the present sides, such questions are, perhaps, natural. All the same, they are also unrealistic unless both liberals and Communists ask themselves in the same breath: "What was the sense of putting ourselves through it in order to save the whole world, present liberals and present Communist halves alike, from being conquered by the Nazis?"

The point is that, in the circumstances of our time, we could not have put down Hitler without consequently producing the situation with which all of us now find ourselves confronted. It is hardly worth saying that this is a situation that pleases none of us on either side of the Iron Curtain. But the pertinent question is: "Do we find our present plight more unpleasant, or less unpleasant, than that other plight in which we all should now be finding ourselves if the Nazis had won the war?"

When the question is asked, as all practical questions ought to be, in this form of alternative choices, I, for one, have no doubt about my own answer. I dislike our present plight less than I should have disliked being under Nazi rule. And, in this sense, I feel that the cost of World War II has been worth while, even when we have added the cost of the war's present consequences to the cost of its horrors while it was being fought. . . .

Well, I believe myself that World War II did settle three things: first, that the world should not be unified politically through being conquered by the Nazis; second, that it is going to be unified politically in some other way (maybe better or maybe still worse) sooner or later; third, that if it were to be unified through the fighting of a third world war, this world war III would be infinitely more terrible than either of its two predecessors, because it would be fought with atomic weapons. Let us take a look at each of these three points.

A Nazi World

If World War II had not been fought and won by the Western powers and the Soviet Union through their combined efforts, the Nazis would have conquered the world. Perhaps this proposition sounds less convincing to Americans than it does to Britons, who were so very nearly conquered, or to Russians, who were half-conquered, or to Continental Europeans, who were wholly conquered till they were liberated from overseas with the cooperation of their own resistance movements.

Nevertheless, I believe this is the truth. I believe that, today, the whole world would have been in Hitler's power if Britain and France had not gone to war with the Third Reich over her attack on Poland, and if, after that, Hitler had not made war on the Soviet Union, and if Japan had not made war on the United States.

If there had been no World War II, or if there had been one in which the Third Reich, instead of being destroyed, had not only made the vast conquests that it did make during the war, but had retained the greater part of these in a peace settlement, I believe that then, in either event, Hitler would eventually have made himself master of the whole world.

This is almost indisputable, I should say, on the second of the two alternatives that I have just suggested. For a World War II ending in a Nazi victory that left the United States, the British Commonwealth and the Soviet Union still in being as nominally independent powers would really have left all three, including the United States, at Hitler's mercy.

They would have been at his mercy for two reasons. One is that the war potential of Continental Europe, if organized and mobilized in peacetime, is a factor that could tip the balance of world power. We in the West are well aware of this today. It is the reason why we have rearmed in order to relieve the Soviet Union of a possible temptation to occupy Western Continental Europe and thereby win for itself what might be a decisive preponderance of power in the world as a whole.

Conquest Through Peace

The second reason why, if Hitler had retained his wartime Continental European conquests, this would have enabled him to move forward to world dominion is that, through holding Continental Europe in a post-war period of nominal peace, he would have gained control over the Continental European powers' colonial possessions and naval and air bases overseas, and, when we add up the French, Dutch, Belgian, Italian, and also the Portuguese and Spanish overseas possessions, as these then were, we see that they amount to a world-wide network of strong points that is not incomparable to the network that the NATO countries, between them, hold today.

Winding his coils tighter and tighter around French Africa, Hitler would eventually have struck at the New World across the Atlantic between the westernmost bulge of Africa and the easternmost bulge of Brazil. I feel sure that he would have conjured up strong enough "fifth columns" in numerous enough Latin-American countries to be able to prize away the whole of Latin America from its traditional association with the United States; and then, one day, you would have waked up in New York to hear that Hitler's advance guards were poised on the Mexican bank of the Rio Grande.

What would the United States have been doing meanwhile, and what would she have done then? Do you know the answer yourselves? I do not know it, but my guess is that, in these formidable circumstances that were ruled out of possible realization by Hitler's overthrow, the United States might not have made up her mind to act until her only choice had become one between surrender and an inevitable overwhelming defeat.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The N. Y. Times)

Those Twelve German Divisions

by

R. H. CROSSMAN

"The ingratitude of these damned Germans! I shall never trust them again." The place where this was said to me was Königswinter. The occasion was the Conference of the Anglo-German Asociation, where a representative collection of British and German politicians and journalists meet annually to discuss world affairs, and always end by discussing German rearmament. The speaker was a well-known Labour M.P.—a no-nonsense supporter of German rearmament — who has often bluntly told the Commons that, since the French are hopeless, we must forget old scores and trust the Germans as our allies in defence of Western civilisation. That kind of speech still goes down at Westminster, and would have been applauded by our German hosts at Königswinter even twelve months ago.

But this year, throughout the Federal Republic, the wintry climate of cold war has suddenly changed and German loyalty to Nato is breaking up like an ice-floe in Spring. No wonder the British M.P.s, who believed that Western Germany had been safely frozen into the West, were shocked by what they heard and saw at Königswinter. Editors of staunchly anti-Socialist newspapers, Right-wing Generals, even members of Dr. Adenauer's Coalition were all thawing out of their rigid Western orientation, stretching themselves in the Spring sunshine and turning grateful eyes eastwards towards Moscow, whence Dr. Raab had just returned to Vienna, loaded with concessions.

I can see why my colleague was so angry. How bitter to have backed the wrong horse in Bonn! How bitter to be forced to admit that, in opposing German rearmament and warning us against the attempt to integrate the Federal Republic into Nato, Erich Ollenhauer, the Socialist leader, has shown more responsibility than his detractors! If we had taken his advice, Britain—or at least the Labour Party—would long ago have put forward a plan for German neutralisation with adequate safeguards—and so forestalled the Russian peace offensive. As it is, while Mr. Molotov presents himself as the benign protagonist of peaceful co-existence, the Western Powers appear in German eyes to be preventing German unity and rearming Western Germany to suit the convenience of their own nuclear strategy.

Until this Spring, Germans had only been shown the advantages of the Paris Agreements — the restoration of sovereignty which they bring, and the lavish dollar assistance. But now the discussion has moved from an abstract debate about the pros and cons of German rearmament towards more concrete and disturbing problems.

What sort of Army will it be? How will it defend Germany? How will it be fitted into the military headquarters at S.H.A.P.E. and the political headquarters at Nato? When German rearmament is studied in this way, the idea of being integrated into the West soon loses its attractions, and the argument for neutralisation gains in force.

Let us face the problem in German terms. Nato strategy assumes that the first phase of a European war will be an offensive by 70 crack Russian divisions, to which the only possible answer will be a fighting withdrawal of Nato's ground troops to the Rhine, while the offensive is broken up by nuclear bombardment of the Russian lines of communication through the Eastern Zone. Thus, Eastern Germany will at once be vaporised, and the Federal Republic will become a battlefield, exposed to Russian nuclear retaliation. The military integrations of the Federal Republic into Nato certainly strengthens the shield protecting Britain and America, but it is difficult to show what protection it gives to the Federal Republic.

Until quite recently, this problem was only discussed on a technical level inside the Shadow Defence Ministry in Bonn. Now, as the result of the dismissal of Colonel von Bonin, it has become a first-rate political issue. Von Bonin is an extremely handsome Prussian Junker of 48, who ended the war as Guderian's Chief of Operations and obtained a high position in the Shadow Defence Ministry under General von Speidel (Rommel's No. 2).

Last July, after a trip to America, where he was much impressed by the new anti-tank gun, he submitted a Memorandum on the role of a German Army and, finding that he was getting nowhere with it, began to intrigue with Generals outside the Ministry. Last month he was sacked, and immediately published the Memorandum in *Der Spiegel.*

The first part deals with the call-up. Von Bonin believes that, since there has been no military training for ten years, the idea of building the twelve divisions in 24 months is absurd. In his view, it will take four years at least to train the 150,000 volunteers for the cadres and another three years to recruit the 350,000 conscripts. "The whole German working class is terribly anti-militarist," he said to me. "If you rush it and train the cadres and the conscripts together, you just won't get an Army." This may be true, but I suspect that what he really wants is to follow van Seeckt's example in the 1920s and build up an élite of long-term officers and N. C. O.s, which can re-establish the Prussian tradition. On this issue he will get little popular support.

It is the section of the Memorandum dealing with strategy which has caused the sensation. Von Bonin repudiates General Gruenther's strategy of planned withdrawal. Instead, he proposes that the Nato divisions be kept in reserve, West of the Rhine. The newly constituted German Army should have the sole responsibility for holding the forward areas while General Gruenther's divisions get ready for the counter-offensive. It should consist of small, highly mobile *Sperrverbände* ("block units"), mainly equipped with anti-tank guns and defending in depth a 50 kilometre strip all along the Zonal frontier. "Ours," he said, "would be what the French call an *armée de couverture,* a purely defensive force, which by its very structure could not undertake offensive operations and which would, for this reason, convince the Russians of our peaceful aims."

I asked him the obvious question why British or American units should not be trained to take part in this frontier defence. "The idea shocks me," he said. "This is Germany, and it should be Germans who defend the frontier." And he added that, if his *armée de couverture* had been proposed to the French when E.D.C. was being discussed, he was sure that they would not have turned it down. "Of course I was in favour of E.D.C. when it was first proposed. After all, we were all overshadowed by the thought of Korea in 1950 and the fear that it might be repeated in Europe. We had to accept whatever we could get at that time. But now we must consider most the defence of our own country and the possibility of ending the partition of it. If we have the kind of German Army I want—one which has not been integrated into Nato—there will be no obstacle on our side in the way of neutralisation if the Russians agree to it."

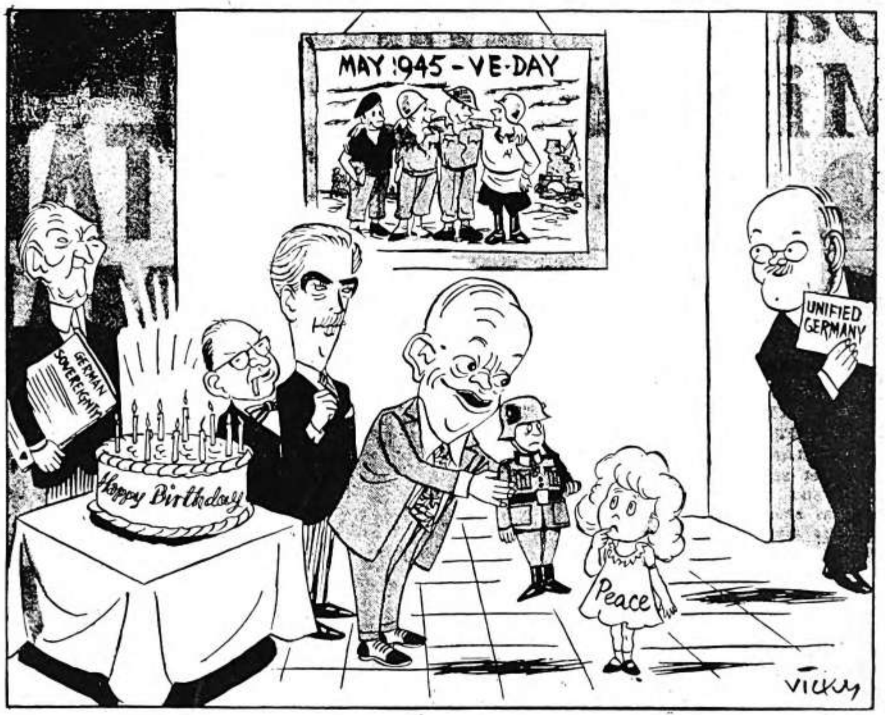
"But do you think the Russians ever will agree?" I asked. "Of course, *my mind* says they will never retire from Eastern Germany," he replied. "Why should they? But we must try." He went on to outline a plan for *Bündnislosigkeit,* which he agreed was closely similar to the neutralisation of the Low Countries and Belgium before 1914. The frontiers of a united Germany should be guaranteed by the Western and Eastern powers and it should be permitted an army for self-defence. "Suppose the Russians agree?" I asked, "What would you do about the People's Police in the Eastern Zone?" "We'd take them over," he said, "as part of the united German Army"; and when I showed some surprise, he remarked: "After all, that would be a minor problem compared with the nationalised industries, the education system and all the other changes carried out by the Communists in the Eastern Zone. If we can manage to merge East and West Germany on all these social and economic levels, then surely the problem of the People's Police is a minor one. The fact is, we haven't much time," he said. "If we are forced to wait ten years they will have Communised the youth of the Eastern Zone, and then it will be too late. That is why we must get unification quickly and permit nothing to be done by way of military integration with the West which could impede it. We must make the Russians an honest offer soon." "And what if that offer is rejected?" I said. "Then we will have to accept Nato integration," he replied, "and see Europe turned into another Korea and Germany permanently divided, unless there is another war. But that is too dreadful to contemplate. We must succeed."

The publication of von Bonin's Memorandum has, for the first time, confronted German public opinion with the appalling dilemma implicit in the Paris Treaty. He himself struck me as the best and most dangerous type of Junker, an ambitious, patriotic officer, who would stick at nothing in order to re-create the German State in the authoritarian Prussian image; and I am not surprised that the Social Democrats, though they may agree with some of his strategic ideas, have been careful not to identify themselves politically with him. Indeed, what is important is not his row with the Shadow Defence Ministry but the public debate that it has caused.

Dr. Adenauer, of course, still adheres tenaciously to the policy of Western integration, and I was told by one of his chief lieutenants that there should be no negotiations with Russia until that integration has gone so far that it cannot be reversed. Such a view may be acceptable to Rhineland or Bavarian Catholics, whose dislike of Prussia outweighs their German nationalism. But it would be most unwise to make Western policy and strategy dependent on political forces which will soon be regarded as separist by the majority of Germans. "We can't have a C.D.U. Army," von Bonin said to me scornfully. "It must be a German Army, serving German national interests."

There he spoke not only for his own narrow caste, but for the millions who have supported the Socialist opposition to the Paris Treaty. If their demand for neutralisation is brushed aside on Dr. Adenauer's advice, the Western powers may succeed in integrating the Federal Republic into Nato and raising twelve German divisions. But those divisions will soon be as militarily valueless and politically unreliable as the People's Police of the Eastern Zone. Then, sooner or later, someone will stage a Nationalist *coup d'état* in Bonn, accept an invitation to Moscow, and return to be greeted with tumultuous applause as the liberator of his country.

(Courtesy, The New Statesman and Nation)



"HERE YOU ARE DEAR, YOUR TENTH ANNIVERSARY PRESENT!"

(*Courtesy London Daily Mirror*)

"Report on European Mission"

by
GENERAL JULIUS KLEIN

In the early winter of last year, General Julius Klein submitted a report on his European Mission to a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, U. S. Senate. As Special Consultant, General Klein was assigned the task of investigating conditions in Europe. General Klein's findings, based on his on the spot investigations, are a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the problems confronting American policy. Of particular significance was his analysis of the situation in Germany, excerpts of which we have reprinted below.

German cooperation with American foreign policy has not been a matter of choice. It was inevitable. As an unequal, Germany could not measure her diplomatic muscles against those of other European countries. In search of a "big brother" to protect her, Germany naturally found the United States of America to be most suitable for the role. A German foreign policy closely coordinated with, and dominated by, a European nation would in effect mean subordination to that nation. A German policy in compliance with American policy did not imply the same, for America is generous and far away.

In essence, this has been the basic thesis of the Bonn policy. In reality, few have thus far questioned the soundness of this principle. Hardly anyone (with the possible exception of the Communists and the extremists of the right) advocates today an anti-American policy, or, for that matter, a policy which would disregard American wishes. The opposition, that is the Social Democrats and elements in the Government parties who have recently called for some changes in policy, do not ask for a weakening of the ties with Washington. What they say they want is more diplomatic elbow room in the east.

Some segments of the German population are questioning, however, the wisdom of America's policy. Outwardly this questioning bears the appearance of a search for information. It may lead eventually to some forms of criticism of American policies, but so far it has not assumed such forms. There are several reasons for this behavior:

(a) Instinctively Germany feels that before she can start deviating from a dominant diplomatic course, she must achieve equality. It is no secret that German political leaders believe that only the United States could raise them to par. Aside, therefore, from economic considerations, German allegiance to Washington is conditioned by her position in the so-called family of nations. With her increasing independence and sovereignty, she is becoming more and more aware of her own interests. The stronger she grows, the less she needs United States support, and the more she is conscious of her interests which conflict with those of the United States.

(b) Germany never really has felt secure in Europe. After 1945, many in Germany sincerely desired a united Europe. But it is easier for Germans to become good Europeans in a political melting pot than to become good neighbors with a given European country. The United States gave Germany a feeling of security against what she considered the anti-German feeling in Europe.

(c) Germany, that is the Federal Republic, needed some protection against the Communist world. It is not to be forgotten that the Germany of 1949 was a frail being. She needed not only political introductions to foreign nations, she also needed economic aid. Above all, she required political security to make her impervious to eastern ideologies and to enable the regime to complete the restorationist policies it had begun to put into effect during the bizonal days. Only the United States could give this necessary protection.

In short, German allegiance to United States foreign policy did not stem from the conviction that such policy is right or correct but from a belief that Germany must find a strong enough protector among its occupiers to defend her against the demands of the other occupiers. It stems also from the belief that for a weak nation it is better to ally herself with a strong one, preferably the strongest.

While the Germans might have become America's favorite Europeans, they did not cease to be Europeans, although there is some doubt whether they have become Western Europeans in the real sense of the word. Though many (including the Chancellor) are devoted to the idea of European integration, it would be unwise to argue that Germany as a whole, or even that the majority of the Germans, actively desire a united Europe. It is no secret that to many, consciously or unconsciously, a united Europe concept has represented merely a shortcut to equality. After all Germany's deposit in an integrated Europe would have amounted to no more than a deficit sovereignty. To many, therefore, both the allegiance to United States policy and the devotion to European integration, have been no more than tactical moves to improve Germany's, rather than Europe's, position.

German Relations with the Soviet Union

The current tendencies, therefore, for ties with Russia are the results of the following:

(1) Germany has grown sufficiently to take a bolder look at the world around her. After all, the Western European countries (with the exception of Spain and the Vatican) maintain diplomatic relations with Russia.

(2) There is a feeling that American interests in Europe, and therefore American strength in Europe, is decreasing. Germany feels that she is not strong enough, at least now, to deal with Russia. Those who favor relations with Russia now believe that such relations may ward off Russian "dissatisfaction" with Germany, which might express itself, unless it is heeded in time, either in a Franco-Russian anti-Germany pact or even by war.

(3) West German proponents of relations with Russia now feel that the sooner such relations are established the later "the inevitable third world war will break out." Such relations, some feel, would ease the tension in Europe and espe-

cially in central Europe.

Unification of Germany

There is a growing dissatisfaction with past methods aimed at bringing about the unification of Germany (and possibly the restoration of lost territories). It is felt that the period of "making faces at each other," better known as the cold-war period, has produced almost no tangible results. It is argued that two alternatives are now available, either military action to convince Russia (and the Communists) about the moral justification of Germany's claims, or diplomatic means. The latter must offer advantages to Russia. It is said that after all Russia is the boss in the Communist world, and if Germany wants unification and territorial changes it had better deal directly with the top.

Foreign Trade

The expanding German economy is looking feverishly for markets. "The miracle babes" are not too optimistic about their chances in the Western World.

German industrialists believe that Russia and the Russian orbit represents, from the export point of view, a spongy area which will soak up all the German production, especially consumers goods and machinery.

Of course, not every proponent of relations with Russia now uses all the arguments listed above. They advance only those which are suitable to their own economic or political interest. The following are the groups which are most accessible to ideas of relations with Russia:

(a) German Protestantism as well as the German Protestant Church organizations: Apparently the efforts of Heinemann and Pastor Niemoller have borne fruit. Class-conscious Protestantism in Germany has never felt comfortable in its postwar position in the Federal Republic. Many of them feel that German Catholicism is assuming a political role far beyond its numerical justification. To overcome their own weaknesses they feel that they must have the support of the Germans in Eastern Germany and above all they must ease the pressure from the east which forces Germany into the Catholic sphere of influence of southwestern Europe (Eastern Germany is predominantly Protestant).

(b) Refugee organizations, advocates of unity at all price and political groups: Most refugee groups have ceased to brandish the sword against the East and would like to see some arrangements which would enable them to return to their homeland, or at least to certain parts thereof. In the Bonn government itself there is a strong wing which favors "more activity" in diplomatic circles connected with Russia. Federal Minister Jacob Kaiser, the self-styled defender of Eastern Germany, and leader of the nonexistent leftwing of the CDU, represents a group inside the CDU which advocates talks with Russia. Ernest Lemmer, also a CDU leader (from Berlin), echoes Kaiser's sentiments. He is joined by such rightwing members of the CDU as Von Bismarck.

Outside the CDU the FDP constitutes the most solid political bloc favoring talks with Russia. However, as in the case of the CDU, the FDP is motivated by regional and economic interests. And in both cases, in the FDP and the CDU, the advocates of talks come from the areas which believe they may benefit from such talks and they represent the interests which favor such talks.

The Social Democrats, generally speaking, favor conversations with Russia. Since the Pfleiderer Plan was launched the SPD has become somewhat less enthusiastic about the idea. They want international talks with Russia rather than a German-Russian tete-a-tete.

Regional and economic interests: Lower Saxony and Württemberg-Baden represent the areas in which talks with Russia are most popular. They represent also the area which looks askance at Bonn and at the alleged Rhine-Ruhr influences on Bonn's policy. These are the areas in which small industries and consumers goods industries are located. These industries promise themselves a great future in trade with the East and expect diplomatic policies to pave the way for their goods.

No Fear of Communist Ideology

Behind the will to talk with Russia there is also the self-induced conviction that "ideologically we are safe." The proponents of relations with Russia belong to the strongest opponents of communism. They differentiate between German Communists and Russian Communists and between Russian communism and the Russian state. They hate the German Communists in Western Germany most. Slightly less hated are the Communists in the Eastern Zone. They are, however, feared. Those who want the talks for purely political reasons refuse to have any dealing with the Eastern Zone representatives. Those who want talks for economic reasons feel that they cannot disregard their brethren in the Communist camp. They, both, fear them and feel that they need them. They fear that the Eastern Zone may develop competitive industries. They hope that both as Communists and Germans some of the Eastern Zone economic agencies may facilitate economic contact between Western Germany and the Russian Empire.

In any event, the proponents of dealings with Russia feel that Western Germany does not have to fear Communist ideological infiltration. Contact with Russia will not, according to them, contaminate their pure neodemocratic ways of life. There are even some who feel that (like some Americans in 1941) such contacts with the Russians may affect, positively, the Russians.

This is more or less the background of the "movement" for conversations with Russia. Its criticism of American policy is only indirect. It is considered that the United States is "smothering" German diplomatic relations with too much passion for its democratic purity. The United States, it is considered, tends to behave toward Germany as a jealous parent toward an offspring who is about to get married. The United States is unwilling to realize that Germany has come of age and that it is entitled to make its own diplomatic mistakes, a field in which it is an expert.

The American policy in the Far East "annoys" Germany only insofar as it interferes with its economic penetration of those areas. There is still no noted criticism of American political objectives in the Far East. On the contrary, it can be said that the dominant majority of Germany's editorial writers favor the United States course, though some find it hard to hide their dissatisfaction at the difficulties encountered. Generally speaking, they favor slightly the admission of Red China to the United Nations. They believe that such an admission would ease German economic relations with the United States.

Germany is still uncertain about American objectives in Europe. She hoped to gain some benefits from the United States-Spanish agreement, but was disappointed. She now feels that the United States is building its defense line west of the

Rhine; this means that Germany is destined to become the no-man's land in case of a successful defense of Western Europe. Needless to say this solution meets with little enthusiasm.

However, Germany's slight criticism of American foreign policy is not so much based on its disagreement with these policies as with the facts that (1) it hinders her own development, and (2) it does not trust American judgment.

The first has already been discussed here. With regard to the second, Germany is merely borrowing opinions from the other European countries. These opinions state that the United States is diplomatically immature and that in our hastiness and impatience we may talk ourselves into a war. It is these rather than any other reasons which have infused a slightly non-American, rather than an anti-American sentiment in German political thinking.

Above all, it must be borne in mind that the advocates of relations with Russia are at the same time fascinated by the vision of Germany "as a bridge between East and West." The concept that this is Germany's "historical mission" implies of course on one hand that she would like to be liked by all and on the other hand that she does not intend to turn against anyone. It also implies a weakening of the efforts toward integrating Germany in Western Europe. . . .

Analysis of the Strains and Stresses of the Bonn Coalition

The democratic institutions in Germany and the present form of government are fairly stable. At the moment they are not seriously endangered by any subversive elements. Stability, however, does not necessarily equal strength. During more than 5 years of its existence the Bonn government has been unable to evolve a national consciousness among the population of the Federal Republic. One may encounter "nationalistic" sentiments in Germany and possibly such sentiments may be voiced by many people. But rarely does one encounter patriotic sentiments, for the fact remains that Germany is one of the most "nonunited" nations of Europe. It is this lack of national consciousness which basically weakens the Federal Republic. Possibly the German militarists are correct when they claim that the German Army, the Wehrmacht, represented the unifying elements in Germany.

The existing institutions in Germany lack meaning and tradition. They exist because they are, and not because they are accepted.

Since the existing institutions have not as yet met the test of real opposition, that is undemocratic opposition, their strength cannot be judged. For up to now they existed under the protection of the occupying powers who by their sheer presence discouraged the development of antigovernmental movements.

Formalistically, the Federal Republic has the strongest parliamentary government in Europe. The Chancellor, who depends on the confidence of the Bundestag, cannot be turned out of office unless his replacement is appointed and unless this replacement has obtained at least an absolute majority of the Bundestag. This means that it is hardly possible to topple the Government.

This constitutional strength of the Government is reinforced by the authoritarian tendencies of German public life. The fact that Dr. Konrad Adenauer has been Chancellor for 4 years helped him in last year's elections. Because, after all, his opponent could not claim such a distinction. The same applies to all levels of political and economic life.

The existing Government has not yet achieved acceptance by the people. Bonn remains in a transitional stage and no one accepts the term of a "Federal Republic nation."

The nonacceptance of Bonn as the representative of the German people stems from the fact that the Government does not fill out the entire framework of duties which devolve on it, either under the Bonn basic law or through international agreements. The Federal Government has a tendency to take refuge in foreign policies to escape the unpleasantness of domestic affairs. However, the existing governmental structure of Germany has saved Bonn from the results of popular dissatisfaction.

The efforts of the Government coalition to isolate the Socialists, and the confessional issue represent the major divisive elements in Germany today. But they are so deep as to make it impossible to develop a national esprit de corps and unity of the nation. There are, of course, other issues which tend to nibble off portions of the national consciousness—the refugees, the ex-Nazis, the ex-militarists, etc., for instance. Germany today represents a conglomeration of interest groups, each seeking to solve national and international problems through their own narrow perspectives.

Negative Aspects

The chancellor has proven himself to be a better leader of a minority party than of a majority party. During the first Bundestag in which the CDU held only about 35 percent of the seats, Dr. Adenauer had the chance to show his real skill as a political manipulator. With a firm absolute majority behind him in the second Bundestag he brought only division inside the Government camp. For he no longer can scare the other parties into obedience by threatening that "unless they come to an agreement the Social Democrats may combine with the leftwing of the CDU to form the government." And the other parties no longer consider the SPD as a threat.

There are many negative aspects of the Bonn government and it would be folly to be misled by the outward appearance of strength. This outward appearance is based primarily on effective press propaganda and prosperous economic conditions. The Government appears strong because no one at the moment has an interest in testing its strength. In reality it has failed up to now to develop a power of its own, namely, real popular confidence, and must rely on support flowing to it from other factors.

The strength of the Bonn structure may be tested in the near future—

(a) If a deterioration of economic conditions develops;

(b) When Dr. Adenauer is no longer able to head the Government;

(c) When the activation of the German troops actually begins.

From the present vantage point a deterioration of the German economic situation is merely speculative. It is true that the current German prosperity has (and this is admitted by Government economists) not as yet achieved a firm and durable basis. It still depends on too many variables, such as international conditions, world rearmament, isolation of certain producing areas as a result of the East-West conflict. At the same time it is argued that there is no reason to believe that these factors which work in favor of the German economy should change overnight. It can therefore be assumed that full employment and slow but steady rise of the standard of living will continue.

Less promising is the situation with regard to the longevity of Dr. Adenauer. Press offices have invented many things in their time. But even they have not as yet succeeded in producing an effective rejuvenation method and protective measures against old age.

The unity in the CDU as well as the adherence of the other Government parties to the present coalition are intimately connected with the personality of Dr. Adenauer. Even those among the coalition parties who oppose him advise patience. His rival political leaders in the Government parties satisfy their ambitions for the moment by comparisons of birth dates.

Adenauer's Successor

It is therefore certain that in the event that Dr. Adenauer is no longer able to lead the Government a reorganization of forces in German political life will take place. This period will no doubt constitute a weak point in German public life, and will lower West Germany's resistance to subversion. It does not, however, mean that Western Germany will not be in a position to produce a man and government capable of replacing Adenauer. The possible successors of Dr. Adenauer have not as yet materialized because all available floodlights are directed on Adenauer.

After Adenauer the stability of the Government will decline. The weakness which will at that time appear on the surface will, however, merely reflect the true state of affairs inside Bonn.

The Role of the Military

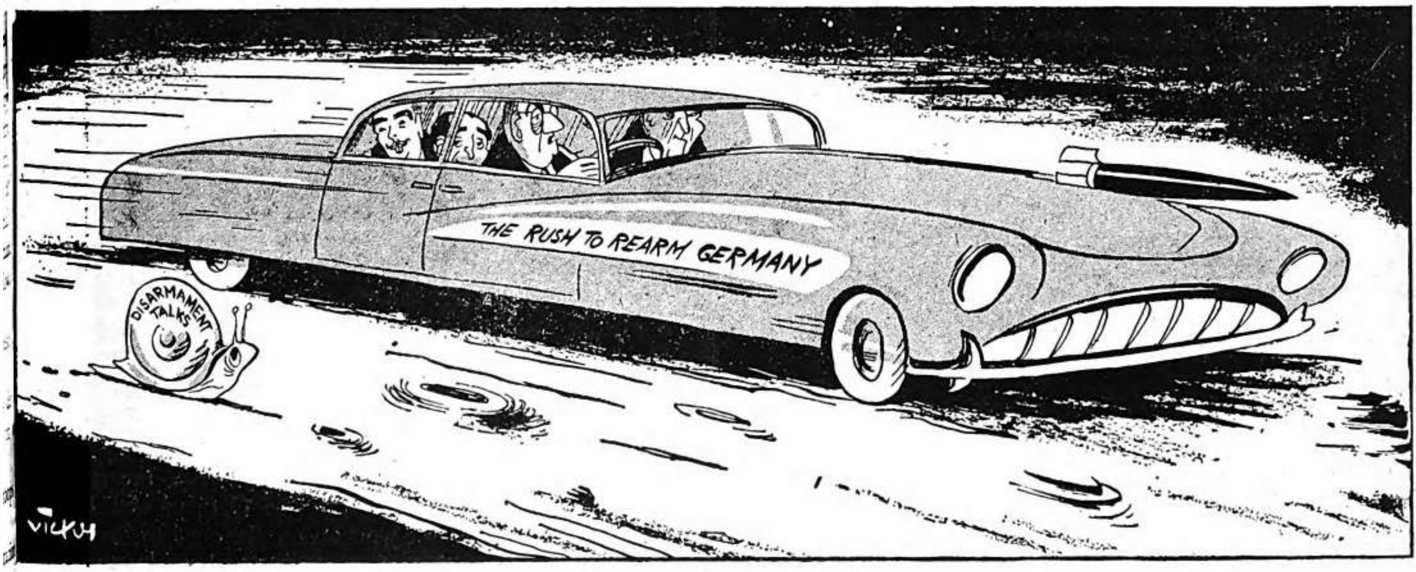
The new military units will constitute an important factor in German political life. Their mere existence will strengthen the prestige of the Bonn Government at home, and may revive the dormant national consciousness. The military will be obedient during the first period of its existence. But it is equally likely that as soon as it is strong enough it may seek to play a political role of its own.

It is doubtful whether Bonn could muster sufficient strength to control such military, without making concessions to it and eventually giving in to it. A conflict with the military may ultimately produce a climate beneficial to the growth of antidemocratic and nationalistic groups.

In the analysis of the political strength of the present Bonn Government I have not touched on some minor points, such as the confessional conflict, the Rapallo tendencies, and above all the fact that the present Bonn Government has for all intents and purposes eliminated parliamentary control over its actions, and has thus again created a public mood of apathy toward governmental affairs. ("The politicians do what they want.")

The weaknesses of the Bonn Government are naturally only weaknesses if one regards them from a democratic point of view. They may turn into strength if a different approach is taken. In any event, they indicate that the West cannot fully rely on democratic support from Germany. And that the democratic Germany, the only Germany which would be inclined to ally itself durably with the West, is still too weak and too ineffective to make its influence felt.

It is in my opinion a fatal error to equate German organizational talent with democratic strength. What one sees in Bonn or in Dusseldorf is merely a functioning organization with all parts duly distributed. It does not reveal the contents of the organization nor the purposes for which it is functioning.



THE AGE OF SPEED

(Courtesy London Daily Mirror)

Pertinent Opinions

LET'S NOT BE BEASTLY . . .

At the hearing yesterday by Sen. Warren Magnuson's committee into the deal which our State Department people had cooked up for Lufthansa (the reborn German commercial airline operating—at the moment—with American planes, and British and American pilots) a State Department official explained why it was decided to give the Germans the biggest bundle of concessions—so far as we can find—ever handed in a single package to any airline, of any nationality, including our own.

He said it was done because the Germans were bound to have the third biggest airline in the world anyway, some day!

Back in 1943, Noel Coward started singing a song called, "Don't Let's Be Beastly to the Germans." Today, somehow, we were reminded of it. The refrain went something like this:

Oh, don't let's beastly to the Germans
When our victory is ultimately won;
It was just those dirty Nazis who persuaded them to fight,
And their Beethoven and Bach are really far worse than their bite;
So, let's be meek to them, and turn the other cheek to them
And try to bring out all their latent sense of fun.
Let's give them full air parity and treat the rats with charity—
Oh don't let's beastly to the Hun . . .

Our State Department fellows seem to have adopted Noel Coward's policy, but have missed the irony.

Right now, Germany is the most powerful industrial and commercial unit in Western Europe. It will be nice to have them on our side, if they stay there.

Before the war, they were able to more than hold their own in competitive trade. They're even better able to do so now, with a brand new industrial plant which American funds and material helped them build.

Let's not be beastly to the Germans; but let's not give them the ball game before it's even played, either.

(Editorial—N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 6-15-55)

"ASTONISHING TRUST"

Germany, the nation which 16 years ago signed a pact with Stalin, is welcomed to the ranks of the democracies as a bulwark against communism. We have granted the rearmed Germans sovereignty with no safeguards and no assurance that they will adhere to their alliance with the West other than the inevitably brief tenure of leadership of a 79-year-old chancellor.

Indeed, it would appear that we have cast away the only high card in our hand and practically pushed West Germany into the waiting arms of Russia. For only Russia can now grant what all Germans understandably and most fervently desire—the unity of their divided country. There is no clause in the London and Paris treaties which forbids Bonn to negotiate with Moscow, and when they reach agreement, as they surely will some day, the Germans will automatically shed all obligations to NATO and to the West . . .

But we set up this unhappy situation with our eyes wide open, knowing the record of treaties broken by Germany in recent history, knowing the Germans' military record and aware of their willingness to let a dictator do their thinking for them. We cast away our diplomatic ace-in-the-hole with astonishing trust in Bonn . . .

(Tom Guthrie, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1-20-55)

THE GOAL AND THE GAME

It may be only a matter of weeks before the free world is confronted with a very big question. Under what circumstances will we abandon the idea of German rearmament? Do we regard German troops as so indispensible to the defense of freedom that no Russian concessions would justify a drastic revision of Germany's role?

A year ago it would have seemed inconceivable that Chancellor Adenauer would be invited to Moscow and—more important—be tempted to accept the invitation. But that is where we are today. There is a hint that the Russians are prepared to yield a lot of diplomatic ground in order to achieve a disarmed, neutralized Germany.

Are we prepared for the implications of such a move? Or has Secretary Dulles become so enamored of the idea of German troops that he is incapable of responding flexibly and affirmatively to this altered climate?

Santayana once defined a fanatic as a man who redoubles his efforts once he has forgotten his aim. The whole project of German rearmament was conceived as a stratagem to induce the Russians to engage in honorable negotiation. If that prospect is in sight, we need to review and re-examine all our positions.

Or have we reached the point at which we are redoubling our efforts because we have forgotten what we are after?

(Editorial—N. Y. Post, 6-9-55)

PRUSSIANS — EAST AND WEST

". . . Europe," wrote Adalbert Weinstein, the best military commentator in the West German press, "needs the new Prussians, who will resume Prussia's historic task of defending Europe's eastern frontiers, but in a spirit of peaceful cooperation with other western nations." The Russians have had the same idea, with the difference that they have faced their Prussians west . . .

. . . It has been perhaps too easily assumed that the arms race which must now start in Germany will be decided in the West's favor. The Communist East German regime has created a military elite, always something acceptable to Germans in the past. It will fit the Soviet Zone into an "Eastern NATO" and satisfactorily explain the purpose of this to distrustful Czechs and Poles. It can make much of the fact that the Red Army has military superiority, on the ground, in Central Europe. It can cite historical and economic arguments—Yorck von Wartenburg's exploits, Bismarck's policies, the mutually advantageous connections between the German and Russian General Staffs between the world wars, the need for East-West trade, and the natural urge for cooperation between industrial East Germany and the agrarian land mass of Eastern Europe . . .

(Terrence Prittie, The New Leader, 5-25-55)

DULLES AND GERMANY

The other day Secretary Dulles emphatically rejected the idea of a neutralized Germany. "It is the view of the United States that a policy of neutrality has no application to a country of the character of Germany," Dulles said. His statement was designed to "clarify" a remark by Ike which had stirred the impression that the U. S. might seriously consider the concept of German neutralization as part of an over-all program for European stability.

We think the President was right the first time. Of course it is far from clear that a realistic accord providing for creation of a free, unified, demilitarized Germany can be reached. We have no basis for assurance that the Russians are actually ready for such an accommodation. But it is surely a thought that should not be rejected in advance of the projected 4-Power conference.

Admittedly there are hazards and uncertainties in the neutralization formula. But there are also real perils in a rearmed Germany—dangers which always seem to elude Mr. Dulles but still torment millions of free men who have been unable to banish all recollections of Nazism.

The strongest case for the German rearmament crusade was that it might help to convince the Russians that the time for real negotiation is at hand. To Dulles, however, a rearmed Germany appears to have become a supreme goal rather than a tactic of Western defense.

Dulles has repeatedly voiced his certitude that a rearmed Germany will be a great legion of democracy. Other men believe the same thing. At least it must be conceded that the returns on that point are far from clear.

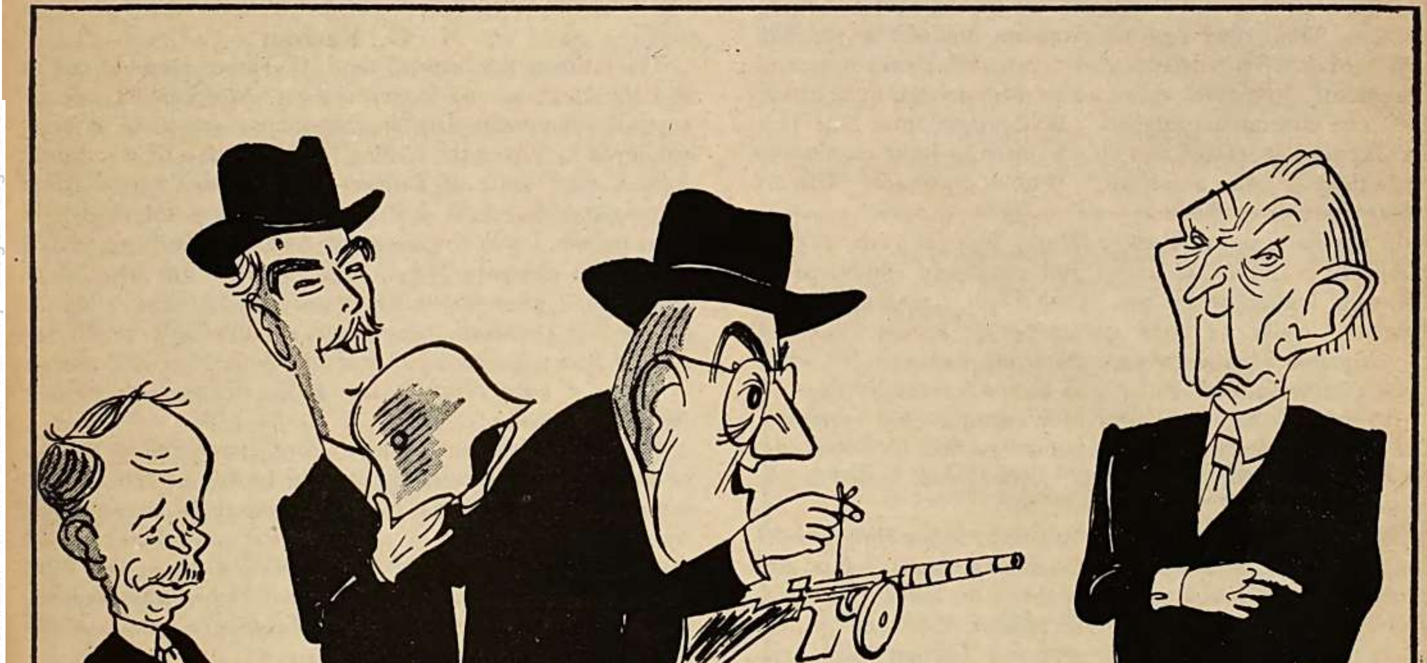
* * *

On Friday came the news that a poll of West German public opinion showed that 14 per cent of the people would vote for Adolf Hitler if he reappeared at this moment.

Simultaneously came the news of the appointment of one Leonhard Schluter, a publisher with a long record of pro-Nazism, as Culture Minister in the State of Saxony.

The latest communiques from Washington indicate that Mr. Dulles has voiced no comment on these developments.

(Editorial—N. Y. Post, 5-29-55)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GERMAN RATIFICATION OF ARMS PACT
VICKY

"AND NOW, HERR CHANCELLOR, AS OUR FIRST CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS WORLD DISARMAMENT, WE'LL START REARMING YOU"

(*Courtesy London Daily Mirror*)

The Triumphant Monopolies

About five years ago the former US Secretary of War, the late Robert Patterson, was retained by German industrial interests to halt Allied plans for the decartelization and deconcentration of German heavy industry. His assignment was made easy by the fact that he had the sympathetic ear of top Allied officials including the US High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy.

A year before Mr. Patterson embarked on his "mission of mercy" the Allies had passed Law No. 27 which called for the breaking up of the German cartels and monopolies. Yet, for all practical purposes, the law remained a dead letter during that period. Needless to say, the German capitalized on these delays by throwing more rocks into the decartelization and deconcentration procedures. Consequently, by the time Patterson arrived on the scene, the program had been so emasculated that the Allied authorities were actually seeking the Bonn Government's approval for the implementation of the law. This rather unusual procedure stalled the program still further. "This delay," said a prominent steel owner in Düsseldorf, "has given us a chance to renew the fight to kill the entire dissolution program." (Wall Street Jornal, 2-23-51.) At that time it seemed that this anonymous Ruhr tycoon was "whistling in the graveyard." Whose graveyard? That is where some of us flunked.

In the last issue of Prevent World War III (No. 45) we published a survey of cartel and monopoly conditions in Germany under the caption "How Dead Are The German Cartels?" Today we know the answer. It is now clear that the monopolies and cartels are throbbing with new life while the objectives of law No. 27 lie buried in the graveyard.

In this connection Business Week (1-1-55) reported, *"Allied deconcentration efforts were too little and too late; now the Allies have just about washed their hands of the problem."*

The Germans have not only succeeded in scuttling law 27 but they have also delayed to death German legislation on this problem. In previous articles we pointed out that the Germans had drafted anti-cartel laws in accordance with their pledges to carry forward the Allied program. Though these laws contained "more holes than cheese" (New York Times, 4-3-55) the German industrialists were not satisfied. It is now admitted by every competent observer that for all intents and purposes German heavy industry will be free of any meaningful anti-cartel or anti-monopoly controls.

The success of the German campaign against decartelization and deconcentration is reflected in the spectacular rise in the value of the shares of German heavy industry. During the year 1954 the value of 672 German stocks increased by more than 50 per cent. By the end of November 1954 the total value of all stocks had reached the figure of DM 17.6 billions or roughly 162 per cent of the parity values at which they were originally issued. Many stocks were above the 200 per cent mark, particularly those of the electrical and chemical industry. This increase becomes all the more impressive when it is borne in mind that at the end of 1949 only 8 of all 672 stocks had even reached parity. More significant is the fact that it was precisely the stocks of the 38 iron, steel and coal companies, supposedly deconcentrated, which led the boom. Their stocks increased in value by no less than 79 per cent by the end of November 1954.

The New Republic (2-7-55) observed that this spectacular rise was due to the fact that the Germans anticipated that with sovereignty, decartelization and deconcentration would soon be a thing of the past *"and that the steel and coal companies would again combine for yet more profitable expansion."* It is no wonder, therefore, that the Manchester Guardian, reporting on the restoration of the Ruhr steel and coal companies, should conclude that "Allied 'decartelization' policy has been reversed with a vengeance" (2-24-55). The implications of the Manchester Guardian's statement can best be understood by a brief rundown of the present status of leading industrial complexes of the Ruhr.

I. G. Farben

The intimate ties between the I. G. Farben chemical empire and the Nazis are no longer a secret. American officials uncovered voluminous data on this subject—much of it being employed to convict the leading Farben officials of war crimes. Indeed, even some of Farben's bigwigs admitted to Allied investigators that I. G. had played a decisive role under the Nazi regime. Listen to Georg von Schnitzler, Farben's leading commercial director: *"Thus, in acting as it had done, I. G. contracted a great responsibility and constituted a substantial aid in the chemical domain and decisive help to Hitler's foreign policy, which led to war and to the ruin of Germany.*

"Thus, I must conclude that I. G. is largely responsible for Hitler's policy."

Because of Farben's criminal record, it was among the first of the gigantic combines slated to be broken up. However, it turned out that there was a yawning gap between paper policies and deeds. As the objectives of the occupation began to fade, Farben's strength returned. Of course, there were many Allied announcements proclaiming that Farben was dead, yet, somehow or other, these optimistic assurances always turned out to be false alarms.

In this year of 1955, even the pretenses have been discarded. In February, the Allies published a new law turning over to the Germans the responsibility for the breaking up of the Farben combine. Previously, Allied regulations had cancelled all rights and powers of the managing board, the managers, the supervisory board, and the general assembly of Farben stockholders. All of these rights and powers were vested in an Allied Control Board. The new law restores "the rights of the administrative bodies of I. G. Farben . . ." (New York Times, 2-4-55). There are certain limitations controlling the powers of the old Farben governing boards, but who will take them seriously? Business Week (2-12-55) declares that *"the joker in the whole setup is that there is nothing in the new law to prevent the Farben units from voting to recombine, nor does the new law prohibit convicted war criminals or former Nazi supporters from serving on boards of directors—*

although this was a rule under the old deconcentration act."

In anticipation of this, the shares of I. G. Farben's successor companies enjoyed an unparallelled boom. Farben was back in business. The impact of a resurgent Farben on the industries of other countries is sure to be felt. Even American businessmen are beginning to realize this fact although so many of them were silent during the years when the opportunity was available to deal Farben a smashing blow. Farben knows how to compete not only through the reconstruction of her supposedly separated units but also through the exploitation of a cheap labor supply. Thus, the Chairman of the Board of Monsanto Chemical Company, Mr. Edgar M. Queeney, pointed out that while American workers in the chemical industry receive on the average $2.50 per hour, German chemical workers average no more than 50c (New York Times, 2-28-55).

Krupp

The case of Krupp is another glaring example of how grandiose plans to break up the huge German monopolies have withered on the vine. As the world knows, the house of Krupp has been synonymous with Germany's wars of aggression since the days of the Kaiser: The more blood was shed, the more profits accrued to the Krupp interests.

Following the end of World War I, the Allies appeared to be determined to break up Krupps monopolies over the armament industry. Friedrich Krupp was not a man to be deterred by Allied prohibitions. After Hitler came to power, Krupp freely boasted that he had fooled Allied inspectors during the 1920s and thereby preserved the know-how so essential for the rehabilitation of the Wehrmacht. The older Krupp was never put on trial for war crimes committed during World War II, but his son Alfred was tried and convicted in 1948. He was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment for having exploited slave labor and plundered German occupied Europe. His ill gotten properties were declared confiscated by this same verdist.

However, Alfred Krupp had friends—-powerful and influential friends, some in the Allied camp. In due time, U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy set him free and returned the properties that were to be confiscated. Now, Krupp is at it again.

In previous articles Prevent World War III disclosed how Krupp's power was reemerging. In a report entitled "Krupps Resurgent," the London Financial Times (1-19-55) states that the Krupp concern represents "the largest private fortune in Europe estimated at some 150 million Pounds Sterling." Though Krupp pledged that he would sell his iron and steel properties, the Financial Times reveals that "directors of Krupps openly say that the demand for repeal of the obligation to sell will prove irresistible."

It is no longer any secret that the Bonn Government is supporting Krupp up to the hilt. According to the Manchester Guardian (2-24-55), the Bonn Government *"has seen to it that his firm has had a lion's share of state credits which have been channeled into heavy industry."* These credits come out of the funds of the so-called Marshall Plan Ministry of the Bonn Government. With these funds Krupp has been able to expand his interests all over the world. The irony of it all is that these funds have become available through the Marshall Plan help which the U. S. rendered Germany. To put it in another way: Krupp has been one of the main beneficiaries of the Marshall Plan in Germany and is now utilizing this windfall to pursue his own "Point Four" Program.

Because of the special attention which Krupp has received from Adenauer's government, Alfred Krupp is now regarded as the Federal Republic's unofficial "industrial ambassador." At the request of the Bonn Government, Herr Krupp has received the heads and other leading representatives of foreign countries. These contacts have had their rewards. In 1954 the Krupp firm enjoyed a profitable year with sales amounting to $240 million. Krupp has made significant inroads in India, Pakistan, Greece, South America and the Middle East.

The tentacles of the Krupp empire are reaching out everywhere. One of Krupp's leading officials, Herr Beitz, raved about his recent trip to the U. S. He told the correspondent of the Financial Times that his visits opened favorable prospects for "cooperation with American firms." In this connection the New York Herald Tribune (2-27-55) reported that the Krupp interests had entered the field of making machines for the manufacture of textiles *"on a world wide scale in collaboration with the Von Koborn International Corporation of 501 Fifth Avenue, New York City."* As a matter of fact, Krupp like other German industrial monopolies, is moving into many fields including retail and light consumer goods. The monopolies of the Ruhr have now even a more voracious appetite than under Hitler.

Vereinigte Stahlwerke

In the mid 1920s the world witnessed the formation of the

". . . The majority of West Germans oppose rearmament. And, similarly, the Bonn parliament 'approved' the treaties for reasons other than the desire to rearm.

"It was buying continued American and British support. It was buying restoration of German sovereignty. And, like the French parliament, it was achieving a better bargaining position for negotiating with the Kremlin . . ."

(Ludwell Denny, N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 3-28-55)

". . . In this light the German problem, viz., German unity, is the problem of Europe. The weapon in the foreign policy field is the playing off of the West against the East . . .

"This problem would not exist if the great powers were on friendly terms. They would agree to keep Germany from any temptation to go on the rampage. As it is, the old German ambition may be revived by East-West competition for Germany's favors. Russia has better cards than the Western Allies to play—markets in the East in place of competition in the West. Then there is the Polish card. I refer to the 'lost territories' in the East which were given to Poland for the time being at the Potsdam conference. Historians are many who think of an alliance between Communist Russia and a Germany of the Right as still logical . . ."

(Herbert Elliston, Washington Post, 5-15-55)

United Steel Works (Vereinigte Stahlwerke) which, together with I. G. Farben and the Deutsche Bank, were the main pillars and profiteers of Nazism. The Vereinigte Stahlwerke had received its initial impetus through a multi-million dollar loan granted by private investors in the U. S. under the leadership of the Dillon, Read banking house of New York City. One of the leading officials of Dillon, Read was William H. Draper, Jr., who served as economic advisor to General Clay during the occupation. Responsibility for the failure of decartelization and deconcentration cannot be understood unless one takes into account Mr. Draper's special role.

Through the international steel cartel, Vereinigte Stahlwerke dominated the steel markets of Europe and many places abroad. In that way it strengthened Germany's war potential and weakened the economies of the prospective victims of German aggression. This gigantic combine was supposed to be broken up in 12 principally independent companies. A main objective of Allied legislation was to so redistribute the capital of this steel combine that it would not be controlled by a small group of families and their associates. Once again a good plan has been so manipulated and distorted that it no longer has meaning.

Several months ago the Hüttenwerke Phoenix Steel Company, one of the Ruhr's largest producers of steel tubes, and the Rheinische Röhrenwerke prepared plans to form a single company. Together these two firms control a steel production capacity of about 2½ million tons a year. It is reported that this new company may fuse with the August Thyssen steel plants in Duisburg-Hamborn. This combination "will control a steel production of 3.5 million tons a year and will be, by far, the biggest single concentration of economic power in the Ruhr and in Europe" (Manchester Guardian, 2-24-55). It so happens that all three firms belonged originally to the Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

The significance of this fusion is obvious. The Vereinigte Stahlwerke is in the process of being revived and will be even more powerful than under Hitler. Moreover, the tiny family groupings which had a powerful control over this huge steel monster, are again in a position to resume where they left off. For example, the Thyssen family the head of which was Fritz Thyssen, the man who was Hitler's financial benefactor, is once again consolidating its position in this new steel combine. It is also reported that the Haniel family interests are coming into the picture again. The power of the reborn steel combine will, like I. G. Farben, be felt in other countries. Thus, the New Republic notes that the Thyssen steel plant "whose old steel furnaces were torn down for reparation payments . . . now boasts production facilities as modern as any in the US" (2-7-55).

Haniel

The Haniel industrial interests take their name from the Haniel family. The coal industry was the basis of the Haniel fortune. The largest single property was the Gute Hoffnungs Hütte or Good Hope Company, which was based on the ownership of coal mines. However, the interests of the Haniel family extended beyond coal. The Haniels controlled iron, mines, steel plants, automobile factories, armament works, and ship building. Prior to the war it is estimated that the Gute Hoffnungs Hütte complex had assets valued at $275 million.

The Haniel family interests, like the Thyssen family group, were participants in the formation of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke. The role that the Haniel interests played in building up Hitler's war power may be found in the records uncovered by Allied investigators. James Stewart Martin, former Chief of the U. S. Decartelization Branch in Germany, describes in his book "All Honorable Men" how tricky the Haniel clan was when they were confronted by Allied interrogators. He notes that Baron von Schroeder who helped to put Hitler into power and who was connected with the von Schroeder banking interests, was a good friend of the Haniel family. Mr. Martin relates that one member of the family, Alfred Haniel, who claimed to be an anti-Nazi, had at the same time important interests in companies which enabled him to preserve his good standing with the Nazis. During the war Alfred Haniel was able to make trips to Switzerland with the approval of the Nazis, and there conferred with Mr. Allen W. Dulles, head of the European Mission of the OSS and a director of the J. Henry Schroeder banking corporation in the U. S.

Following the end of the war the Haniel combine was to be broken up but these plans are also turning into a dead letter. Dr. Hermann Reusch, the managing director of the Gute Hoffnungs Hütte Steel Company which was a successor to the original trust, "made it clear that it was his intention to reorganize the original trust" (Manchester Guardian 1-20-55). From the very early days of the Allied occupation Herr Reusch fought the Allied decartelization and deconcentration program. He thought up many schemes to achieve this end. One of his projects was an offer to French industrial interests to take shares in the industries of the Ruhr in the hope that such a deal would block the Allied program. He even proposed that the German trade union movement cooperate with German heavy industry" in order to carry out a form of decartelization which would not endanger the economic position of the works concerned . . ." This is not to say that Herr Reusch was highly regarded by the German trade union movement. On the contrary, in 1948 German steel workers threatened to strike unless Reusch were removed from his post in the Allied Steel Study Commission. The workers condemned Reusch "as representing the ideas of Krupp and Thyssen" (New York Times, 6-1-48).

According to U. S. Government records, Herr Reusch not only helped the Nazis to achieve power but reaped substantial benefits from the German looting of Europe. His father, Dr. Paul Reusch, served as general manager of all the Haniel properties from 1904-1942. The elder Reusch was a life-time friend of the accused war criminal and expert on armament economy Hjalmar Schacht. Even though he is now 86, he still advises his son on the conduct of the Gute Hoffnungs Hütte properties while he continues to direct several subsidiary enterprises.

> **"The question responsible diplomatic circles are asking in London today is this: If centralization and cartelisation are resurgent in industry, if nationalism is resurgent in German politics, where will this centralization in the military lead? Will this trend for lebensraum be given even more acceleration by a General Staff of the type now envisioned and plotted on the proposed T.O. (Table of Organization)? . . ."**
>
> **(N. Y. Post, 3-17-55)**

Hoesch

The Hoesch steel combine together with Krupp and Vereinigte Stahlwerke was the largest producer of tinplate in Germany. The Hoesch family interests controlled tremendous coal resources in the Ruhr and were "a focal point for agreements and understandings that shaped the rest of the business of the Ruhr" (All Honorable Men). This outfit too which helped to consolidate Nazi power, is being "rehabilitated." This fact is discussed in German newspapers. The Stuttgarter Nachrichten (12-31-54) notes that the desire to correct the "mistakes" committed by the Allies is "also being asserted within the Hoesch interests."

The above article reveals that the Altessener Bergwerke A. G. which controls a number of former Hoesch coal mines, is about to be reincorporated in the Hoesch interests. In this connection Altessener Bergwerke A. G. possesses basic capital assets valued at DM 90 million. This newspaper states that it "may be assumed that in the case of Hoesch the same procedure will be followed as with Mannesmann" (see article "Mannesmann Saga," page 16). It is noteworthy that the Mannesmann and Hoesch interests are already working together, having organized a company with a basic capital of DM 12 million. This initial capital will in due time be augmented.

Kloeckner

The Kloeckner steel combine, one of the big six, was also a target of the Allied decartelization and deconcentration program. Here again we find an industrial complex whose leading officials always played an important role in Germany's wars of aggression. Together with other bigwigs of German heavy industry, including Hugo Stinnes and Carl Bosch, Kloeckner officials helped sabotage the delivery of German reparations after World War I.

Under Hitler the Chairman of the Board of Kloeckner's was Günther Henle. U. S. Government records indicate that Herr Henle shared the spoils of expropriation and conquest during the Nazi regime. In this connection, he was also of great help in making it possible for the Nazis to seize power. Nevertheless, when General Clay turned over to the Germans the responsibility to deconcentrate the German steel industry, Henle became a member of the German group that was supposed to carry out the Allied program.

Another Kloeckner bigshot is Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, a relatively young lawyer who, prior to his joining Kloeckner, served for three years as the legal assistant to the Nazi Finance Minister, Herr Hjalmar Schacht. Schroeder was a member of the Nazi Party and also belonged to the Nazi storm troopers.

Under the guidance of these two men the Kloeckner combine is in the process of reconcentration. There is no effort on the part of the Kloeckner big-wheels to conceal this fact. Indeed, they have even restored the old name of the firm after it had been changed under Allied regulations.

German Banks

For decades the financial resources of Germany were controlled by three banks—the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, and the Commerz Bank. Led by the Deutsche Bank which was the most powerful of all, they spearheaded the drive of German imperialism throughout the world. Within Germany these banks dominated most of the economy to the detriment of small business. They not only created but also nourished industrial monopolies. Hitler could have never taken or remained in power without the cooperation of these banks and he knew it. Consequently, in return for their support, he made sure that they would get their full share of the loot when the German armies ran roughshod over Europe.

For all of these reasons the Allies adopted plans to break up these banking monopolies. Now, all of these plans have gone for naught. The London publication, The Banker (November 1954) describes the process of reconcentration as follows: *"Each of the former 'big three' banks, it will be recalled, is now represented by three succession institutions, making a total of nine banks with headquarters in Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt or Düsseldorf, and all having—either separately or jointly—direct representation in the Western zone of Berlin. These succession banks take a great deal of trouble to emphasize that they are the former component parts of the Deutsche or the Dresdner or the Commerz bank. The banks in each group work in close co-operation with one another, and there is little doubt that at a suitable opportunity they will rejoin forces, under their original names . . ."* The Germans themselves have been most candid about the future of the banking monopolies. Dr. Robert Pferdmenges, one of Adenauer's chief advisors and Chairman of the Board of the National Federation of Private Banks, wrote, *"it seems that the possibility*

". . . What has happened since World War II also is causing another kind of bewilderment.

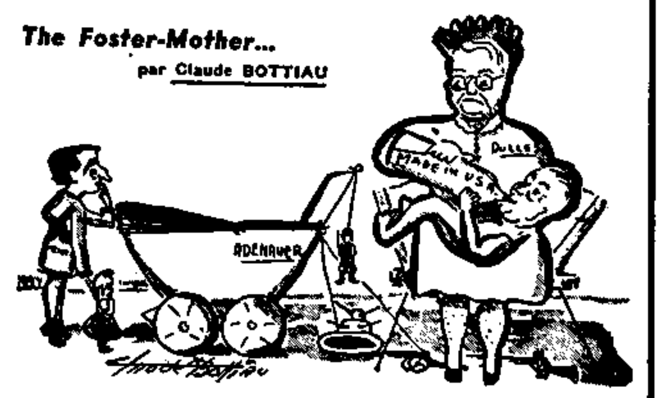
". . . West Germany is seen to be prospering, recovering from its war-end ruin faster than anyone would have believed possible 10 years ago. After fighting its first war to end all wars in 1917-18, the United States invested heavily in rebuilding its beaten enemy, Germany. Now the U.S. again is helping to rebuild Germany, and this time to rearm her as well.

"American taxpayers' money also has gone into rebuilding two other defeated enemies, Italy and Japan.

" 'The way to win a war," it is being quipped, 'is to lose it to the U.S.' . . .

". . . What people are beginning to wonder is: Ten years from now, who will be America's friends, and who will be its enemies? Who really won the war?"

(U. S. News & World Report, 5-6-55)



PETIT CHOUCHOU DEVIENDRA GRAND SOLDAT—CERTAINS S'EN REJOUISSENT. D'AUTRES PAS.

(France-Amerique)

will be provided shortly for them (the successor banks of the big three) *to be united again in the original three huge banks*" (Washington Post, 12-26-54).

The Schuman Plan High Authority

This survey would not be complete without a word about the attitude of the Schuman Plan High Authority with regard to the reconcentration of the German heavy industry. Theoretically at least, an essential aim of the Schuman Plan was to do away with cartels and powerful concentrations. The Schuman Plan High Authority was given the responsibility to carry this out. The fact is that the High Authority has not only failed in this direction but has given its blessings to the reconcentration moves of Mannesmann and the former units of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke. In the past, the Society expressed its misgivings over the Schuman Plan because we felt that, as it was set up, the Germans would be able to regain their former economic power based on cartel monopolies. It now appears that the Society's fears were by no means groundless.

Though the High Authority has given its official stamp of approval to the German moves, it has been at pains to excuse itself on the grounds that these German concentrations of economic power were never really broken up by the Allies and were tolerated by them. This is certainly a poor and cynical alibi.

Impact of German Cartels

The strange attitude of the Schuman Plan Authority toward cartels and economic concentrations has brought protest from countries outside of the Schuman Plan. These countries are beginning to feel the impact of these cartels and combines which, in the last analysis, can only weaken their own economies. In the United States, too, there is a somewhat growing awareness of the dangers involved. The minority report of the U. S. Attorney General's National Committee To Study Anti-Trust Laws is indicative of these facts. The report points out the necessity "*to protect the American economy against exploitation by foreign cartels . . .*" It further states that "*foreign monopolies, cartels and restrictive arrangements of comparable effect are costly burdens upon the American economy . . .*" (New York Times, 4-4-55). Unfortunately, this report has not received the publicity which it deserves.

Admittedly Germany is not the only country which has created cartels and monopolies, but history tells us that no other country has employed the cartels and trusts so effectively in furthering aggression as the Germans. The United States among other countries, not only suffered economically at the hands of Germany's cartels and trusts, but our defense efforts in the early days of World War II were also hamstrung due to the influence of the German cartel network. Have we not learned from the past or must we again be burned?

Finally, in terms of their influence on Germany's democratic future, the reemergence of these cartels and trusts is an ominous sign. In this connection we remind our readers of the statement which appeared in Fortune Magazine way back in September 1942. It was part of an article entitled "No Peace With I. G. Farben" and it read: "The cartels became the real government, anonymously ruling the life of the nation down to the last details of burial, and the Weimar Republic withered in powerlessness.

"It is a moot but unresolvable point whether the cartels created Hitler, or Hitler used the cartels. It is now historical fact that the steel and chemical cartels financed Hitler's early political adventures. It is also history that the cartel system is always ripe, with the passivity of a trollop, for the worst uses of nationalistic passion. Under Hitler the German cartels passed through an ultimate, subtle evolution: they became the direct politico-economic instruments of the Nazi party at home and abroad, wielded with the single aim of rearming Germany for war . . ."

"Much more interesting to the business world is the possibility of increased trade with the Communist bloc—especially Red China. The Chancellor may focus his attention on the West, but the Ruhr is looking eastward . . .

"The prospects of trading with Red China are particularly tempting to many Germans, possibly because distance lends enchantment. German exporters see in Red China's industrialization a great new market for a wide variety of heavy capital goods and equipment such as steel mills, rolling stock, bridges, telephonic and other communications systems, machine tools, rails, pipelines, cement factories, and electrical supplies.

"It must also be remembered that a ruling impulse of Germans whose country is split by the Iron Curtain is to reunite it, and Bonn knows that this can be done only by making some kind of deal with the U.S.S.R., master of the eastern territories . . ."

(Myron M. Cowan, The Reporter, 6-2-55)

"The United States and Great Britain have achieved a vote in favor of German rearmament, on the basis, of course, that such is necessary as an anti-communist or anti-Russian measure. But they have achieved at the same time a vote which the French communists can and no doubt will use to great advantage in their efforts to become stronger and more popular among French people.

"Could it be that Western policy-makers are so hypnotized by the idea of German rearmament that the strengthening of the French Communist Party's position in that country was not taken into consideratoin as a result of the Assembly vote? Whether or not it was, the Communists in France have definitely gained. And we shall see in the long run if the French people among whom these gains are made are worth more or less than arms in the hands of a new German military."

(Editorial, The Gazette and Daily, 1-3-55)

A Perplexing People

by
ALBION ROSS

Having returned to Germany for the first time in something over fifteen years, this correspondent feels both confused and embarrassed. There is a sense of being at a loss, which is all the greater because one lived in this country for eight years before the war. Where is that Germany and who are these people? What is happening to them, and what course will they take now that the Paris pacts open the way to West German rearmament and near-sovereignty? . . .

The Germans themselves are, more than the economic miracle of recovery, the German wonder. They are so intact, so unscarred. They are not ashamed. The concentration camps and the gas chambers have left no mark. Talk to them about those things. They tell you about what the Russians did. Press the point. They lose interest. Oh, they agree with you that it was all very bad. You can even call it sinful. They are not resentful.

The cry "Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil" of the vibrant, thunderous throngs echoes only as a whispered memory within your own mind. You can still recall mistily the massed swastika banners, the rows of shining faces, the man with the comical mustache. But it is like some private memory of your own, and unreal.

You can remember the Jew in a dark bedroom off a courtyard in East Berlin coughing blood and gasping for breath and the hopeless expression on the doctor's face. The Storm Troopers had caught the victim back there in the early days before the concentration camps were set up to do that sort of thing more systematically. You can remember another man who was taken out of your apartment house just before dawn, and the sobs and desperation of his wife, whom everyone hastily avoided.

But all this—and what followed—seem to have made no impact on Germans. Hitler is dead and therefore, apparently, all that is dead with him, so far as they are concerned. The years of their great catastrophe have passed out of sight like a set on a revolving stage.

You talk with them now in terms of our common interests which, of course, are real enough. The long agony and the last agony of those other millions seems like a discourteous thing to remember. You feel as if it all were bad manners. It was just one of those things. Nevertheless, you struggle a little against that "we," remembering the pictures of the stacked naked corpses and remembering that you were here when the Germans were what they were and not what they now say they were. . . .

Are they the same Germans? Who are they now?

Superficially, the majority seem to have become, to use a European phrase, a race of Swiss hotel keepers. The phrase may be unfair to Swiss hotel keepers, but it refers to a somewhat stuffy person, to accepting a somewhat restricted existence, to pretty thoroughly compromising with life.

There is undoubtedly something about these post-war Germans in West Germany that makes them resemble the German Swiss, the Dutch and the Danes. It was always there along with the other thing. The plump, scrubbed German and his plump wife, almost caricatures of domestication, with cuckoo clock and goldfish bowl, are not new. There had never seemed to be any explanation in the old days for the presence in the same people of a burgher stodginess that came close to the grotesque, a seemingly unbridled romanticism, chronic melancholia, an incorrigible philosophical wrestling with life, a primitive fleshy sense of humor and a sort of brass band militarism and heavy-witted belligerence.

The Germans of Konrad Adenauer's West German Federal Republic are not only intact, seemingly untouched by the war; they are more intact in some ways than they have ever seemed before to those who knew them in the last years of the Weimar Republic and during the National Socialist regime. It is probably fair to guess that they have not been this way since the quieter years of the Hohenzollern epoch. Perhaps they have not been this way since the Hohenzollern Reich was established and did away with that other Germany of small states that Goethe knew. . . .

With the martial romanticism of the Reich idea gone, German life has poured into the channel of creative work. This is a business man's society, an indefatigably industrious society. . . .

If there is a place where the "Managerial Revolution" can be seen in concrete form, it is in the boiling busy world of the new West Germany. The managerial caste is the extreme example of the thing which the Germans themselves call their "work fanaticism." However, the whole society shows it, though at a somewhat calmer pace.

Another expression that is heard here is that work is the post-war German opiate. Work is less a means to an end than an end in itself. Try to find out just where they think they are going. It does not take much effort to discover that they actually don't know and that in a sense they don't care.

If a man uses work as an opiate is he cured? Have the Germans made their compromise with life?

Talk to these apparently sound, unscarred and unbroken people who are so busy and you begin to find yourself assailed by doubts and uncertainty as to who they really are. This Germany is too much like living in a hotel. The universal feling is that it is all provisional. The capital—the rather despised "Capital Village Bonn"—is provisional. The western "Rump Republic" is provisional. The increasingly elaborate structure of the economy balances on the tightrope of international trade.

The surprise over these so normal, unshaken Germans wears off slowly. You begin to notice the little things again.

The girl who came into the bookshop in Munich said: "I was *'draussen'* and just came back." That way of saying that you have been abroad rang a bell. She had been *"draussen,"* which is to say outside. They all say the same thing. They said it then and they say it now. An American or a Frenchman or an Englishman does not say that he has been outside when he has been to another country. A German does.

There are speech habits that have an intonation, a significance that is inescapable. The use of *"draussen"* for abroad, with its implications of a people caged in, is the partner of that other famous German expression *"Lebensraum"* or space to live in. Two wars have been fought for *"Lebensraum."* It has long been one of the main themes of German political thought. You do not say that you have been outside when you mean abroad if you have made your compromise with life.

Is the expression now only a habit, with the old implications gone? Perhaps. . . .

Bismarck was probably the last of Germany's leaders of historic significance whose nerves did not get the better of him under the urgent sense of how late it was in terms of Europe's epoch of greatness and predominance. Wilhelm II's rather flamboyant expression, "the yellow peril," was rooted in this instinctive German feeling that time was running out for Europeans. . . .

Germany was not the only country that stood still in stagnant hopelessness at the end of the Nineteen Twenties and the beginning of the Nineteen Thirties. It was a world-wide crisis. It brought to Germans, however, a complete nervous breakdown. The sense of the urgency of time was so intense in this nation. The world fell to pieces around them in an irrational hodge-podge of resentments, hatreds, fears and imagined things.

The Weimar epoch's confused effort to accept the fact of the first defeat in 1918 ended. With Hitler the effort to compromise with life ended. What did the Germans really seek? Few who in those days had almost daily one occasion or another to ask that question will forget that no concrete answer was ever given. National Socialism has been called Nihilism by Rauschning and others who were perhaps close enough to it to know. It can be called many things. It was the end of compromise.

The nation responded to that ringing command that vitalized a people. Would it respond again in another form under other conditions?

The second defeat has been more overwhelming than the first. A third of the territory of the German Reich lies east of the Oder-Neisse line, which presumably will remain the eastern frontier of even a reunited Germany unless there is a third world war. Millions of refugees from out there to the east live today in what is left of Germany.

A thing to remember is that to date no nation has been willing to surrender an irredenta making up a third of its former territory. . . .

Yet in spite of the hectic provisional character of the life of this people who use work as an opiate against the desperate frustrations arising out of the collapse of their towering ambitions, there is in this twice-defeated Germany perhaps the conviction that a decision has been reached, notably in the long struggle between German and Slav. The odd intactness and health of these Germans may be related to acceptance of the fact of defeat. The blood-red banners of the new Rome flying on the eastern horizon answer perhaps one of the questions which the German people put to history.

There is also some evidence that the German looking westward has an actual conviction that the center of gravity has passed from Europe to what the Europeans call the overseas world. Jealousy has been woven through the history of the Reich. But it was jealousy of other members of the intimate European family. . . .

No one would say that the Germans have now found a new code to live by. No one could feel in honesty that their possible allies and associates can be sure which road the Germans will take. No certainty exists as to just who and what these post-war Germans are or what they may become. For a time they seemed to have found a new road in the doctrine of European unity. Was it a disguised resurgence of a desire to dominate? Will it prove on the contrary to be the way into the future and out of a present that seems to have neither past nor future?

The Germans may at last be about to find such peace of mind as they can in the acceptance of the fact that the race with time is over. They may be preparing now to make their compromise with life, sadly, rather bitterly, but also with a sense of relief. Perhaps, and perhaps not.

(*Condensed, Courtesy N. Y. Times*)

A GERMAN ANALYSIS OF U. S. FUTURE

"It will become more and more difficult for the United States to stem off much longer the economic crisis of overproduction which has been postponed by artificial measures of 'cold' and 'hot' wars. A sudden slump in the economic activities of the U. S. will cause severe social unrest and changes in the political structure that might lead to consequences which are difficult to appraise at the present time. Therefore, the United States must be considered as an ally upon whom we cannot rely blindly."

(Zeitschrift Für Geopolitik, Darmstadt, June 1955)

"Up to now, the interest of America and Germany have coincided as if in patterned precision . . .

"Now, however, the Germans have had all the grants and gifts our policy is capable of bestowing, and we enter a new era. In this era, the sovereign state of West Germany will have one overriding goal—to free East Germany. Whoever stands in the way is already considered an enemy. America, Germany's enemy in the past, can, by the alchemy of German passions, be redrawn as an enemy if our policy lags, or if its justified caution in dealing with Russia seems to postpone what the Germans consider essential.

"So long as Adenauer survives and keeps control, it is unlikely that Germany can quickly withdraw from our embrace; so long as Germany is unarmed, it is unlikely that Germans will dare challenge our power or our diplomacy; so long as the present high level of German prosperity continues, it is unlikely that either right or left can mobilize Germans to demonstration or violence in favor of unity. But sometime in the near future the Germans must insist on settling the major problem of their national politics . . ."

(T. H. White, Colliers, 2-4-55)

Items of Interest

TIME TO FORGET—AND PAY

"The West German Federal Court today ordered the state to pay compensation to Gustav Scheel, former Nazi student leader, on the grounds of wrongful imprisonment in connection with an alleged Nazi comeback conspiracy two years ago.

". . . Naumann, Scheel and five others were arrested by the British occupying authorities in January, 1953, for 'trying to revive Nazism by infiltrating' democratic political parties . . ."

(N. Y. Times, 4-16-55)

★

NO MORE "FOOLISHNESS"

"The Nazi movement has gone forever, it was asserted by one of Germany's rising businessman-politicians, who is touring the United States to make studies that will assist in rebuilding the German Army.

"Big business firms in Germany today feel that they should hold a close contact with politics, Fritz Berendsen said in an interview at Terminal Tower, where he is the guest of Cyrus S. Eaton, Jr., president of the Chertsey Corp.

"Before the Hitler regime, Berendsen noted, the Ruhr industrialists thought that they needed 'foolish politicians' to hold down the Communists . . ."

(Cleveland Plain Dealer, 5-19-55)

★

TAKING CARE OF THEIR OWN

"While only some 20 per cent of indemnification claims by Nazi victims have been paid within the past ten years, 85 percent of the top Nazi Party leaders get full and ample pensions, a retired high German Government official, Dr. Wolfgang Schmidt, told a regional meeting of Nazi victims affiliated with the Social Democratic Party. One of every four Nazi victims died without having received a penny of compensation, the speaker noted."

(J. T. A., 5-12-55)

★

THE LADY GOES FREE

"British authorities released today Frau Gerda Ganzer, originally sentenced to death for the killing and ill-treatment of women in the Ravensbrueck concentration camp."

(Reuters, 6-6-55)

★

LATEST BOX SCORE

"Three German war criminals were released today from the British prison here (at Werl), reducing the number of inmates to thirty-one. British authorities said the three had completed their sentences. The Americans now hold eighty-six war criminals in the Landsberg prison. Eighteen are held in French prisons."

(A. P., 5-7-55)

CLEAR IT WITH KONRAD!!

"The Western Big Three has become the Western Big Four. Adenauer's voice, in fact, will be second only to Eisenhower's and Eden's in the councils of the West. In any German settlement his views will be decisive. And this problem is so intertwined with the whole question of disarmament and collective security that here, too, Adenauer will play a leading part.

"At San Francisco and Geneva the three Western powers that fought Germany in World War II will be representing Adenauer. Then, when Adenauer goes to Moscow, he will be acting for the entire West, not just for Germany. For a German chancellor, that is a new role. Never before has a German leader assumed such a place in the Western world.

". . . Adenauer has been giving first Eisenhower and then Dulles, Macmillan, and Pinay a fill-in on the negotiating position he wants the West to take."

(Business Week, 6-18-55)

★

ADOLF II

"The 'party of good Germans,' headed by a pumice stone manufacturer who calls himself 'Adolf II,' was licensed today to campaign in Rhineland-Palatinate state elections May 15.

"State officials said the party chairman, Josef Unger, had named candidates of his Nazi-like party in three of the state's seven electoral districts."

(N. Y. Times, 5-3-55)

★

PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA

"The Soviet East German regime has disclosed its program for reconstructing Potsdam, the shrine of Prussianism, as it was in the days of the Prussian kings.

"Communist spokesmen attributed the destruction of Potsdam to unnecessary United States air raids . . .

"The rebuilding policy accords with the doctrine advanced with increasing frequency in the editorials of the Red regime's newspaper Taegliche Rundschau.

"The paper keeps recalling that Prussia and Russia were friends. Bismarck's emphasis on friendship with Russia as the keynote of his policy is mentioned frequently.

"The names of the famous Prussian generals, Bluecher, Clausewitz, Scharnhorst and Yorck, are mentioned with reverence . . ."

(Albion Ross, N. Y. Times, 2-13-55)

★

A CRIMINAL'S REWARD

"Wilhelm Voss, 44 years old, a war criminal convicted of having been concerned in the ill-treatment and killing of Allied prisoners of war, was released today by British authorities at the end of a fourteen-year sentence, less nearly six years off for good conduct and pre-trial custody."

(Reuters, 2-26-55)

P.S.: HE WAS ACQUITTED

"An elderly woman juror fainted in court at the trial of German chemical manufacturer Dr. Gerhard Peters when she heard him explain calmly how a lethal cyanide product of his own invention and manufacture, known as 'Zyklon B,' was injected into closed rooms at concentration camps through shower-type nozzles. Dr. Peters is being tried for being 'an accessory' to the murder of 300,000 Jews in Nazi gas chambers.

"Dr. Peters is charged with the death of just 300,000 Jews because at least that number was killed with the 'Zyklon B' gas crystals he furnished to Auschwitz after SS Lt. Col. Kurt Gerstein had, by Peters' own admission, revealed the purpose of the shipments to him in the summer of 1943. The indictment makes no mention of the hundreds of thousands of killings of innocent people resulting from earlier poison gas deliveries made by Dr. Peters.

"The defendant, who was handed over by the Allies to the Germans seven years ago and whom high-ranking German personalities are keeping out of jail even though he has been convicted in seven different trials, is presently working as an industrial chemist for a Cologne subsidiary of the IG-Farben chemical empire. During the war, he was manager of the 'German Corporation for Vermin Extermination' (DEGESCH), a firm derived from IG-Farben."

(J. T. A., 5-12-55)

* * *

LEBENSRAUM URGE

"Bundestag Deputy Prinz zu Loewenstein (Free Democratic Party) orally requested information from the Federal Government when it intends to enter into negotiations for the return of German territories located on the western border. The request refers to German territories turned over for temporary administration to Holland and Belgium and to temporarily transferred territories to France, Luxembourg and the Saar."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 5-18-55)

* * *

ATOMIC BUILDUP

"After ratification of the Paris treaties West Germany will be authorized to build an atomic pile with a 10,000 kilowatt output . . .

"A special research body has been set up in Duesseldorf. Backed by 16 important West German firms, it is known as the Study Society for Physical Research . . .

"Among the West German firms who have shares in the new enterprise are important metal, electrical, and chemical companies; Krupp, the Good Hope foundry, Degussa, the General Electricity company, Siemens, Bayer-Leverkusen, and the chemical Farbwerke at Hoechst. These companies have raised a starting capital of $750,000.

"The federal government has bought $350,000 worth of shares in the research group . . ."

(Chicago Sunday Tribune, 2-13-55)

SO LONG?

"Former Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, urged the United States Government today to free all Japanese still serving prison terms as war criminals under United States military court sentences.

"Admiral Nomura, who was ambassador to Washington at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, is now a Democratic party member of the upper house.

"'I am 100 per cent sure release of the prisoners would have a good effect on Japanese-American relations,' he said. 'The Japanese people think it is not reasonable to keep war prisoners so long.'" . . .

(N. Y. Times, 6-12-55)

* * *

GERMAN EXPERTS GET AROUND

"Kilo 95, Gaza Strip.—Looking toward Israel from this point in Egyptian-ruled territory, Lt. Ahmed, a young officer from Cairo, says:

"'We are only waiting for the orders and in 8 to12 hours we can win back Palestine.' . . .

"Optimism exists in the Egyptian army at Gaza and Lt. Ahmed's view probably is shared by many of his fellow officers: 'If I were Gamal Abdul Nasser, I would attack now.'

"'This is not the same army that lost the war in Palestine,' he says. 'It has modern weapons and has had training from German experts . . .'"

(N. Y. World Telegram & Sun, 6-22-55)

* * *

THE VOICE OF BELGIUM

"A nationwide poll organized by a Belgian university group has shown that the feeling of unease and even distrust toward Germany remains latent among Belgians. . . .

"The first and major question asked of those Belgians was: 'Are you in favor of West German rearmament as planned by the Paris agreements?'

"Toward these and other past political agreements among western nations over Germany, 54.2 per cent declared themselves hostile. They base their opinion on the concern that 'rearmed Germany will set out to conquer its unity by the sword' or that 'the Nazis will soon dominate the army.' . . ."

(Christian Science Monitor, 3-4-55)

* * *

ABSENT MINDED?

"'If the number of volunteers for the new German armed forces turns out to be proportionately as large as the number of inventors who are ready to present new ideas to the future federal Ministry of Defense, then no problem of recruiting will arise,' said a widely known German military expert . . .

"Most of the offers suggest fantasy rather than realism. But their proposers at least are acquainted with the big-scale political developments in the world since 1945. Not so, however, one of them. He seems to have been buried so deeply in his secret researches that he had not bothered to discover what had happened in the past 10 years in Germany. He signed his letter with 'Heil Hitler!' . . ."

(Christian Science Monitor, 4-12-55)

DRANG NACH AFRIKA!

"West Germany's drive for world markets has scored a new success, this time in Africa. The latest figures show that the West Germans last year made sales in Africa representing $414,000,000. This was an increase of 70 per cent over the amount in 1952 the year when the West Germans launched post-war African efforts in earnest.

". . . The Germans, who lost all their colonies after World War I, find that the Africans and Asians often tend to regard them today as specially desirable economic partners because they are clear of any imperialist or colonialist taint.

". . . This is the reason why many West German industrialists are shying away from the idea of large-scale cooperation with France in industrial development of the French possessions in Africa.

". . . Many West Germans believe French colonialism is doomed anyway, and that much would be lost in marring West Germany's newly won reputation in Africa and Asia by helping to prop up that colonialism for a few years further. They would prefer to continue to try to penetrate French and other colonial markets on the present basis."

(Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald-Tribune, 4-10-55)

★

TOO PROFITABLE

"Economics like politics sometimes make strange bedfellows.

"Christian Democrats have joined with the Socialists to attack their own party leader, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, for failure to halt the business and cultural decline of this former German capital (Berlin).

". . . Moreover, politicians in both parties are quick to berate Adenauer for his failure to take retaliatory action against current Communist restrictions on this city's trade with West Germany. What they have in mind is a curtailment of at least the 'legal' Western exports which flow through Berlin towards the Eastern zone at an estimated rate of $250,000,000 a year.

"Informed sources in Bonn, however, report that highly influential West German industrial circles show no desire to risk a rupture of the highly lucrative legal and illegal trade with the Soviet bloc for the sake of Berlin . . ."

(Martin G. Phillips, The Gazette & Daily, 5-6-55)

"After several days of talks with Cabinet members, legislators of various political parties and veteran newsmen who know Germany intimately, this correspondent cannot but feel that it is a thin reed on which the security of the West rests nowadays.

"For although with the best intentions in the world, the government spokesmen here sincerely say that Germany's future lies with the West—a feeling privately expressed even by opposition leaders—an undercurrent of anxiety is nevertheless evident . . ."

(David Lawrence, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5-21-55)

A NEW BRAND OF CITIZENS

"Some 103 Germans, many of whom helped develop Nazi V-2 rockets in World War II and later aided the U. S. guided missile program, became U. S. citizens.

"All came to the U. S. in 1945 and 1946 and were moved to . . . Redstone Arsenal in 1950 where the U. S. has a rocket development center."

(N. Y. Post, 4-14-55)

★

ACROSS THE PACIFIC

"Ruhrstahl, one of West Germany's largest steel works, is planning to send experts to the Philippines to investigate the prospects of iron and nickel ore mining on Mindanao Island . . ."

(London Financial Times, 4-25-55)

★

TEN YEARS AFTER . . .

"One of West Germany's major industrial organizations is now in the early stages of a drive aimed at expanding use of Diesel equipment in the U. S.

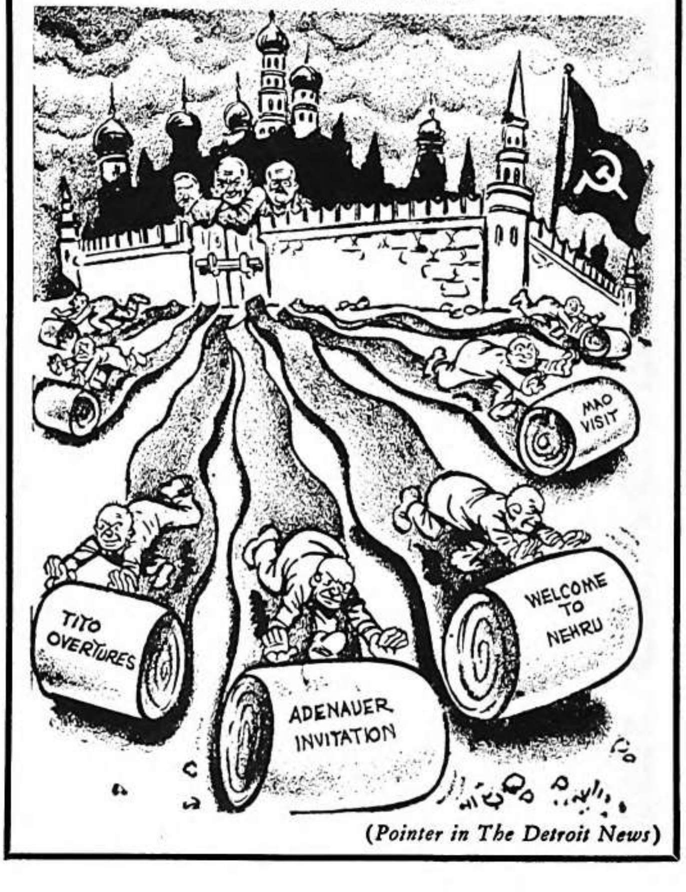
"It is the giant Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz A. G., with headquarters at Cologne-Deutz . . .

"Last week officials of its United States import, sales and service branch, Diesel Energy Corporation, 82 Beaver Street, discussed plans for increased activity in the American market . . .

"R. D. Friedlander, sales manager, said that there was no doubt of the ability of the German organization to compete with domestic Diesels."

(Brendon M. Jones, N. Y. Times, 6-20-55)

'RED CARPET CRAZY'



(Pointer in The Detroit News)

Japan—Her Hour of Destiny?

During World War II few words meant so much to the American people as the stern warning "Remember Pearl Harbor!" It was more than a rousing battle cry. Generally speaking, it expressed the awareness of the American people to the fact that the predatory forces directing Japan's destinies could never be appeased. It was also apparent to the American people that it would not be possible for the U. S. to stay out of the path of these implacable foes of freedom, should they succeed in recapturing power after the war.

There is no question but that the American policy reflected the sound instincts and wishes of the American people and their allies with respect to the treatment of Japan. Under General MacArthur's leadership the U. S. proceeded to implement a program which would whittle down Japan's war potential; punish her war criminals; break up the Zaibatsu industrial monopolies; eliminate feudal agricultural conditions and establish democratic political and social institutions. Indeed, upon the initiative of General MacArthur, the Japanese adopted a constitution which explicitly prohibited the reestablishment of Japanese armed forces.

In addition to these basic measures, the U. S. sought to encourage the economic development of those countries in Asia which had suffered under the colonial exploitation and agressions of the Japanese. U. S. policy makers, responsible for this program, believed that it would lay the groundwork for a peaceful and democratic order in the Far East.

The U. S. Program

Mr. Ed Pauley, President Truman's special representative on the problem of Japanese reparations, outlined some of the factors and objectives of this program in a special memorandum, excerpts of which follow:

"From the very beginning of the Meiji Era, nearly a century ago, the political rulers of Japan thought in militaristic terms. Their country was deficient in the raw materials needed for modern industry, especially war industry. Nevertheless, they created such industries, basing them on imports of raw materials. Since the raw materials came predominantly from territories not under the Japanese flag, militaristic thinking dictated the economic penetration and control of these territories, beginning with territories close to Japan . . .

"The end product of half a century of Japanese war-planning and war-making was a top-heavy industrial structure which was incapable of functioning efficiently except when geared either to making war or preparing for war . . .

"In order to keep the required cheap labor available for such industry, the standard of living in Japan had to be kept down. The people had to be taxed to provide grants and subsidies for the uneconomic industries. They were unable to buy more than a minimum part of the product of their own factories. The rest went into ships for the navy, equipment for the army, artificial industries like aluminum for the creation of an air force, stockpiles for war, export goods dumped on foreign markets to acquire foreign exchange for keeping up war-planning and war-making budgets — and finally, into the waste and destruction of actual aggression, first on the continent of Asia and later throughout the Pacific . . .

"The allocation of surplus Japanese industrial potential to countries entitled to reparations, especially neighboring Asiatic countries, should improve the economic balance, and contribute to the political stability, of Eastern Asia as a whole. Militaristic Japanese economic planning deliberately held back the normal industrial development of adjacent areas in Asia. Raw materials of these areas were exploited, but key processes, especially finishing processes, were retained in the home island of Japan, so as to ensure control of a widely ramifying industrial structure. As long as this advantage lay in Japanese hands, neighboring peoples were unable to resist aggressive Japanese economic penetration . . .

"In the future, with strengthened industrial systems, these peoples should be able to trade with Japan on an equal footing, to resist Japanese economic control, and to forestall any attempt at renewed Japanese military aggression. They will then be like sentinels, watching Japan from nearby, so that it may never again be necessary to call on millions of young Americans to fight a war across the whole width of the Pacific and its far shores . . ."

It is a fact that this program was strongly supported by the peoples in the Far East. It is also a fact that American prestige throughout that area was considerably enhanced when this program was announced. Yet, within several years following the end of hostilities, this policy began to fade away under the impact of the so-called practical realists who took charge of our Far Eastern affairs. Their's was a "new approach"—so the American people were told. Japan, they averred, must be given the wherewithal to play her "rightful role" as the "guardian of freedom" in the Pacific. A powerful Japan, 85 million strong, would serve as democracy's reliable bulwark against Communist aggression.

The "Hour of Destiny"

The invasion of South Korea facilitated the propagation of this new line. Thus, by February, 1951, six years after the Japanese surrender, Secretary of State Dulles was able to tell a meeting of the American-Japan Society that Japan's hour of destiny had arrived. He painted a glowing picture of the "new Japan" and the opportunities which awaited its energies:

"The Japanese have always been ambitious people. That is a good thing. Nations like individuals, have the right to be ambitious . . . The fact that that was a wrong method, which failed, does not mean that ambition itself is wrong.

"The new Japan has a great opportunity to exert an influence in Asia by what the founders of the United States called: 'conduct and example' . . ."

More recently the "new role" of Japan in Asia was outlined by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Walter F. George. Speaking before a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (4-24-55). Senator George condemned the original U. S. policy in Japan as "a great mistake." He then proceeded to outline the new mission of Japan. Restored as a great power, Senator George assured his listeners, Japan would become freedom's bulwark against Communist aggrandizement in the Far East.

Thus, the restoration of Japan's primacy in the Pacific has become a central objective of American policy. Toward that end the U. S. has pumped close to $5 billion into Japan, exclusive of the vast sums spent by U. S. troops in that country since the end of the war. Furthermore, our policy makers began to cancel the various political, social and economic programs laid down during the early days of the occupation.

That White Horse

It will be recalled that Admiral Halsey became a heroic figure when he publicly announced his intentions to enter Tokyo on the Emperor's white horse. Halsey's popularity reflected a deep desire and determination of the American people to do away with the Emperor System—the backbone of Japanese feudalism and militarism. Perhaps the fact that Admiral Halsey was never able to make good his boast was a hint as to the future of the original policy for Japan. The Emperor is still around and the cult surrounding his "sacred person" is beginning to flourish again. Last year the Tokyo correspondent for the Manchester Guardian, Hessell Tiltman, reported "the revival of the practice of banzais for the Emperor" at the meetings of newly established "patriotic" organizations (New Republic, 7-12-54).

" . . . The rebirth of the German General Staff—is the most overt of these divergencies thus far on the military front. Instead of following the lead of a Joint Chiefs system, with its political and legislative safeguards . . . the German Defense Ministry revised its Table of Organization . . . along the old OKW type of command structure which so usefully served Prussian militarism.

". . . But a far more basic issue, as far as the United States is concerned, is that this same system could also be used to conceal and distort the true German defense picture from our own and NATO authorities.

"There is solid historical precedent for this. The General Staff did it before, and it is a fact that the 'shadow' OKW after World War I—in which such geniuses as Erwin Rommel were mere captains—concealed their true aims from the Weimar government . . .

"While the combined 14-nation military authorities of NATO are not likely to be as naive as the idealistic (and sometimes corrupt) men of Weimar, could they fool NATO, too? . . ."

(William Richardson, N. Y. Post, 3-27-55)

Another outstanding expert on Japan, W. MacMahon Ball, who represented Australia in the Allied Control Council for Japan, wrote that the Japanese Ministry of Education "has announced plans for re-introducing courses in the schools on what the Emperor really means to Japan despite the surface changes enforced by the occupation" (The Nation, 3-19-55). In this connection the New York Times (5-8-55) reported that the Japanese were once again celebrating the Emperor's birthday. The Times noted that while on the surface Emperor Hirohito had renounced the status of divinity, nevertheless the celebrations created doubt as to "how much war and occupation had changed the fundamentals in the Japanese character."

An Unwavering Spirit

The encouragement of the militaristic spirit is also growing. As early as January 18, 1954, the New York Times revealed the growing revival of the Shinto religion *"which, with its worship of imperial and national ancestors, was one means that militarists used to work up nationalist feelings among the Japanese masses."* The Times reported that although official subsidies are not granted for this worship, the Japanese Government spent about $55 million in 1953 to support the shrines as "national monuments."

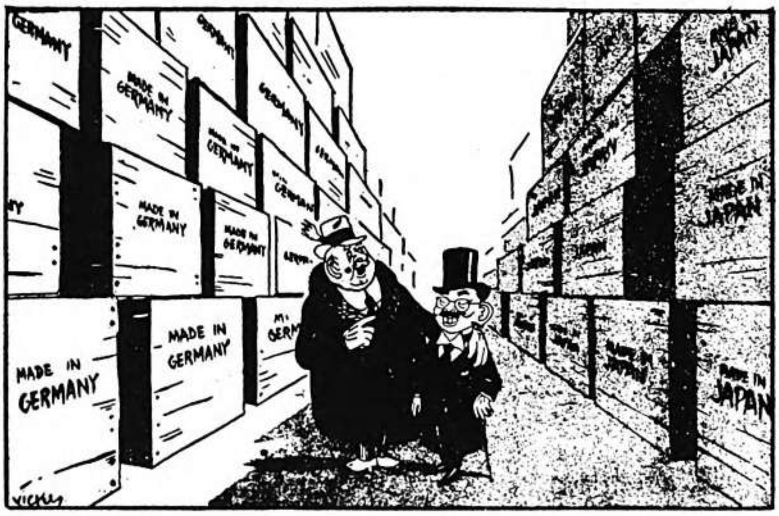
The rise of militaristic organizations has also been noted by Far Eastern experts. (See article "Japan—A Reliable Ally?" No. 44 issue of Prevent World War III.) Last year the Associated Press (7-12-54) reported from Tokyo that about 700 militaristic and nationalistic organizations had emerged and were actively engaged in whipping up the militaristic spirit.

Education for What?

In the field of education there is a growing tendency to stamp out independent thought and academic freedom. Takashi Oka writing for the Christian Science Monitor (4-2-54) revealed that new laws were being put through that were reminiscent of the way thought-control had been imposed upon the Japanese people prior to the war. Indeed, he mentioned several key personalities, all associated with Japanese thought-control in the past, who are again in important positions in the Japanese educational system. The effort to clamp down on academic freedom has been noted by other persons conversant with the situation in Japan.

Zaibatsu

One of the important objectives of the original Allied policy concerned the breaking up of the great Japanese monopolies which had provided the sinews of



"YOU KNOW, SOMETIMES I'M HAUNTED BY THE FEAR THAT WE MAY WIN THE NEXT WAR."

(*Courtesy, London Daily Mirror*)

Japanese war-making power and had exploited and looted the countries invaded by the Japanese armies. Here too, there has been a retreat all along the line. The most powerful of these industrial monopolies, Mitsui, is in the process of reconcentration. The general situation with respect to decartelization and deconcentration was described in the U. S. News & World Report (5-6-55):

"Meanwhile, across the Pacific, big Japanese business is getting bigger and small concerns are getting weaker. Once more the pre-1945 Zaibatsu—cartel—system is taking shape. Breakup of the cartels, engineered in the early days of the American occupation, is a joke now . . .

"Formation of larger trading companies in the foreign-trade field also shows the trend. Before the war, the Mitsubishi and Mitsui trading companies controlled 30 per cent of Japan's trade. Several Mitsubishi fragments recombined last year. Three of the four Mitsui firms have now decided to merge. New merged companies will still be small by prewar standards. But just give them time to grow in the fertile atmosphere provided by the Hatoyama Government!"

The general consensus of current reports on Japan confirms Mr. MacMahon Ball's appraisal that there is a *"steady trend back to conservatism and authoritarianism in Japan."*

Old Stamping Grounds

Hand in hand with the break down of democratic reform in Japan's internal structure is the return of a pattern of external policies which has a sinister implication. Prior to Pearl Harbor, the Japanese were busy developing what they called their "Greater South East Asia Co-Prosperity Project." This rather cryptic title was a camouflage slogan for Japanese imperialistic policy. It rested on the assumption that Japan had the God-given right to direct the destinies of the Far East and that, if the peoples in that area accepted the status of vassalage, they would "benefit." Of course, it meant that all of the riches of East Asia would be turned over to the Japanese in the interests of "co-prosperity."

While the first target of this policy were the peoples in the Far East, the success of the Japanese challenge presupposed the defeat of the United States. It was this basic requirement which impelled the Japanese to launch their treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor. The lessons of Pearl Harbor made it clear that the United States would have to adopt measures in the post-war period that would thwart any attempts on the part of the Japanese to revive the co-prosperity project.

In the early days of the occupation the Japanese, apparently recognizing the resistance to their pet scheme, said little about it. But when U. S. policy changed, the Japanese found encouragement to speak up with a surprising degree of frankness. In a speech delivered before the Japan Society of Boston (Christian Science Monitor, 3-18-55), Japanese Ambassador to the United States, Sadao Iguchi, outlined Japan's views with respect to the program for the "Arc Of Free Asia," a phrase recently coined by Harold E. Stassen.

Mr. Iguchi seemed to be very enthusiastic about the prospects for the development of this "Arc." He said it was up to Asia to use its own "natural forces —the forces of economics, growth, nationalistic ideals, and normal flow of trade"—with the leverage being provided by economic aid. Mr. Iguchi stated that countries in the "Arc" were striving to better the living standards for their peoples and the economic improvement was so imperative that, unless it was forthcoming, these countries would "collapse."

How could this plan be realized? According to Mr. Iguchi, Japan, as the great industrial country of Asia, would participate in the raising of the economic conditions of her neighbors "as processor of Eastern raw materials for the West; processor and interpreter of Western technology to the East." The Japanese ambassador pointed out that trade was the key to Japan's survival and that the island required new sources of raw materials and new markets. That is why, he said, the idea of multi-lateral trade and technical cooperation, envisaged by the "Arc of Asia" program, was so attractive to the Japanese.

The present Japanese foreign minister Shigemitsu also stressed Japan's role. He told a press conference (New York Times, 3-30-55) that Japan hoped to use her industrial power to elevate living standards throughout South East Asia. He applauded the program of U. S. help in that direction.

U. S. policy to strengthen the economic position of the free countries of Asia is a laudible objective—provided that it does not become the vehicle through which the Japanese gain positions which they failed to attain during the war. Yet, there are disturbing reports which seem to confirm that the so-called "Arc of Asia" program may well turn out to be the opportunity for Japan to become lord and master of South East Asia. For example, Business Week (10-16-54) reveals that the "roots of the whole idea can be traced back to the closing stage of the Korean War. Washington was then looking for some way to get Japan and South Asia together: Japan needed raw materials and markets in South Asia, while South Asia needed Japanese capital goods . . ."

The New York Times (3-10-55) reported that Harold E. Stassen had proposed that Japan "concentrate on trade with South Asia rather than on commercial arrangements with the Communist powers." The Japanese in turn presented Mr. Stassen with detailed plans on how to go about "devedoping other Asian economies." In short, the Japanese hope that with American money they could sink their claws into South East Asia and succeed in exploiting the area under the guise of helping the free Asian countries to improve their standard of living.

"If"

If the plan for helping South East Asia turns out to be a windfall for Japanese imperialistic designs, then the United States will not strengthen the free countries of Asia against Communist expansionism. On the contrary, by associating ourselves with the new drive of Japan we may very well compromise our own positions as an anti-colonial power.

There is a vast difference between a plan that encourages economic equality among the nations of Asia and one which, under the pretense of such equality, foists upon these peoples a new version of Japanese domination and exploitation. We can hardly afford to permit the Japanese colonialists to run loose again. Their reappearance in South East Asia would hasten a re-alignment in that area in favor of the Communists and therefore to the detriment of the free world.

A foretaste of how the countries of South East Asia feel about Japanese ambitions was recently experienced in a conference of these nations at Simla, India. This conference was supposed to set up a program of economic help to be financed at least in part by the United States. However, the conference broke down and one of the reasons for its failure was precisely the fear of many of the countries of South East Asia as to Japanese intentions. The New York Times correspondent, reporting on the reasons why the conference did not succeed, noted that *"memories of Japan's pre-World War II Greater South East Asia Co-Prosperity project, a mask for Japanese aggression, are still quite green in this part of the world"* (5-10-55).

In this connection, the Manchester Guardian expert Mr. Tiltman, mentioned above, writes: *"But Japan's aim has not changed—only her methods. The aim is still the integration of Japanese industry and Asian markets into some sort of co-prosperity sphere . . ."* (New Republic, 5-30-55).

Where Is the Evidence

We can anticipate, of course, the defensive arguments of those who are responsible for the "new approach" to Japan. They have told the American people time and again that Japan is our main bulwark in the Far East against Communism and that therefore everything must be done to reinvigorate her power. Even if it were true that Japan is our best friend in Asia, we certainly do not halt the inroads of Communism by providing a wedge through which Japanese colonialists can gain advantage in South East Asia.

But is it true that Japan is our reliable comrade in the Pacific? Where is the evidence, what is the basis for this assumption? There is no evidence and there is no basis for this assumption except the assurances of Mr. Dulles and those Japanese diplomats and politicians who know how to get on the best side of Uncle Sam. The fact is that the Japanese have never been seriously wedded to the cause of Western democracy and if recent portents have any meaning, it is hard to see how we can expect much from the Japanese in the future.

For a while, particularly during the Korean war, Japanese policy seemed to be identical with that of the USA. Our officials were flattered and believed the VIP treatment they received was the real thing. However, when the Korean war ended and with it hundreds of millions of dollars which shored up the Japanese economy, the Japanese began to behave in a rather different way. Whether they got their cue from the late Soviet dictator Stalin is not known, but on December 31, 1951, he told the Japanese people that the Soviet Union had deep sympathy "for the Japanese people in the distress that has befallen them owing to foreign occupation . . ." Needless to say, Mr. Stalin was thinking of the USA and his thoughts must have impressed the Japanese. By 1952, Japanese businessmen were beginning to talk about the "possibilities" of doing business with the Soviets and with Red China.

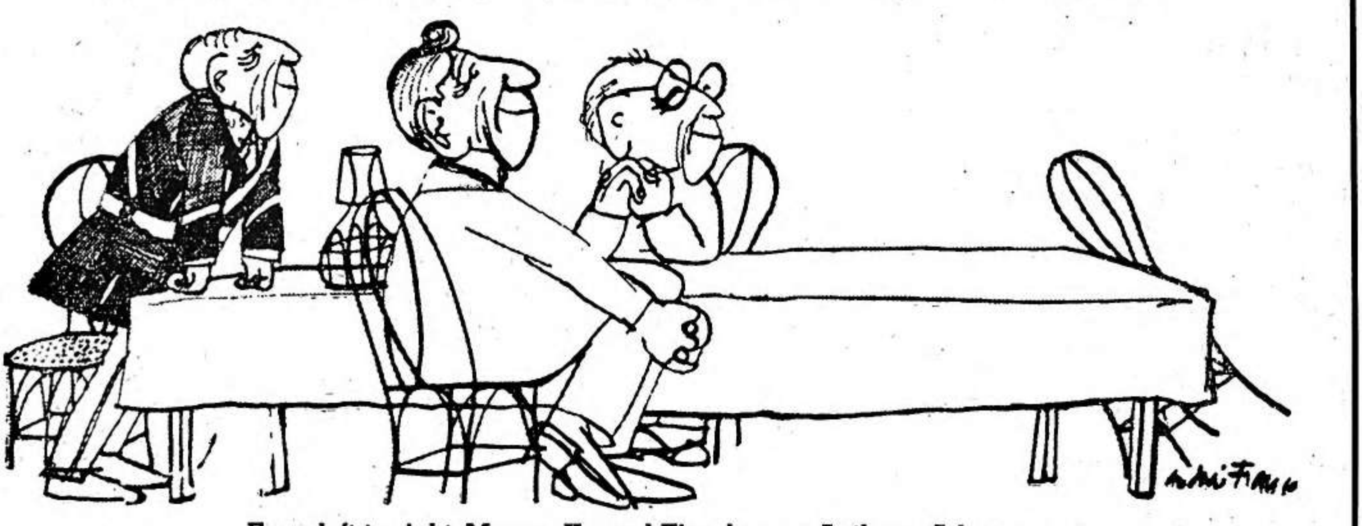
The gradual warming up between the Japanese on the one hand and the Soviets and Red China on the other, could not fail to influence Japanese politics. In the early part of this year the so-called pro-American politicians were ousted from power. According to the London Economist (3-5-55), the defeat of the pro-American Liberal Party marked a definite break with the past: *"The Japanese will become more Japanese. They will, that is to say, henceforward be at once more nationalist and more neutralist in their attitude to other nations. While remaining governed by an essentially conservative government, they will throw off the mantle of American influence and seek to make fresh terms with the Communist powers. And yet, in that their new policy will above all assert the national character of Japan, it will by no means be simply pro-Communist . . ."*

The Main Winners

It is not without significance that the two main winners of the election were the present Prime Minister Ichiro Hatoyama and the Foreign Minister Mamuro Shigemitsu. Hatoyama had such a dubious record during the war that he was barred from political activity by General MacArthur. Shigemitsu, who signed the surrender on board the battleship Missouri, served a term on conviction as a class A war criminal. These are the present leaders of Japan. The fact that they should be permitted to attain important political positions is but another example of how far we have retreated from our original objectives.

Under the direction of this leadership Japan is developing its own new approach. Hatoyama is not America's best friend. He has his own ideas as to how Japan should deal with its powerful Western and Eastern protagonists. It is his policy, according to the Christian Science Monitor (2-8-55), which represents *"an effort to shake loose from one sided ties with the U. S. and thereby gain maneuvering room in the field of interna-*

PREPARATIONS FOR THE BIG 4 MEETING AS DESIRED BY THE CHANCELLOR . . .



From left to right: Messrs. Konrad Eisenhower, Anthony Adenauer, and Konrad Faure, waiting for Marshal Bulganin.

(*La Tribune Des Nations*)

tional relations." The Hatoyama policy was described in Business Week (4-9-55): "10 *years after the war, the reaction to defeat and occupation has brought a tide of neutralism and nationalism. It threatens Japan's close postwar ties with the U. S. . . .*" Appropriately the title of the Business Week article is "Japan: Talking to Both Sides."

The mood of the Japanese which was registered in the elections, has been disturbing Washington. James Reston, reporting in the New York Times (2-21-55), states: "*Japan, in the midst of a divisive election, is increasingly anti-American and increasingly determined to ease her economic and political problems by 'normalizing' trade relations with Communist China and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union . . .*"

Of late, there have been many concrete instances of anti-Americanism which have come to the surface. The hassle over the extent to which the Japanese will finance their rearmament is a case in point. One would expect these allegedly enthusiastic defenders of the free world to spare no effort toward strengthening the military defenses of the "Arc of Free Asia." Yet, the Japanese have been dragging their heels. They have pleaded poverty although Mr. Struve Hensel, former General Counsel of the U. S. Defense Department, pointed out that Japan was spending only about 2½ per cent of its gross national product on armaments which is the lowest of any country in the world receiving U. S. aid.

The fact is, as admitted by all competent newspaper correspondents, that Japan has no intentions of building up armed forces of sizeable efficiency unless the American taxpayers are willing to pay the bill. According to the New York World Telegram (4-18-55), this will be done. It reports that the U. S. "*agreed to foot the bill for expanding the Japanese armed forces in a move to avert a slowdown on Japanese rearmament that would stall U. S. defense plans all through the Far East.*"

Another case where the Japanese are driving a hard "bargain" relates to Japanese debts owed to the U. S. The total sum was in the neighborhood of $2 billion but the U. S. offered to settle for about $600 million spread over 37 years with a nominal interest rate of 2½ per cent. The Japanese have balked at signing this agreement.

In others matters, too, the Japanese have shown a distinct unwillingness to cooperate. Commenting on these pinpricks the London Economist (4-18-55) writes: "*It is impossible to say to what extent all these irritations and frustrations are part of a fixed pattern, or are merely coincidental and indicative of an irresponsible attitude of mind rather than of a calculated attitude of policy . . .*"

In contrast to the growing animosity which the Japanese display toward the U. S., there is a developing tenderness between them and the Communist bloc. Delegations are sent from Japan to Russia or to Red China while Russia and Red China promptly reciprocate. It is essential to bear in mind that these delegations are not, for the most part, made up of wide eyed radicals. Many of Japan's best known conservative politicians and industrialists have participated in these handshakes. A few months ago, the press reported a meeting of the "Peoples Conference for Restoration of Diplomatic Relations with the Soviet Union and China." The meeting was very well attended by *all* major political parties. "The chairman was an ultra-nationalist and rightist, Suanosuke Kuhara. On the platform were Soviet and Peiping officials in Tokyo attending the U. N. economic conference. They said nothing. They just smiled" (New York Post, 3-30-55).

Flirting with the Reds

That economic conditions are a major force in the growing rapprochement between Japan and the Soviet bloc is undeniable. Only those who indulge in wishful thinking will try to gloss over the importance that Japan attaches to the Chinese mainland. As the London Economist stated, "*the loss of markets and important sources of supply on the mainland have been a crippling blow to the Japanese economy*" (3-26-55).

While the Economist has put its finger on a basic element which will determine Japanese policy, its advice to cope with the situation is rather naive. "If Mr. Hatoyama is determined to sup with the devil," the Economist warns, "he should take care to provide himself with a long spoon" (3-26-55). Is it possible that the Economist really believes that those who are steering Japanese policy today are unacquainted with the devil's tactics? Despite the advice of the Economist, the Japanese are working diligently to mend their fences with Red China. A short while ago they concluded a trade pact with China to the tune of $168 million. Of course, the Japanese will try to sooth Western public opinion but that is an old story with the Japanese since they have been quite adept at carrying water at both shoulders.

The Hatoyama policy is moving swiftly. Negotiations are already taking place between the Japanese and the Soviets "to normalize" relations. What this normalization will ultimately mean in terms of U. S. security no one knows at this time. However, the significant fact is that the Japanese are no longer playing the role which our policy makers expected from them. The strange part about this episode is that our policy makers still behave as though the Japanese will always be with us.

The Real Japan

As pointed out in the early part of this piece, our present policy toward Japan has been based on assumptions which are groundless. We have lost sight of Japan's historic traditions as well as her geopolitical position. Mr. MacMahon Ball, who truly knows Japan, observes that though Japan "*belongs to Asia, it has been required to behave as though it belonged to the West. The plain fact is that in the cold war Japan loses more, because of the restrictions of its trade with Russia and China, than does its Western associates, and that in a "hot war its prospects of survival would be much dimmer than theirs. To expect Japan to be a trusted armed ally of the West is to defy economic and geographical realities . . .*"

Perhaps some will say that Mr. Ball is overstating the case. To satisfy that criticism we present the views of the President of Tokyo University, Dr. Yanaihara, as reported by Joseph Alsop in the New York Herald Tribune (4-25-55). President Yanaihara occupies a unique position in Japanese life. He speaks for the most articulate groups within Japan and that is why Mr. Alsop felt his views important enough to be reported. He told Mr. Alsop that Japan "is now America's barking dog. We now bark or bark not, as the signal may be given." Dr. Yanaihara complained about the alleged indifference of the American forces when the president of another Japanese university objected to our planes landing near his school because they were making too much noise. According to Dr. Yanaihara, the American Air Force ignored these complains. "I ask you," President Yanaihara said, "is this real independence? Is this our country or is it yours?" This little incident merely gave President Yanaihara the opportunity to tell Mr. Alsop that the world was being convulsed by the struggle between the U. S. and the Soviet Union. He did not state who was to blame, but he told Mr. Alsop that all Asians fear "American imperialism" and "American belligerence." The Japanese, he said, do not want to have any part of this struggle since they desire friendly relations with both sides. Therefore, the first and most essential thing is for all American forces to leave Japan immediately.

President Yanaihara spoke in the language of the intellectual, but his views reflected those who guide Japan today. They are the very people and groups who have utter contempt for democracy, who are filled with the feeling of revenge, and who would not hesitate—given the right moment and favorable opportunity—to turn against us.

Assumption or Fact

Will our policy makers wake up in time or shall we continue to walk the rosy path outlined by Mr. Dulles which leads to the abyss? We are told by Mr. Alsop in another column (5-4-55) that President Eisenhower and the National Security Council are in the process of re-examining the fundamentals of Japanese-American relations. According to Mr. Alsop this re-examination starts with the assumption *"No. 1, that the Japanese American alliance could in effect be taken for granted for an indefinite term of years."*

Mr. Alsop reports that certain American representatives in Tokyo who are in contact with the facts "protested sharply that taking Japan for granted was profoundly unwise." Will they be heard? If Mr. Dulles' policies toward Germany are any guide, then we can be sure that the few who question the realism of our present Japanese policy, will be ignored. As in Germany, we have constructed a program for Japan which is a mixture of short-sightedness and a refusal to face the facts.

"The German people are not ready to be trusted with a military establishment. If given arms before they have developed a far more firmly established democratic tradition, their nation is likely once more to become 'not a state possessing an army but an army possessing a state.' For this assertion I can give you two authorities: John Foster Dulles and Konrad Adenauer. Both of these gentlemen stated what I have just said as their chief reason for supporting the now defunct European Defense Community. Chancellor Adenauer used this argument to obtain ratification of EDC by a reluctant parliament. Secretary of State Dulles made an eloquent speech to Mr. Molotov at the Berlin Conference a year ago, warning that a national German army would constitute a terrible threat to peace. Both are now striving with might and main to create that army . . ."

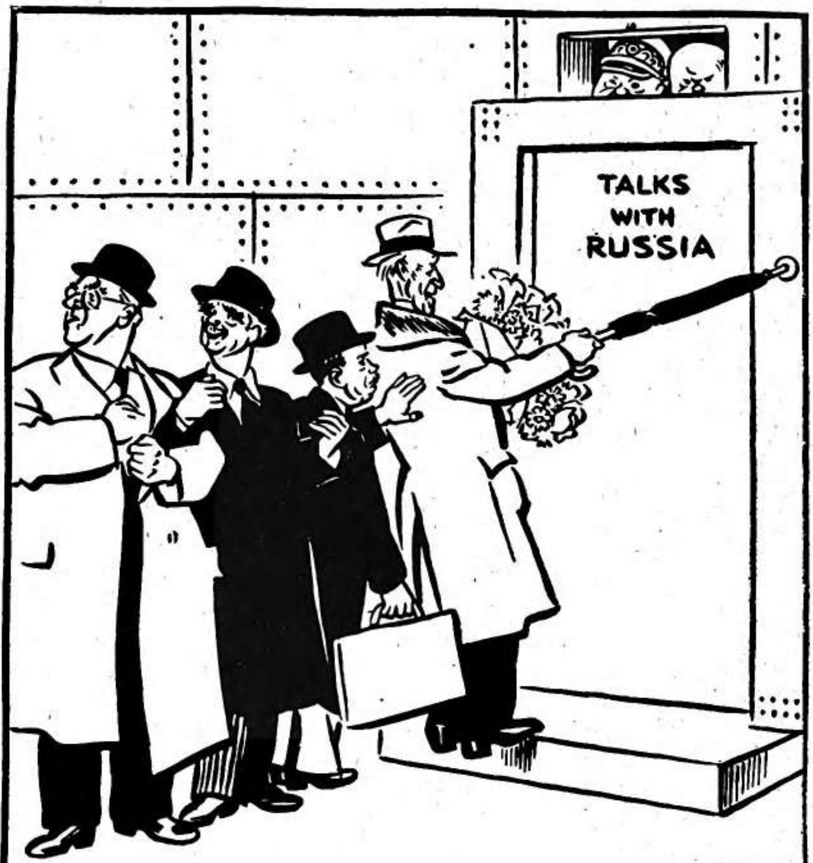
(By James P. Warburg, Congr. Record, 4-20-55)

". . . The fact is that the Soviet note is right down many Germans' alley. The second largest party in Adenauer's coalition has long demanded diplomatic relations with Russia. Much greater trade with the East, which the Soviet message stresses, has long been the dream of many German businessmen . . .

"The Western diplomats, as they glumly contemplate the Soviet invitation, had best not confine their thoughts to the steadfastness of Adenauer, great though that is. They had best be thinking about the present pressures inside Germany for unification, for more trade and closer diplomatic ties with the Soviets.

"Above all, it might be a mistake to forget that historically the Russo-German affinity has not been so much a case of German innocence and Soviet deceit as, for both parties, a marriage of cynical convenience."

(Wall Street Journal, 6-9-55)



"GO ON—YOU RING!"

(*Low, world copyright, Courtesy, The Manchester Guardian*)

The Coming Deal With Moscow

by

T. H. TETENS

(*Author of "Germany Plots with the Kremlin"*)

When, on May 7, 1945, Fieldmarshall Keitel signed the instrument of surrender at Reims, nobody in the world would have dared to predict that only ten years later the younger set of the Prussian officer elite would again be busy with the organization of a new Wehrmacht of 500,000 men. Who would have dreamt in 1945 that exactly 10 years after the German collapse, history would repeat itself with a world situation in which a revived Germany enjoys a diplomatic Roman holiday by squeezing concessions from East and West? Indeed, with her sovereignty restored, Germany has gone a long way from the capitulation at Reims to the recent Soviet invitation for "direct talks in Moscow."

How did this "miracle" come about?

We know today that the Germans already banked on the coming split among the Allies during the last months of the war. In spite of many warnings raised at that time, the Allies walked right into the trap which had been carefully laid by the German High Command. During the first months of the postwar period, there was, at least on the surface, unity and cooperation on the highest level among the occupation authorities.

When the tug of war began between the USA and the Soviets in their respective occupation zones, the German political leaders offered the United States a ready made program for the revival of a strong Germany. At that time, Dr. Adenauer emerged as the leader of the conservative forces. Expecting a showdown between East and West, he offered the necessary German manpower to strengthen the Western position and he intimated that if the Germans were expected to develop an inclination to fight for the West, they had first to be won over as allies.

The Balance Sheet

We know today that our policy advisers in the Pentagon and in the State Dept. fell for the German bait. Washington diplomats pressured our hesitating western friends. We started with a large scale "WPA" program for the rebuilding of shattered German cities and industries; stopped the dismantling of German plants; brought denazification to an abrupt end. We gave Germany self-government; organized a new state, a new industry, a new currency, a prosperous economy, and backed the build-up of a new national German leader—Dr. Konrad Adenauer. The chancellor artfully dangled German divisions before our nose, and it was this "bait" which lured us into the morass of our European policy.

If we sum up the balance sheet of how Germany profited from the East-West tension, the following picture will emerge:

(1) Germany exploited the breakup of the wartime alliance.

(2) The Potsdam agreements, aimed at rendering Germany harmless, were never carried out.

(3) German economy was built up by the United States and modernized to the tune of billions of dollars.

(4) The United States freed Germany from reparations and unburdened her from most of her domestic and foreign debts. With U. S. support, a new currency was created which has become one of the strongest in the world.

(5) Due to U. S. economic help and political backing Germany became again a dominant economic and political power on the European continent.

(6) Washington installed Germany in a diplomatic and strategic key position where she could easily exploit the East-West conflict.

(7) U. S. insistence on German rearmament and the subsequent ratification of the Paris treaties caused Russia to scrap her assistance pacts with France and Great Britain, a major triumph of German postwar diplomacy. Thus, Washington opened the door for direct Russo-German negotiations.

(8) Ten years after the war's end, Moscow reversed its policy by offering the Bonn Republic large scale Russo-German cooperation with features reminiscent of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939.

(9) Dr. Adenauer is taking a diplomatic offensive by suggesting that East and West should disarm, but he insists at the same time on the rearmament of a unified Germany that should have freedom to choose her military alliances.

(10) The Bonn Government is in a strong bargaining position to side with Moscow for the removal of all American military bases from Europe. In turn, Dr. Adenauer expects territorial and other concessions from Moscow. As soon as the deal is made, Germany will instigate a campaign for U. S. withdrawal from Europe "in the interest of European peace and security." This plan has already been openly discussed in the pro-Adenauer press.

A brief glance shows that Germany's economic and political postwar gains are staggering. In her global political approach she starts anew with a clean slate, unburdened from liabilities and old concepts. Furthermore, she is not encumbered with obsolete ideas and weapons in the military field.

Her officer corps has been kept intact and well organized in the traditional soldiers associations. They have used their temporary retirement for theoretical military studies and thousands of them went into service in Spain, Argentine, Egypt and other countries. Her geopolitical planning staff has been kept intact and excellently trained. In science she has made great progress and her old world contacts have been reestablished.

A New Start

Unquestionably, Germany is in an excellent position for a new start in world power politics. Her old opponents in Europe are weakened and she has freedom of decision to become either the partner of the United States or of the Soviet Union.

When Germany regained her independence and sovereignty in May of this year, the German papers stated bluntly that a new phase in German history had begun. The question is, what will it bring for the free Western world? Is Dr. Adenauer, as President Eisenhower publicly stated, definitely the trustworthy leader who will go to Moscow and take care of Western interests because he knows the Russians best? Are there valid reasons to give us concern not to trust the Germans and to remember their former double dealings?

Let us find out what is in back of Dr. Adenauer's mind. A close analysis of recent German policy statements by Dr. Adenauer himself and in the pro-Adenauer press shows a complicated labyrinth-like reasoning and arguing which can be boiled down to the following thoughts: With German sovereignty restored, the Bonn Repubic must develop a new world-wide diplomatic activity. The coming Four Power Meeting might endanger Germany's future. There is always the possibility that the Big Four might agree on a settlement at Germany's expense, or that they might keep the status quo, i.e. the present division of Germany. Whatever the solution would be, it would have a bad effect on Germany's future. Dr. Adenauer frequently stated in the past that such a possibility is a "nightmare" to him because it would harm his long range diplomatic planning.

A Means to the End

During the early months of 1955 the German press demanded an immediate German diplomatic initiative in order to forestall such a danger. The German papers made it clear that the signing of the Paris treaties was only a means to an end for Dr. Adenauer, i.e. to gain sovereignty for the Bonn Republic in order to start bargaining with Moscow.

The Russians had categorically declared that after ratification of the Paris treaties there would be no use to talk about the German problem. The Germans also feared that France and Great Britain might have a secret interest in keeping Germany divided. How, then, could the Bonn Government break this deadlock? The "Stuttgarter Nachrichten" of April 28, 1955, stated in an editorial that there is "great urgency" to find a new way "to open East-West negotiations on the question of German reunification," even after the Paris treaties are ratified.

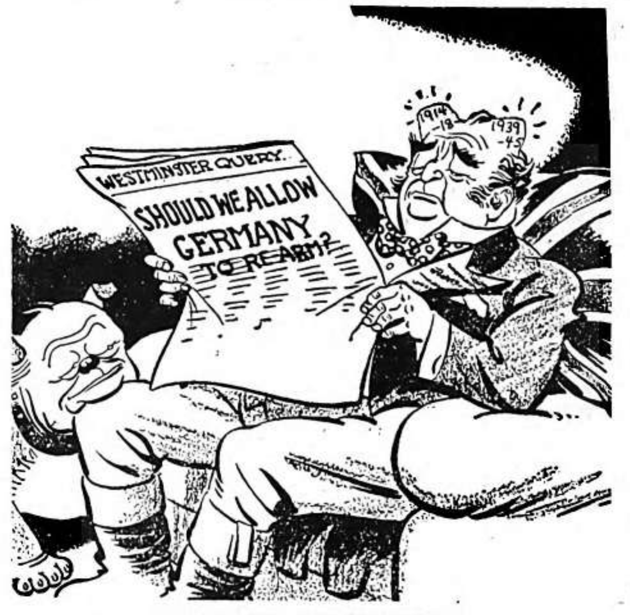
The pro-Adenauer weekly "Christ und Welt" reported on April 28, 1955, that, in order to keep developments in flux and to push German reunification, the "Bonn Government would insist on an immediate East-West conference." The same paper stated in an editorial of May 19, 1955, "there were reports circulating for weeks that the Federal Government had shaped a definite plan for reunification which, for obvious reasons could not yet be made public." The paper added that the time had come for intimate talks between East and West and Adenauer's repeated predictions that the Kremlin would be ready for secret negotiations had been right.

The "Frankfurter Allgemeine" of May 9, 1955, stated in an editorial that the Federal Government would insist that German reunification should have first place on the agenda of the Four Power Conference. The paper discussed even the price that could be offered to the Soviets in turn for German reunification, namely Russia's inclusion in a security system of Europe, German neutrality, and the future withdrawal of U. S. forces from Europe.

"Christ und Welt" of June 2, 1955, in a front page editorial discussed the new German diplomatic initiative: "It is impossible for the Bonn Government to lay its cards on the table. But the question is whether the cards are well stacked." The paper acclaims Dr. Adenauer's emphasis on general disarmament and declares that Germany must furnish a convincing plan for the coming Four Power negotiations, a plan "which first of all must be regarded by the Western Powers as their own (diplomatic) blueprint."

Adenauer's Diplomacy

The foregoing statements show clearly that the Bonn diplomats and geopolitical planners had already worked out a secret plan in the early months of 1955, a kind of diplomatic time bomb, that would open a new phase in European diplomacy and would allow Germany to take an active part in the shaping of future events. Even with our scanty knowledge of background facts we have enough significant circumstantial evidence which allows us to draw certain conclusions. We must not forget that Dr. Adenauer's diplomacy, like the proverbial iceberg, is 4/5 invisible under water. We know today that the German Chancellor has always cultivated secret contacts with the Kremlin rulers. This went on as early as 1948 when, as is known, the former Moscow Ambassador Nadolny shuttled back and forth between West Germany and the Russian headquarters in the Eastern zone. In the summer of 1953, only three months after signing of the Bonn Contractual Agreement, a German delegation of businessmen and diplomats met—with Dr. Adenauer's approval—high Moscow officials in Copenhagen. It was also Dr. Adenauer who, in the spring of 1954, encouraged Budestag member Dr. Pfleiderer to secretly negotiate with Soviet high officials in the Eastern zone and even suggested a trip by Dr. Pfleiderer to Moscow and Peiping. In recent weeks, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmeier, President of the German Bundestag and Dr. Adenauer's right hand, took a trip to Belgrade just before the Soviet leaders arrived there. Dr. Gerstenmeier had a long confidential talk with Tito on "important problems," details of which were not



'PAINFUL MEMORIES'

(*Walker in The South Wales Echo*)

published in the German press. Acording to European press reports, the negotiations between the German and Russian embassies in Paris have also gone on for a considerable time.

Direct Talks with Moscow

There is other evidence to show that for a long time the Adenauer diplomats were eager to come to direct talks with Moscow. When the Russian note of January 15, 1955, made substantial concessions to Germany with regard to free elections, national armed forces and reunification, the entire German press was in favor of acceptance. However, Germany had not regained her sovereignty yet. Nevertheless, Dr. Giselher Wirsing, one of the geopolitical masterminds, suggested "direct talks between Bonn and Moscow" in "Christ und Welt" (1-20-55). Such talks, said Dr. Wirsing, would be possible "whenever the team of our travelling diplomats will meet Soviet diplomats at a neutral place." Stressing the great urgency, Dr. Wirsing recommended quick action because Germany "was under the pressure of time."

That the question of direct Bonn-Moscow parleys was constantly on the minds of Bonn officials is shown by a statement made by Dr. Adenauer's first assistant, Prof. Hallstein, published by the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" (4-5-55):

"Secretary of State Hallstein affirmed that the Federal Government, after ratification of the Paris treaties, could enter independently into negotiations with the Soviet Union."

The monthly "Aussenpolitik" which is close to the Bonn Foreign Office, recommended in the April 1955 issue a "genuine talk with Russia which some day will and must come." It noted hopeful signs for a future close Russo-German cooperation:

"If Russia cannot protect her sparcely inhabitated spaces in the Far East, then sooner or later she will have to be concerned with her security in the West. Then the great hour will come for Europe and for Germany."

From the facts known, we can conclude that during the early months of 1955, unofficial talks went on between Bonn and Moscow concerning the future status of Germany. When Dr. Adenauer, in the second half of May, suddenly recalled the German ambassadors from London, Paris and Washington, there was world-wide speculation for the reason of this unusual German diplomatic move. No sensible explanation was given for the long conference Dr. Adenauer held with his chief diplomatic aides. Subsequent events have shed light on this mystery. The conference took place at a time when Moscow had made the decision to send the carefully worded invitation to Dr. Adenauer for a visit to Moscow. The Chancellor, knowing beforehand the delicate situation that would confront him in early June, hastily called his ambassadors back to Germany in order to instruct them for smooth diplomatic double talk to overcome this extremely complicated situation with as little embarrassment as possible.

There are other signs which indicate that Dr. Adenauer had advance knowledge of the Soviet note. Bonn's large scale preparation for "well informed" journalistic coverage of this sensational event in the American press makes it sufficiently clear that the Soviet note of June 7, was not the same "surprise" for Dr. Adenauer as it was for Paris, London, and Washington.

The Chancellor's delicate problem is how to negotiate, in obvious violation of the Paris Treaty obligations, on Germany's future status, reunification and territorial issues. The German press has clamored for years for direct negotiations with Moscow and has constantly enumerated the favorable features of such a bargain: increased Soviet-German trade, security for Russia's Western front and the elimination of U. S. bases from Europe—everything that Comrade Molotov has wanted for years. Whatever concessions Russia will have to make will be to the benefit of Germany, and not to the Western powers!

How to Handle the U. S. A.

How can Dr. Adenauer negotiate on such questions with Moscow without the Americans becoming suspicious? Adenauer's strategy in this situation must be to "condition" Russia as well as the USA in order to bring both big powers around to his views. In plain English, the Chancellor has to use diplomatic double talk, an art at which he is an unexcelled master. In order to succeed he must first ease the tension and win the consent of Washington for a direct Russo-German bargain.

It must have come as a great shock to Mr. Dulles and the State Dept. when Dr. Adenauer presented his new policy program of "reunification through disarmament and relaxation of tension" before the Bundestag in May. Year after year, Dr. Adenauer had drummed the slogan that only a "policy of strength" would in the end force the Russians to yield ground and to withdraw their armies not only from the Soviet zone but from the whole of Eastern Europe. That was the basic thesis of the so-called "policy of liberation" which Washington intended to buttress with active support of popular revolts behind the Iron Curtain. Now, quite suddenly, Washington is confronted with the big Adenauer switch: to ease international tension! Since early this year, when Washington policy advisers were talking about the possibility of a "Sino-American war by the middle of April," the German masterminds blueprinted a rather different approach to global affairs. Nothing had been changed in the world, except the status of Germany. With restored German sovereignty, Dr. Adenauer was in a hurry to openly start his bargaining with the Soviets. For this he needed a period of relaxation in international affairs.

One wonders why Washington accepted Dr. Adenauer's sudden bid for "relaxation." In the past, Mr. Dulles systematically rejected every suggestion for high level talks or offers on disarmament, whether they came from London or from Moscow. When Churchill in May 1953 suggested a Big Four meeting at the summit, Dr. Adenauer opposed the plan and Mr. Dulles refused to consider the British suggestion. Thus, the Churchill plan for a Big Four meeting was killed. Washington's diplomatic somersault came only two years later when Germany was ready with her new "dynamic diplomacy" in the East.

Indeed, something seems strange with our policy shapers. On May 8, 1955, Stewart Alsop wrote in his column:

"The change of atmosphere in Washington in the last few weeks is astonishing. Hardly a month ago, there was more war talk than at any time since the Korean War. Now the talk is all of peace, with President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles both on record with optimistic remarks about the prospects. Why the change?"

Furthermore, why did Mr. Dulles declare in March of this year: "I came back from this trip to the Far East with a sense of deep concern," and why did he see a change in the world situation a few weeks later which he called "a turning point in history"?

The fact is that under pressure from Bonn Mr. Dulles had to change his entire policy! This was clearly pointed out by the able diplomatic correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor," Joseph C. Harsch, on May 16, 1955:

"Washington's old reluctance to return to the table of diplomacy with the men of Moscow might have withstood pressure from just London and Paris. But when the West German Government became the principal advocate of such talks, Washington had no choice."

Allied Reactions

There also is wonderment and grave concern in Paris and London about the course of U. S. foreign policy. Looking back on past events, there seems to be much justification in the well known German quip: "Who makes Washington's European policy?—Konrad Adenauer in Bonn!"

The French have become painfully aware of this situation. The Paris correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor" reported on June 16, 1955:

"Rapidly spreading talk about a 'Washington-Bonn Axis' indicates how strongly French thinking still is dominated by apprehensions of West Germany getting a more and more favored position in Washington at the expense of France . . .

"The Washington correspondent of the conservative Le Monde described the enthusiasm for the new 'Washington-Bonn Axis' as such a success for Dr. Adenauer that 'it would not be exaggerating to say that, considering all points, it is Washington which has aligned itself with the Chancellor's views . . . The Germans have not only become once more the masters of their destiny but more and more the measure by which is determined the destiny of all the others' . . ."

France and Britain clearly see the danger that Germany might break away from the Western Alliance. The highly respected British historian, Prof. Geoffrey Barraclough, raised the warning in a radio lecture over BBC in early May that the Bonn Government was practicing a "black mail diplomacy" and he predicted that Germany would seek a new pact with Moscow (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 5-13-55).

Dr. Adenauer will see to it that the forthcoming Big Four conference will bring no definite results. At present the Chancellor most urgently needs but a "relaxation of tension," not through an agreement on the German problem, but through some diffuse propaganda designed to lull the Americans to sleep.

The Grand Design

During the coming months Dr. Adenauer will continue with his "double-bottomed juggling policy." However, the Chancellor is aware that he is walking on thin diplomatic ice. He knows that there is growing suspicion even in the United States. Some observers in Bonn have noted the strange behavior of the German public, politicians and press. Times correspondent M. S. Handler reported from Bonn (6-12-55):

"It was symptomatic of the state of mind in West Germany that the Soviet invitation was greeted as the most important single development in postwar German history . . . The Government is well aware of the hazardous tasks that confront it . . . The Chancellor does not want to do anything consciously or by inadvertence that would arouse any suspicion that the Germans are returning to the policy of 're-insurance.' . . . It is, therefore, of primary importance to him that in the months to come nothing be done or said that would shake Washington's confidence in his reliability . . ."

Those readers who are acquainted with the material in my book "Germany Plots With The Kremlin," will recall that on the basis of documentary evidence the coming of the Russo-German rapprochement was predicted outrightly. Recent developments have confirmed what the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" (4-3-52) described as Dr. Adenauer's diplomatic grand design:

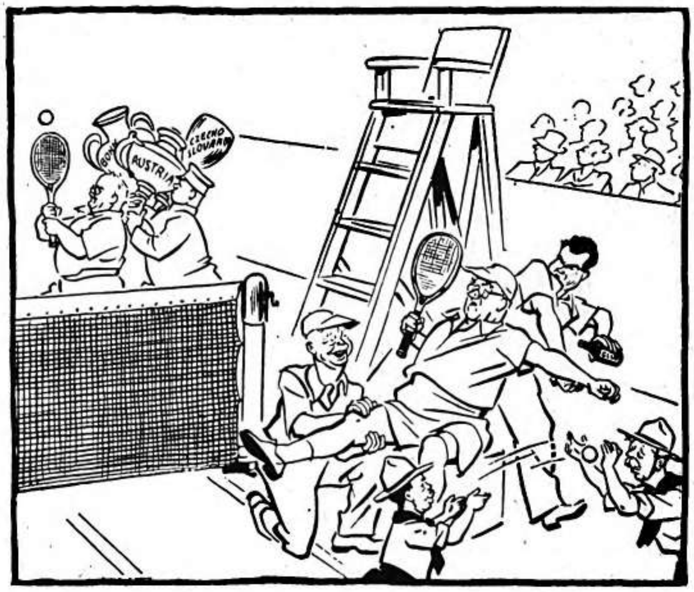
"The Chancellor follows a tremendous bold plan: First, rearmament, followed later on by talks with the Russians in order to persuade them to remove their armies behind the Bug River. For this goal the Chancellor has been working tenaciously for some time. And because he sticks to his timetable, he is presently (March 1952) opposed to the Russian Note."

Today the features of Dr. Adenauer's "bold plan" are in the process of being translated into German Realpolitik. After the West has lost all its trump cards, the Bonn-Moscow bargaining has begun exactly as I predicted in my book two years ago. The question, "Will Dr. Adenauer make a deal with Moscow?" was then answered with four little words: "target date is 1955."

Whatever might be said in criticism of Dr. Adenauer's cunning diplomacy, even his sharpest opponents must admit that he is one of the shrewdest political leaders of our time.

The Moscow invitation to Dr. Adenauer is a signpost marking the beginning of a new phase in world history. Ten years ago, a defeated Germany was the object of the grand wartime alliance. Today the Bonn Republic appears as Gretchen who sells her charms to the highest bidder.

Dr. Adenauer's trip to Moscow puts the seal under a ten years postwar period marked by ignorance and confusion. In the future we will have to face Ribbentrop's ghost of 1939 brought back to life by the statesmanship of our Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles.



MR. LOW ON EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS
"Remember! Flexibility!"

(Low, world copyright, Courtesy, The Manchester Guardian)

Inside Germany

IMPERIAL GERMANY

"Leading members of the former German imperial house of Hohenzollern are adopting a 'wait-and-see' attitude to a new movement which aims at the restoration of the monarchy in Germany.

"The 'Movement for Kaiser and Reich' wants to bring back the Hohenzollerns as rulers of a reunified Germany, whose frontiers would be 'fixed by justice and international law.'

"Its founders are a 29-year-old Ruhr financial consultant, Wilhelm Werth, and a 45-year-old Westphalian elementary school teacher and former air force officer, Walter Hannemann . . .

"Werth, who was in the Luftwaffe during World War II, says that since the last Kaiser went into exile in Holland in 1918, 'Germany has never been really happy.'

" 'Hitler was for me and many others virtually a god,' he says. 'Many people followed him because he was, in a sense, a symbol for the monarchy. But he misused the good attributes of the German people. That was our disaster . . .' "

(Peter Johnson in the Washington Post, 5-22-55)

★

SOARING

"West German exports of motor vehicles to the United States increased almost eightfold in the first quarter of this year compared with the same period last year. Sales of German cars principally Volkswagens, in the American market amounted to $8,050,000 in the first three months this year as against $1,010,000 in 1954. Bicycle exports jumped in the same period from $450,000 to $1,170,000 . . ."

(The New York Times, 5-22-55)

★

GERMAN POLL

"The question to what extent anti-Semitism still prevails in postwar Germany has been examined repeatedly since 1945. In recent years the reappearance of Nazi-tinged groups, frequent desecrations of Jewish cemeteries, the rehabilitation of many high Nazis, and public anti-Jewish manifestations have provoked justifiable apprehensions regarding the attitudes of the Germans toward Jews . . .

"To gauge the attitude of the population, opinion polls were undertaken by public information agencies of the occupying powers of West Germany. The results of these polls have been published and have been interpreted by competent observers as indicating that democratic sentiments remain weak among the bulk of the German people, and that certain portions of the population still harbor attitudes of aggressive nationalism and racism . . ."

(Gerhard Jacoby in the Congress Weekly, 5-6-55)

A NEW LOBBY

"West German 'Aryanizers,' whom the courts compelled to return Jewish businesses or real estate they acquired during the Nazi regime, assembled in this city to elect a new leadership of their organization and to raise funds for the establishment of a lobby in Bonn. The 'Federal Union of Restitution Vicitims,' formerly known as the 'Association for Loyal Restitution,' met behind locked doors. Guests were definitely not welcome. 'Those who are lukewarm, snoopers or antagonists must not be permitted to eavesdrop or participate,' said the invitation to the meeting."

(J. T. A. News, 6-9-55)

★

NO OBLIGATION

"The German Supreme Court ruled recently that the Government was not obligated to be truthful in information given to the press. This has been protested in the official organ of the German Press Association.

"The journalists' organ referred to the educational efforts of the Western Allies after World War II and the press laws introduced in the United States occupation zone at that time. It apparently was suggesting the decision seemed to be a step backward to the days of Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Propaganda Minister . . ."

(The New York Times, 3-20-55)

★

FREED

"Former SS Sergeant Martin Sommer, 44, charged with murdering 78 inmates of the Buchenwald concentration camp, was ordered freed from prison.

"A German court ruled that Sommer was so badly injured in a wartime tank explosion that he is unable now, or ever, to stand trial on the charges.

"Sommer, known as 'the killer of Buchenwald,' had been held in the prison hospital for the last five years awaiting trial. Besides being charged with 78 murders, he was accused of beating 'hundreds' of other inmates so badly that they later died of the injuries.

"Sommer's name was mentioned frequently in the trial of Ilse Koch, of Buchenwald, who was convicted in 1951 of atrocities and sentenced to life imprisonment."

(A. P., 3-17-55)

★

SATELLITE PLANS

"Plans to reconstruct aircraft plants in East Germany and build atomic piles to produce energy for 'peaceful uses' were made public today.

"The plans were revealed by Walter Ulbricht, East German Deputy Premier, in a speech at a conference on construction techniques being held in East Berlin . . .

"Included in the program are 'significant projects for the peaceful use of atomic energy and the construction of an aircraft industry,' he reported . . ."

(Walter Sullivan, N. Y. Times, 4-6-55)

STEEL

"West Germany is starting to talk about producing 20,000,000 tons of steel this year.

"This not only would be a new post-war high for the Ruhr steel area. It also would mean West Germany—despite the loss of the Saar and of East Germany—would be making almost twice as much steel as France does . . ."

(Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 4-8-55)

* * *

TINKERING WITH TITANIUM

"The giant Krupp heavy industrial works in the Ruhr, forbidden by the Allies to make steel, announced it is now making titanium, the new metal indispensable for jet engines and supersonic rockets.

"Krupp has thus become the first Western concern outside Canada and the United States to make titanium . . ."

(Reuters, 4-23-55)

* * *

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

"For having been an "accessory' to the murder of five Jewish inmates of the Bischadka labor camp in Poland, Nazi guard Jakob Emrich was sentenced to four years and six months at hard labor by the local German Court of Assizes. The prosecution had demanded a seven-year term.

"He killed so many Jews, witnesses testified, that the camp commandant used to say: 'Let Emrich do it—he likes to shoot.' The defendant himself denied this with the assertion that he shot only such Jews as were unable to work due to sickness. 'How was the degree of sickness determined?' the judge asked. 'Well, we guards talked it over and selected those who had to be executed,' Emrich replied."

(J. T. A. News, 5-3-55)

* * *

FOR "OLD TIMES" SAKE

"West Germany and Saudi Arabia are preparing to establish diplomatic relations with each other for the first time. Simultaneously, a team of West German industrial experts is visiting Saudi Arabia . . .

"The German economic team in Saudi Arabia is sponsored by the Bonn Government, but most of its leading figures are from private industry . . .

"The incident that threatened to block the development of German activity in Saudi Arabia last fall involved two substantial German industrial construction firms, of Duesseldorf and Wiesbaden.

"They won a highly promising contract from the Saudi Arabian regime for German construction of small and medium sized industrial plants, plus other projects. However, sharp disputes arose with the Saudi Arabian authorities over the performance of contracts. The Arabians nailed up the German office in Jidda and refused to let four top German engineers leave the country. The indicent became so serious that President Theodor Heuss had to send a message to King Saud, invoking traditional 'German-Arabian friendship.' " . . .

(Gaston Coblentz in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3-24-55)

* * *

A FOUNDER OF THE SOCIETY HONORED

The thirteenth annual Christian Culture Award Gold Medal presented by Assumption University will be given to Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, author of a large number of influential works on ethics, education and politics.

Past recipients have included Jacques Maritain, Frank J. Sheed, Etienne Gilson and Christopher Dawson.

Dr. Foerster, 85, was born in Berlin and is a former professor of the University of Munich. He is now an American citizen, living in New York City. He is not a Catholic, but his works have shown a deep understanding and appreciation of Church teachings.

One of the noted European figures of the last half-century, his strong criticism of two of Germany's leaders during five decades saw him imprisoned by one and pressured out of the country by the other.

The Nazis publicly burned his books in 1935. However, since 1952, five of his most important volumes have been re-published in Germany and met with success.

Dr. Foerster numbers among his honors the blessing of Pope Pius XI for promoting in his writings "right ethics, spiritual renovation and the foundation for peace."

(The Catholic News, 3-12-55)

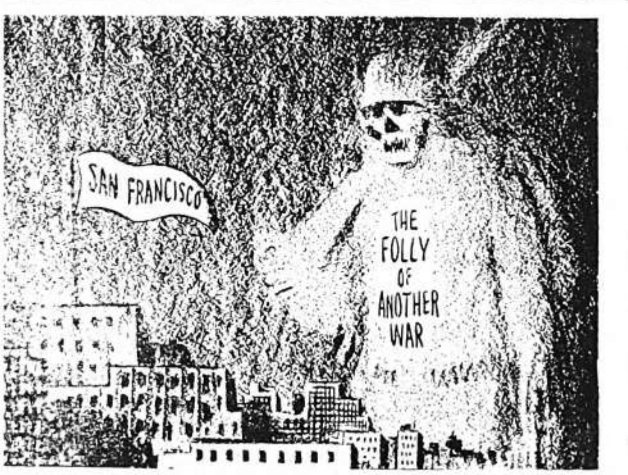
STRANGE REACTION

"A film based on Adolf Hitler's last ten days in a Berlin bunker, shown last night, stirred moans and tears from German movie-goers. Critics agreed that it may be Germany's biggest post-war box office hit.

"A selected audience watched the world premiere of the Austrian film 'The Last Act.' There were loud cries of 'Oh, no!' when Hitler, dictating his testament said: 'The German people are not worth being led by me.'

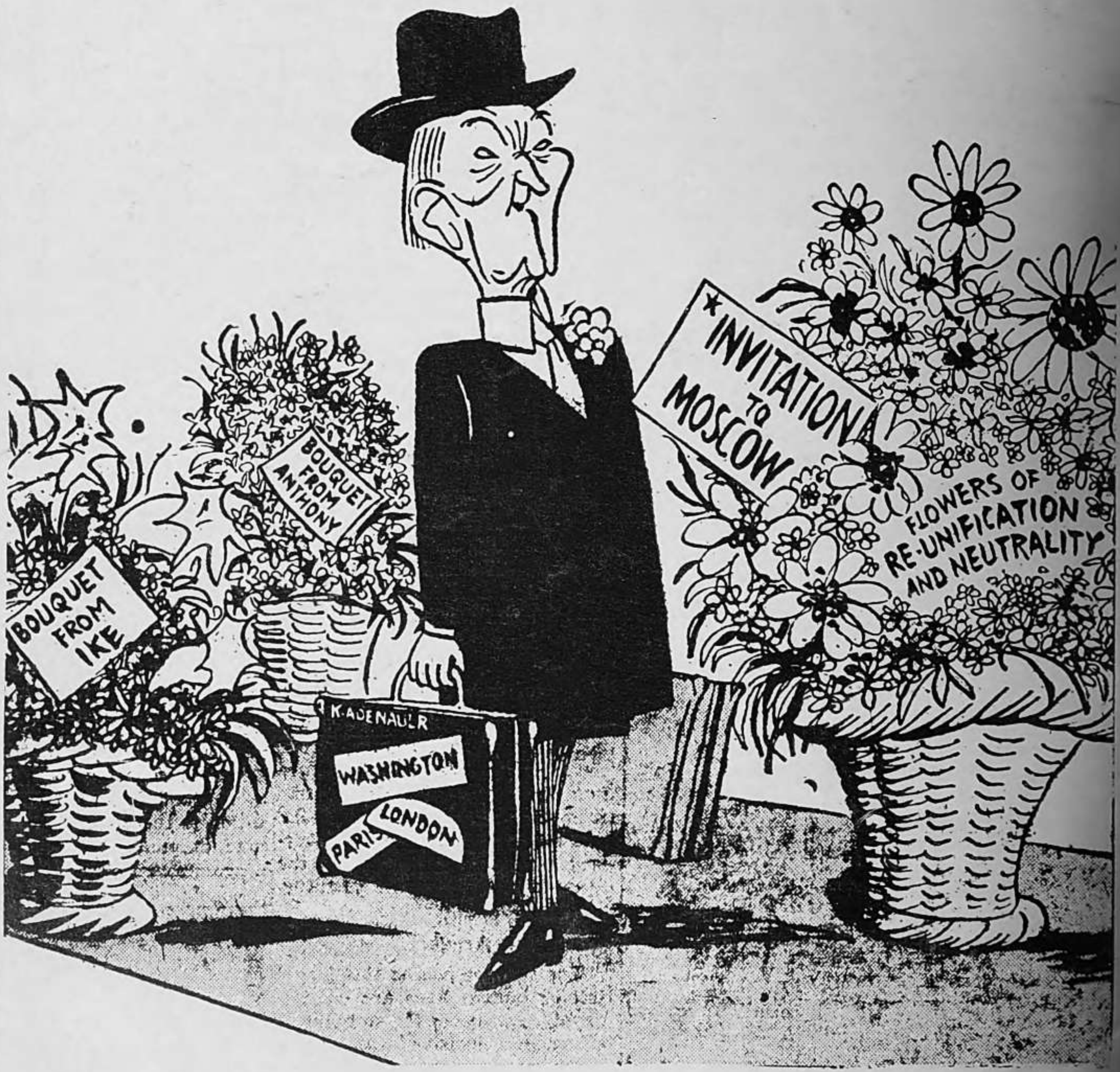
"Many women wept when they heard the dictator say: 'A hundred thousand lives do not matter at all'. . ."

(U. P., 4-15-55)


SAN FRANCISCO
THE FOLLY OF ANOTHER WAR

'DELEGATE-AT-LARGE'

A BRITISH CARTOONIST ON DR. ADENAUER'S PREDICAMENT


BOUQUET FROM IKE
BOUQUET FROM ANTHONY
K-ADENAUER
WASHINGTON
LONDON
PARIS
INVITATION TO MOSCOW
FLOWERS OF RE-UNIFICATION AND NEUTRALITY

"Mein Gott, this is positively embarrassing!"

(*Vicky in The London Daily Mirror*)

No. 47
WINTER ISSUE
1955-1956

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985

No. 47 Winter Issue, 1956

The Message of Geneva

The dust has settled at Geneva. Illusions have been dispersed. Now the West can see the ultimate direction it has been travelling since the end of the war. It is toward a dead end.

To ascribe this predicament to the Russians alone is merely another way of avoiding the long overdue re-examination of our German policy. While the Russians have done everything in their power to split western unity and to undermine the democratic cause, is it not clear that our German policy has facilitated the carrying out of their sinister aims?

The Western democracies were supremely confident that they held all of the trump cards in Germany. Handing over billions to the Germans, discarding essential controls prematurely, freeing of war criminals were some of our "trumps."

But the Russians too have played the same game and at times with more deadly effectiveness.

At Geneva, the Western democracies and Soviet Russia vied with each other for the hand of the Germans. Both sides professed unswerving support for the idea of German unity. Yet, there was no agreement. The simple fact is that there will be no concessions from either the Soviets or the West so long as either side fears and mistrusts the intentions of the other. Thus, where neither side will concede to its opposite, both are inclined to raise their bids for the Germans. Where will this lead? It will inevitably result in a steady increase in Germany's potential power and the relative decrease of the strength of her former adversaries—particularly in the West.

The urgency of a realistic approach to the German problem is more than ever a matter of direct concern to the security interests of the Western democracies. A Germany which is disarmed and whose territorial integrity and potential military activities are strictly controlled by the United Nations would create the necessary conditions conducive to German unification which is the professed desire of both, East and West. There is no other safe way.

For years, the Society has warned of the pitfalls which lay ahead in the carrying out of our present policies. The realities of Geneva underline the timeliness and validity of the analysis we made four years ago which is reprinted below.

A CALCULATED RISK?

(Reprinted from "Prevent World War III," Winter issue 1951)

It is commonly agreed that foreign policies, no matter how ell thought out, involve risks—risks which may produce sults diametrically opposed to the objectives of such policies. fiasco in foreign policy is a source of great embarrassment r diplomats, and may easily create a wave of indignation d resentment among the people whose hopes have been in- ted by the speeches and essays of the diplomats justifying eir policies. Yet, time and again, foreign policy experts ve weathered these storms, thanks to the tolerance of the ople in general, who must realize that diplomats, like the st of us, are only human. Perhaps the people are guided the saying, to err is human, to forgive, divine. But can one expect the people to forgive their experts on foreign policy when they discover that discredited policies which have in the past brought them to the brink of ruin have been rehashed and presented as something "new" and "far-sighted?" In other words, are the people expected to accept the rationalizations of statesmen who refuse to learn from past error and persist in pursuing policies which have proven disastrous? Policies which are demonstrably unsound on the basis of past experience do not merit a return engagement. Such policies merely help to repeat the same blunders for which the people have already paid a heavy price.

In this category of discredited policies one must place the

Allied program for Germany as it is now developing. In the near future the American people and their Western Allies may be confronted with the fateful decision to rearm the Germans and release them from all basic and effective political and economic controls. In reality this is not a new policy which involves unforeseeable risks. Rather it is the "touching up" of an old theory which was tried after World War I and exploded into the most devastating war which mankind has experienced.

Millions of Americans instinctively fear the present trend in American policy toward Germany. Many of our foremost experts on foreign policy, including Mr. Sumner Welles and James P. Warburg, have warned against this policy. Experienced journalists are also alarmed. For example, Mr. James Reston, the outstanding diplomatic correspondent for *The New York Times*, noted that, "A Japan that is strong enough to serve as a bulwark against Communism is also strong enough to ally itself with Communism." Mr. Reston believes that this equally applies in the case of Germany.

Another well known *Times* correspondent, Drew Middleton, points out that the Soviets have many aces to play for the hand of the Herrenvolk, including the return of the lost Eastern territories now under Polish rule. *"This may be dismissed as fantastic,"* writes Mr. Middleton, *"but the idea of a German-Russian rapprochement would have been dismissed as equally fantastic in April,* 1939." Mr. Joseph E. Evans, foreign policy expert for *The Wall Street Journal*, shares these views generally. In a penetrating analysis of the implications of restoring Germany's political and military power, he described how the Soviets could woo the Germans. As Mr. Evans points out, Western Germany may still refuse a deal with the Soviets, *"but the point is not whether it would refuse or accept; it is that, sovereign and remilitarized, it would be in a position to accept."* According to Mr. Evans: *"The West is constantly admitting its need for German troops, as it is for German cooperation in the Schuman Plan. The Germans have already ably exploited this Western weakness to get as much sovereignty as they now have and to get concessions even on the troops question. They need only keep raising their price for cooperation to get complete sovereignty and a German national army if they want it."*

Why do these seasoned observers make these admissions? It is because they have not forgotten the history of German diplomacy over the past 30 years, and fully understand the strategic position which Germany potentially possesses once the drapes are taken off. Thus Mr. Middleton reports that many believe, "The Federal Republic can get anything it wants from the Allies."

The Germans employed their strategic position with cunning and skill after World War I. They are at it again. A caculated risk assumes that there is an even chance that Allied policy will achieve its objective. But in the case of our present policy toward Germany, this assumption cannot be made. We do not only have the record of past German history, but even the present situation obtaining in Germany tells us that we are travelling along a road studded with pitfalls. The rise of neo-Nazism, the reactivation of Hitler's militarists, the deals between the Ruhr barons and the Soviets, the growing attacks by the German press against the Allies—all of these are danger signals, but more are in the offing.

According to two reliable European sources, namely the *London Economist* and the *Manchester Guardian*, we get the following composite of things to come:

The Germans will demand political sovereignty over the Saar.

They will demand that the Bonn Government refuse to recognize the legality of the Nuremberg judgments on German war criminals.

They will demand that the Bonn Government deny the right of the Western powers to intervene in the Federal Republic if Allied interests, prestige and security are threatened.

They will demand a reduction in the occupation costs on the grounds that these costs have not been freely negotiated between the Bonn Government and the Western powers.

They will demand the emasculation of Allied laws dealing with the seizure of German foreign assets abroad.

They will demand the right to conduct their foreign policies with the satellite East without Allied supervision.

They will insist that the Allies help them to regain the territories in the East.

They will demand the categorical restoration of the honor of the German soldiers and the reestablishment of the German General Staff.

Already the newly formed veteran organizations have demanded that, *"The men who fought for their fatherland and 'for Europe' and the officers who kept their oath to their supreme commander (Hitler), must be rehabilitated and the Allies' work of 'glorifying treason' must be undone."* (*London Economist, September* 8, 1951.)

This is the price which the Germans will put on the table for "cooperation" against the totalitarian East. But this is not

"The central problem of Europe remains the future of Germany . . . The German Federal Republic has joined NATO; but as long as NATO is only a military alliance, the Germans will regard it as merely a means to the end of reunification . . .

"Yet the possibility of a unified, rearmed Germany, free to engage in its traditional power politics, must be of the greatest concern not only to western Europe but to the United States . . ."

(Senator Richard L. Neuberger, "Freedom & Union, 10-55)

"A day of reckoning will come over Germany just as it came over China. I suspect that the resulting explosion in the U. S. will make the outcry on China seem like a pleasant afternoon tea.

"For in Germany it will be seen that we have not only lost the second world war—and that the Nazis, rather than we, were the victors, but that we have, unconsciously, prepared the way for us to lose a third world war, if it comes."

(Senator Guy M. Gillette, N. Y. Town Hall, 4-19-50)

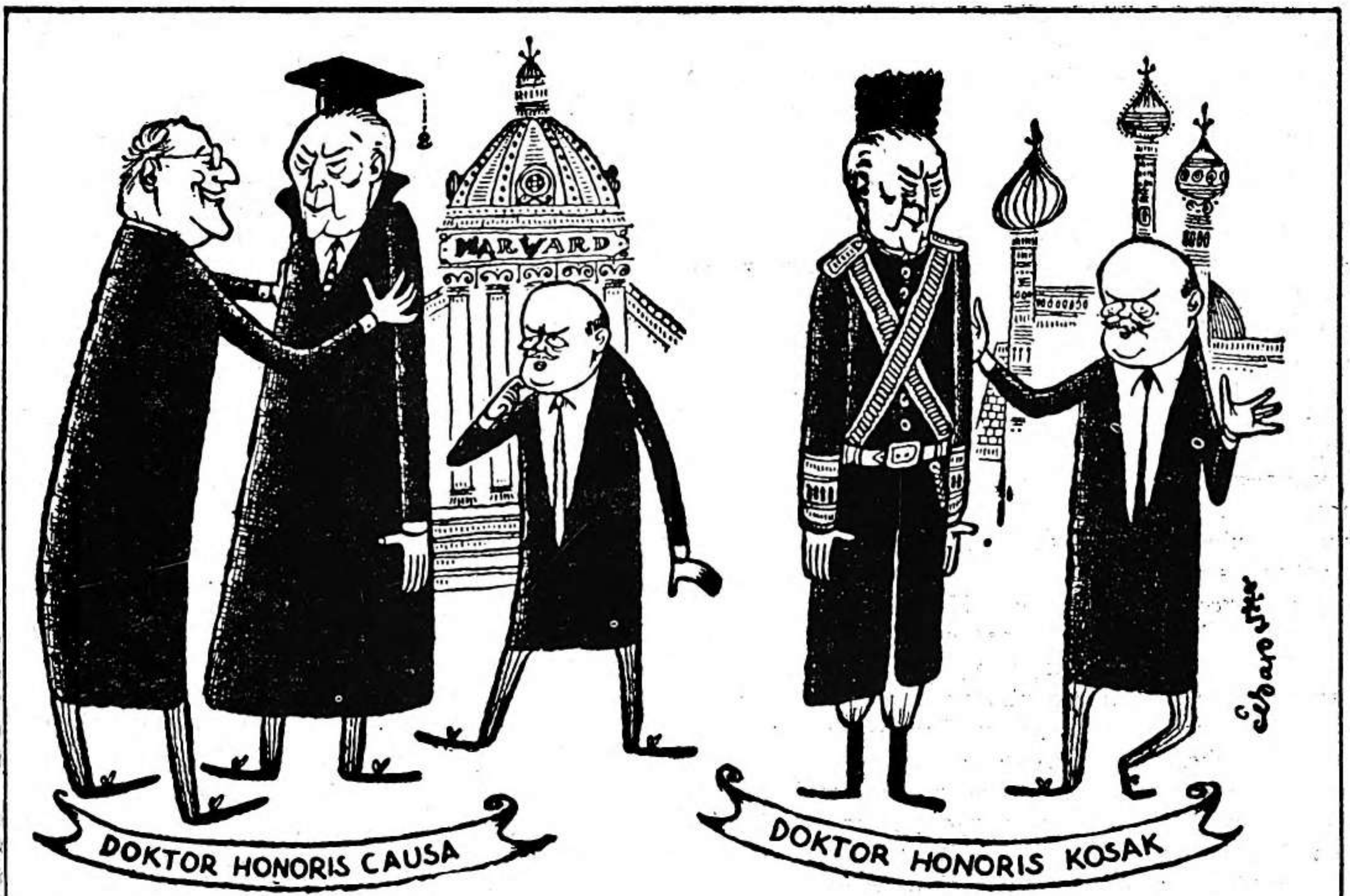
cooperation. It is German dictation. The *London Economist,* discussing this all-important issue, seems to be shocked over the German attitude. Yet it prefers to hope that somehow, some way, it will change. "If there is any common sense left in Western Germany" writes the *London Economist,* "a bargain can still be struck." Did we have to bargain with Britain or with France when the Western world faced the mortal danger of Hitlerism? How is it that we must bargain with the Germans in the face of the growing threats of Soviet totalitarianism? Those who believe we can bargain with the Germans and thereby obtain their cooperation, are projecting their own ideals of diplomacy and morality on the standards which have governed Germany since the days of Bismarck. Striking a bargain with Germany is, in effect, placing our security at her mercy.

The *London Economist* ignores this cold fact. It prefers to scold the Germans, telling them that while the Allies are willing to meet the Germans half way, *"they will not be willing to put money down for nothing. The Germans will have to realize—to put the matter in its bluntest terms—that there is a question whether they can be trusted."* Do not the scars of bomb-ridden Coventry serve as a grim reminder that the Germans cannot be trusted? We believe that most West Europeans share the same feeling of distrust for the former enemy.

They fear the duplicity of the Germans, who are old hands at dividing their foes. They fear the Germans, not only because they may join their forces with the Soviets, but also because they may well make a new attempt at dominating the West or provoke a new war for their own selfish motives.

Repeating the observations of American journalists, the *New Statesman and Nation* writes: *"West Germany rearmed and independent, in fact if not in form, would be in a unique position to sell her favors to the highest bidder. . . . It is difficult to resist the conclusion that once sovereignty is restored to Bonn and rearmament becomes a fact, West Germany will become the harlot of Europe, the more exclusive and expensive because of her scarcity and the unsurpassed physical assets she enjoys."*

It is our considered judgment that an investigation of present-day Germany is imperative. The American people have been told to invest their confidence in the present German leaders and the forces they represent. Common prudence requires investigation before investment. Until the people of the West are given the facts concerning the leadership of Germany, the state of its economy, the degree of democratization, only then should we consider the question of accepting Germany as a partner of the West.



(*Le Canard Enchaine, Paris*)

Editorials

REFLECTIONS ON ADENAUER'S LEADERSHIP

During the 1953 election campaign in Germany, Konrad Adenauer assured an audience in Cologne that Providence had chosen Germany for special assignment. *"The fate of Germany,"* he declared, *of Europe and of Christion culture depends on the result of the election because God has given our country the mission to save the Western and Christian world"* (The New Republic 7-27-53).

As a seasoned politician Chancellor Adenauer carefully prepares his speeches with a view toward evoking the maximum favorable response. The crusading spirit, rekindled by his words, could have appealed to Germans of different generations. The very old might have recalled the "blood and iron" days of Bismarck while younger generations could have turned their thoughts to German leaders of a more recent vintage.

Although Adenauer was victorious in the elections, it it is difficult to tell to what degree it was a personal triumph as against the electorates' reaffirmation of the spirit of his Cologne speech. From the evidence on hand it does seem that most Germans believe that Adenauer's leadership is inseparably bound up with Germany's "holy mission to save the Christian world." The only German leader who came close to that uniqe position was Adolf Hitler. Neither Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, nor Adenauer have been able to achieve the sanctity that grew around the person of "Der Führer." Indeed, there is even less respect for "Der Alte" than was shown toward Bismarck or the Kaiser. In and out of parliament he is closely watched and criticized unhesitatingly. True, he has managed to brush off these criticisms in an almost contemptuous manner for it is a well known fact that he regards "too much" democracy as a liability to efficient government. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the German people he is a politician, albeit a rather successful one, but still subject to repudiation and ignominy should the situation warrant it.

For Adenauer time is relative. He is a man in a hurry but in the public eye he is obliged to walk at a nonchalant pace. Despite this frustrating predicament the Chancellor has maintained a majestic calmness, especially when he is in the company of Americans. Fortunately, there are always the French—just in case he must give vent to his pent-up feelings. In Germany he is not regarded as a bold innovator of policy but a man who knows how to perform his duty. In the United States he takes on the stature of a leader who is one step ahead of Moses. Here, his speeches are reported as though they were "Commandments from Above."

Thus, where Hitler succeeded in Germany as a sort of demigod, Adenauer has been raised to these lofty heights in the U. S. A. For many adult Americans, particularly a number of our experts on Germany in and out of government service, Adenauer is the superman come true. It is not an uncommon experience to find people admitting that U. S. policy toward Germany may be risky, but . . . and it is a big but . . . they will say no more when the subject of Adenauer is mentioned. He is sacred ground. To even think that the German Chancellor may be wrong, or, at worst untrustworthy, is to side with the devil. The zeal and devotion accorded to Herr Adenauer compares favorably with the rapturous enthusiasm exhibited by teen-agers toward a Frank Sinatra or an Eddie Fischer.

Many of his followers here equate loyalty to America with obeisance to Adenauer. While we have not heard his name mentioned in the same breath as the Lord, he is regarded among his devotees as having the inside track to Him. In this connection, a former Communist, Freda Utley, recently described Adenauer as "God's gift to Germany and to us" (Facts Forum News, October 1955).

Needless to say, the Chancellor does not resent the adulation showered upon him by the faithful. Aside from the fact that it must serve his personal vanity, the Adenauer cult has paid off handsomely to divers personalities in more ways than one. Above all, it has restored Germany to a position of power and importance, perhaps more so than before the war. This is not easily recognized by many people in the U. S. A. although the view is commonly shared in Europe "that the Germans have again won the war" (The Magazine of Wall Street (10-1-55). It is this aspect of the Adenauer cult which has a lasting value and is readily appreciated by Germans of all persuasions.

> **"Our position at Geneva is inspired primarily by loyalty to Dr. Adenauer, by a determination not to concede anything which might be construed in Germany as rocking Dr. Adenauer's boat. If we concede an inch, we fear that Dr. Adenauer's German opponents will be encouraged to concede a yard. So on Germany the West is immobilized and unable to put itself in a position to negotiate.**
>
> **"The trouble with this position is that in the not so very long run it will alienate us from the Germans who mean, if they must, to negotiate for reunification directly with the Soviet Union and the East Germans . . ."**
>
> **(Walter Lippmann, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-1-55)**

However, the Germans have not been swept away by the successes achieved by "Der Alte." They know that he is mortal and, more important, they are aware of the fact that in the realm of diplomacy as in economic affairs the law of diminishing returns operates inexorably. Thus, they prepare for the day when circumstances may require a new approach. They are resolved that the gold which they have reaped under Adenauer, shall never turn into brass. This is not to say that Adenauer as long as he lives, is not equipped to adapt his leadership to changing circumstances. It merely means that the Germans are taking no chances.

All of this may come as a rude shock to Adenauer's admirers in the U. S. A. There is no evidence to show that they even contemplate the idea that "God's gift" may be ruthlessly snatched from them. They seem to be deaf to all warnings and blind to all portentous signs. Indeed, if past performance is an indicator of things to come, we can anticipate that his loyal followers here will defend him, come what may. Toward this end they may concoct a new "stab in the back" myth to the effect that the Chancellor was "crucified" by evil forces who prevented the U. S. A. from going all out on his behalf. This line has already found expression in the German language newspaper The Bürger Zeitung of Chicago which is influential among persons associated with the Adenauer cult.

In the August 11th issue of this paper we read that the Geneva Conference was a "fiasco." President Eisenhower is personally involved in a nefarious plot hatched by such evil men as Bernard Baruch "and of the Sanhedrin of which he is the lead (sic)." The Bürger Zeitung screams that the "Fatherland" was thrown to the "scrapheap and Adenauer to the Reds. What he has been dreading all the time, his abandonment by the West, has now become an accomplished fact." The Bürger Zeitung states that Adenauer must act with determination in the face of this betrayal. "If he (Adenauer) had any pride, he will now have to swallow it if he wants to play the role of Bismarck with whom he has been compared, because without the acceptance of the Red demands there will be no reunification."

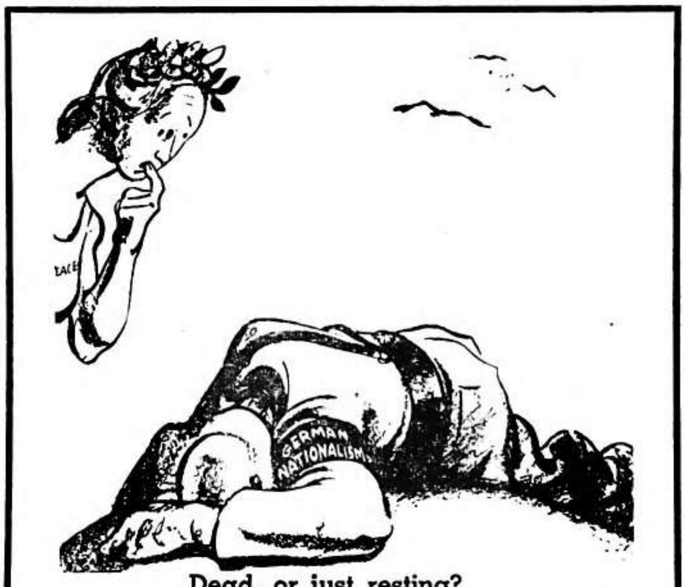
Regardless of Adenauer's future fate, it must be admitted that his leadership has hardly been equaled in recent times in terms of achievement. Some who have studied this phenomenon have ascribed Adenauer's sucess to his unparalleled wisdom and statesmanship. Undoubtedly the members of his cult would support this view except that they would probably add to it his almost godlike qualities. There are others who are not so sure. They prefer to explain the Chancellor's accomplishment s basically a reflection of our own monumental stupidity. Perhaps it is a combination of both, perhaps we shall ever know.

HELPING THE FORCES OF EVIL

Several months ago the U. S. News & World Report, a magazine which has a nation wide circulation, published a copyright interview with the former German Field Marshal Albert von Kesselring under the caption "How Hitler Could Have Won The War." The Field Marshal dilated at length on the power of the Nazi armies and the unmatched wisdom of the German General Staff. He assured his interviewer that it was Hitler's "mistakes" which prevented the otherwise invincible Wehrmacht from licking the combined Allied forces. In spite of these criticisms von Kesselring's tone seemed friendly toward his former boss. In contrast, his attitude toward the Allies was harsh and contemptuous.

Von Kesselring declared that it was the Allied leaders' fault and shortsightedness which forced Hitler to fight a two front war. If only the Western Allies had capitulated to the Germans, he said, Hitler's legions would have had no trouble in destroying the Russians and the whole world would have been thankful for this great German contribution to the safeguarding of civilization. As it turned out, the Western Allies refused to acknowledge Germany's overlordship, ergo, they are responsible for the rising tide of Communism in postwar Europe. But the Allied responsibility, according to von Kesselring, dots not stop there. The Allies are also responsible for unleasing World War II. Had Britain put pressure on Poland in 1939 to submit to Germany's demands, there would have been no war at that time for, according to the former Field Marshal, the German General Staff was preparing for war for the year 1948!

The New York Herald Tribune correspondent Roscoe Drummond devoted an entire column denouncing this *"most pernicious, poisonous, purposeful, massively misleading pro-war, pro-Nazi-innocence propaganda . . . "*



Dead, or just resting?
(Burck, Courtesy Chicago Sun-Times)

(9-8-55). Mr. Drummond's anger is understandable but it is misdirected. After all, it was a leading American weekly which gave this German militarist the opportunity to mouth what Mr. Drummond called "the ruthless, immoral, iron heel, evil doctrine . . ." Did the U. S. News & World Report examine Herr von Kesselring's credentials? We should like to believe that this publication would have had nothing to do with this evil character, had it been apprised of his past activities. Yet, it seems incredible to us that this magazine employing experienced correspondents and boasting of a well staffed research organization, should be ignorant of von Kesselring's services to Hitler.

Von Kesselring was Commander-in-Chief of the Nazi Armed Forces in Italy. He was also one of Goering's top Luftwaffe officers and helped direct the bombing of Britain in 1941.

In 1947, a British court sentenced von Kesselring to be shot on two counts: (a) responsibility for the massacre of hundreds of Italian civilians in March 1944; (b) responsibility for inciting the murder of more than 1000 Italians who had opposed the Nazi occupation. The execution of Italian hostages was pursued relentlessly and without mercy by von Kesselring. It was von Kesselring who ordered 10 Italians to be shot for each of 32 Nazi soldiers who were killed in Rome; altogether 335 Italian civilians were murdered on this occasion.

Von Kesselring's life was spared by the British, and in October, 1952, he was freed. The Associated Press (10-23-52) reported that the British had granted clemency because von Kesselring "was suffering from cancer." A strange kind of cancer it was. A few months after his release he ran for public office in West Germany. Nor did his "cancer" prevent him from accepting leadership of the most militaristic organization in Germany today, the Stahlhelm. Prior to World War II the Stahlhelm played a decisive role in enabling Hitler to gain power. The new Stahlhelm under von Kesselring's guidance continues the old traditions. Von Kesselring described the functions of the Stahlhelm in these words: "*We must create the German soldier from the corpse of* 1945—*we must recreate the German military spirit of* 1914-19 *and* 1939-45." Von Kesselring has boasted of his friendship with Hitler: "I can only explain Hitler's striking confidence in me," he once said, "by the fact that he knew I dealt with him without any mental reservations." Von Kesselring's imprisonment did not shake his firm belief in Hitler's cause. If it had been left up to the Nazi Wehrmacht, he declared upon his release from prison, "we would have had a united Europe long ago."

This in brief is the von Kesselring record. What is frightening in the whole episode of his interwiew in the U. S. News & World Report is the fact that so far as we know, only one important newspaper commentator had the courage and decency to denounce this notorious killer.

Yet, there is more to be said about the significance of the von Kesselring interview. In the last analysis, it would not have occurred had one of the basic war aims of the U. S. been carried out both in letter and in spirit. The aim was the destruction of German militarism and all its works. In the case of von Kesselring himself we find that he was taken into confidence by high U. S. military authorities. In February, 1954, von Kesselring together with 20 top pilots of the Nazi Airforce toured an important U. S. airforce base in Germany. Several months later, a leading American general had a reunion with von Kesselring in Frankfurt, Germany. The last time this U. S. general faced von Kesselring was during the war in Italy, the scene of von Kesselring's crimes. The New York Times published a photograph of the get-together showing the U. S. general and his wife smiling as she posed with von Kesselring arm in arm.

By compromising one of the U. S.'s basic war aims, the German militarists were able to revive their sinister activities. There would have been no wining and dining of Herr von Kesselring; there would have been no interview in the U. S. News & World Report; and there would have been no need for Mr. Drummond to vent his anger had we not, through our German policy, created the climate which spawns the rebirth of German militarism. The essence of our present German policy is mirrored by the von Kesselring interview. It is reflected in the secret release from prison of one of Hitler's trusted lieutenants, Sepp Dietrich, the man responsible for the cold-blooded slaughter of American GIs taken prisoner during the battle of the Bulge. Our policy makers cannot have it both ways. They cannot preserve America's moral prestige while at the same time continue to coddle war criminals and insist on the rearmament of Germany.

> **"Not only with a feeling of revulsion but also with a sickening impact does one view the successive release of high ranking militarists, those Hitler henchmen who did not shun to commit the most heinous atrocities to please their master. The parole of former SS-General Dietrich strongly insults the feeling for justice of those peoples who have suffered the bitter woes and fears at the hands of mass murderers of his ilk. After Mackensen, Kesselring, List, Milch Schörner, named Ferdinand the butcher, and by far too many other minions of Hitler, this Dietrich, one of the most sadistic killers, is shown a mercy, the meaning of which was never known to him . . . If this release is intended as a favor to the Germans, is it forgotten that they only respect force and that such a policy will only awaken the arrogance of the Nazis who are still around? . . ."**
>
> **(Le Soir, Brussels), 10-55)**

Alibiing for Adenauer

The results of Adenauer's mission to Moscow created difficulties for those who have taken on the task of maintaining the Chancellor's prestige in the USA. The picture of Adenauer as the irreconcilable crusader against the godless forces of Communism was in danger of losing its luster. Thus, we find almost a desperate scramble among his apologists and admirers to protect the "Old Fox's" reputation. Judging from the various contradictory "explanations" it would appear that the usually efficient public relations apparatus failed to coordinate the labors of those who tried to "clarify" the meaning of Adenauer's sojourn in Moscow.

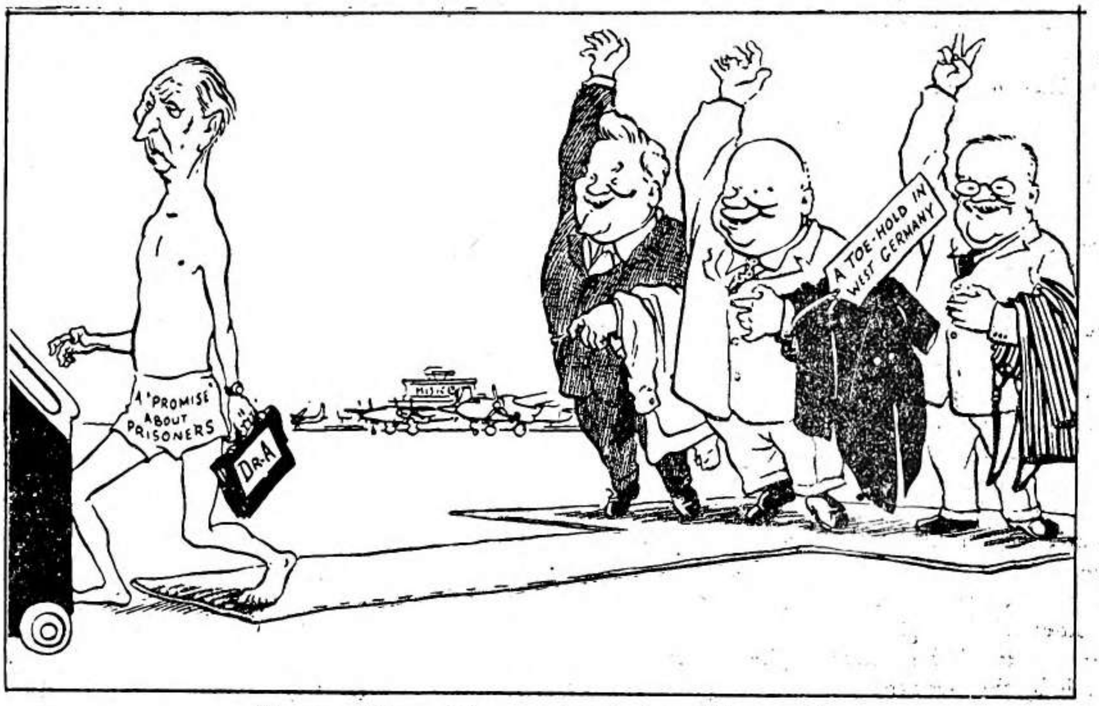
The U. S. publication "Human Events" (9-17-55) blames it all on the British. They were the culprits who "put pressure on Adenauer to conclude the pact reopening diplomatic relations with Moscow." Adenauer is depicted as resisting this pressure "up to the last minute," but at the zero hour the British finally put on the squeeze and the proud Chancellor of the Germans submitted.

Christopher Emmet, writing in the New Leader (9-26-55), provides the reader with another view of what happened in Moscow. If Adenauer appeared to have weakened in his negotiations with the Kremlin, "the fault must rest with the immense pressure of pacifist opinion which the spirit of Geneva has unleashed." Thus, the main culprit for Mr. Emmet is the "spirit of Geneva."

The New York Times, which never seems to let the Chancellor down during embarrassing situations, declared editorially that it was not the Chancellor's fault. "The Chancellor could scarcely stand apart and reject diplomatic relations which the Western powers already maintained. And he made the most of the bargain in the circumstances" (9-25-55).

There have been more lengthy rationalizations for the Chancellor's "surprising" behavior in Moscow. The foreign editor of the Scripps-Howard newspapers Ludwell Denny focusses his criticism on the Allies, particularly the French. French antipathy toward Adenauer's policy of friendship; France's withdrawal of three divisions from NATO to be sent to Africa; France's alleged appeasement policy vis-a-vis the Russians compelled poor Adenauer to make the best possible deal. In addition to the discouraging attitude of the French, Mr. Denny points to other "reasons" which made it necessary for Adenauer to deal unilaterally with the Kremlin. The Cyprus conflict, the Tito double-cross, and the Allied troop withdrawal from Austria induced more Germans "to think about negotiating with Russia" (New York World Telegram 9-23-55).

Norbert Muhlen, who writes frequently on Germany and who is a staunch supporter of the Chancellor, recently had what was reported to be an "exclusive talk" with Adenauer (New Leader 12-24-55). However, in reading this interview one finds that there is much talk by Mr. Muhlen but very few direct quotes from the Chancellor. As if to cover up his "sins," the Chancellor is quoted as stating that the West must not relax its vigilance. Other than that warning which is repeated several times, the Chancellor is non-committal. Nevertheless, Mr. Muhlen does imply that one of the reasons that Dr. Adenauer did not do so well in Moscow, was that he was taken by surprise as to the kind of men who rule world Communism. It seems that Adenauer, according to Mr.



"Just another of those retreats from Moscow."

(*Cummings in The London Daily Express*)

Muhlen, never encountered persons who were so ruthless as the men in the Kremlin. Adenauer "learned that the Soviets' smile was as dangerous a weapon as the Soviet fist . . ." Yet, even here, the reader is kept in the dark as to the basic reasons why Adenauer decided to make friends with Moscow. Apparently, even Mr. Muhlen was dissatisfied with the rather vague statements of Herr Adenauer. Consequently he reports that other German participants in the negotiations complained of the "diplomacy by third degree methods" practised by the Soviets. Toward the conclusion of this strange interview, Mr. Muhlen tells us that it was Adenauer's "chief domestic policy adviser in Moscow" who insisted that he accept the Soviet olive branch while his foreign advisers urged that he reject it. Once again we are left in the dark as to whether this explanation comes directly from Adenauer himself.

The most elaborate dissertation that we have seen up to date, was written by Richard C. Hottelet for the New Leader (10-17-55). Mr. Hottelet is supposed to be an authority on Germany, having represented the CBS broadcasting system in that country for a number of years since the end of World War II. He admits that prior to Adenauer's trip the Chanceller assured Western officials that his talks with Moscow would be "primarily . . . exploratory . . ." Mr. Hottelet was merely confirming a well known fact that Adenauer had given his word to Allied policy makers that diplomatic relations with the Soviets were out of the question unless substantial and concrete concessions were made to the Germans. Naturally, Mr. Hottelet does not believe that the Chancellor was engaging in a piece of duplicity, nor does he feel that "physical collapse" or "political amnesia" explain the Chancellor's about-face. There are many reasons, Mr. Hottelet declares, for Adenauer's "sudden" change with respect to his position on the question of diplomatic relations with the Russians. In this connection, we have extracted what we believe to be the most important reasons given by Mr. Hottelet:

(1) The Chancellor was "overwhelmed" and out-maneuvered" by his Russian counterparts.

(2) The Chancellor did not adequately prepare for the conference as he had done for other negotiations (Mr. Hottelet does not mention that Adenauer had roughly three months to prepare and came to Moscow with more than 100 assistants).

(3) The Russians employed a subtle kind of psychology in their talks with the Germans. They sought to build up Germany's greatness and flattered the ego of Adenauer and his assistants who were constantly reminded of the latent power of Germany.

(4) the Russians applied psychology with deft skill when Adenauer was invited to the famous Bolshoi Theater in Moscow. Originally, Mr. Hottelet tells us, the program called for the performance of Boris Godunov. However, for Adenauer's "benefit" the Russians staged Romeo and Juliet. Mr. Hottelet described in vivid terms how the audience nearly went wild when "Adenauer grasped and shook both of Bulganin's hands" at the point when Montague and Capulet embraced each other at the sight of their dead children, the beautiful Juliet and the dashing Romeo. The performance was most deeply felt by the Germans and their hosts, reports Mr. Hottelet.

(5) Mr. Hottelet tells us that Soviet blackmail was also a potent factor during the negotiations. He quotes the Social-Democrat Carlo Schmid who accompanied Adenauer to Moscow, that the Russians threatened to "look around for other partners" if the Germans did not extend a friendly hand.

(6) Mr. Hottelet dwells for a moment an another consideration, namely the danger that "German arrogance" would reemerge. If the Germans refused the friendly offers of the Soviets, wouldn't this appear as an arrogant rebuff? Wouldn't the Soviet Union regard the West German leaders as revanchists and provocateurs who wanted only to humiliate the Soviet Government?

(7) Another point stressed by Mr. Hottelet is that the Germans did not want to appear "as violators of the Geneva spirit, dogs in the manger and general world nuisances."

(8) It should also be borne in mind, Mr. Hottelet warns his readers, that the usually energetic Chancellor of the Germans was "fatigued from heavy infighting at the conference table and ceaseless fencing over vodka and caviar." Truly, Herr Adenauer had never been confronted with "such merciless pressure."

(9) Finally, it might have dawned upon Adenauer that by accepting the original Soviet invitation, he had "in fact committed himself to diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union under practically any conditions short of dishonor."

After having analyzed minutely the hidden motives which impelled Adenauer to come to terms with the Kremlin, Mr. Hottelet admits that perhaps the whole truth of what happened in Moscow "must await the improbable publication of Adenauer's frank memoirs . . ."

Fortunately, it is not necessary to await the publication of Adenauer's confessions. The mainsprings of Adenauer's policy are not beyond present discernment. Indeed, Adenauer has been more frank than Mr. Hottelet would have us believe. It is a matter of record that the Chancellor has been in the forefront of those who have insisted that only a policy of strength would force the Russians to agree to Western terms. He has repeated this thesis on a number of occasions. Usually, these statements were passed out for foreign consumption with particular reference to the U. S. A. Yet, when he returned from the Soviet capital he spoke in different terms. As reported in the New York Times (9-17-55), the Chancellor declared that he could no longer ignore the fact that the Soviet Union was "one of the most powerful states in the world. This cannot be doubted, this cannot be ignored, and it would have been unwise for us to have turned down the offer to establish diplomatic relations." Defending his position before the Bundestag on September 22, 1955, he said that the lack of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia was "an anomaly since German reunification cannot be effected without the cooperation of Moscow." The Christian Science Monitor (9-16-55) reported that Adenauer admitted that "diplomatic relations were bound to come sooner or later." Commenting on the Chancellor's arguments, the CSM correspondent stated that it was strange for the Chancellor, of all people, to state "that the strength of the Soviet Union must be taken into account and that a policy of coexistence now should be tried."

Did Dr. Adenauer make these discoveries in the few da that he was wined and dined in Moscow? Was it a twelf hour revelation, as the press reported? To put it another w

Did the Soviet Union transform itself into a mighty power ust as Adenauer was about to break off negotiations? To ask hese questions is to answer them.

Adenauer knew all along that in dealing with Moscow he vould have to discard the propaganda which had been so ffectively employed with the Western powers. It was Adenuer who told the West that negotiating from strength would orce the Russians' hand, but it now appears that he knew hat such a position would produce the opposite effect. Natrally, when the staltemate occurred at Geneva, conditions ere ripe for unilateral negotiations with the Russians.

Mr. Walter Lippmann pointed out in a significant article 9-15-55) that diplomatic negotiations had been going on etween Bonn and Moscow since the spring, that is, before Moscow sent its official invitation to Adenauer. Lippmann urther reveals that the basic decision to establish diplomatic elations "had been reached in Bonn, presumably also in Moscow, by the time West Germany joined NATO." Yet, while the Germans and Russians were holding their secret lks, Adenauer was prodding the Western Allies to negotiate rom strength and to demand that Moscow accept the Western erms for the unification of Germany.

In a sense, Mr. Lippmann's revelations were confirmed by Adenauer himself. Last year, he told American journalists of is plan to enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviets. n a copyright interview with the U. S. News & World Report (12-31-54) he said that, after the ratification of the Paris treaties, diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union would happen soon "if the chance offers itself." In this connection he stated that it would all depend on the "will" of the Soviets. Anyone familiar with Soviet diplomacy knows that the Russians do not extend invitations unless they have assurances beforehand that the intended guests will accept.

The ways of Adenauer remind us of the tactics of his close friend Gustav Stresemann. It was Stresemann who succeeded in his own words in "combining this Locarno policy (friendship with the West) with a consolidation of our relations with Russia." Stresemann proved that it was possible to revive Bismarck's policy of operating simultaneously on Eastern and Western orientation.

The noted authority on Soviet Russia, Prof. Edward Hollett Carr, notes that in recent years Stresemann was bitterly attacked "from the Soviet and from the Western side by writers who depicted him as a monster of duplicity . . ." Prof. Carr declares that this is fundamentally an unfair description of Stresemann's statesmanship. He writes that "Stresemann was a German patriot who valued both the Eastern and Western connections, for through that policy Germany rose again as a mighty power." Admittedly, Prof. Carr notes, Stresemann had to do some shrewd maneuvering but this does not detract from his honest patriotism. "Few statesmen," Prof. Carr observes, "fail in an emergency to recognize the duty to lie for their country." Whatever can be said of Adenauer's mission to Moscow, no one can question his patriotism, let alone his statesmanship.

SEFTON DELMER ON ADENAUER'S MISSION TO MOSCOW

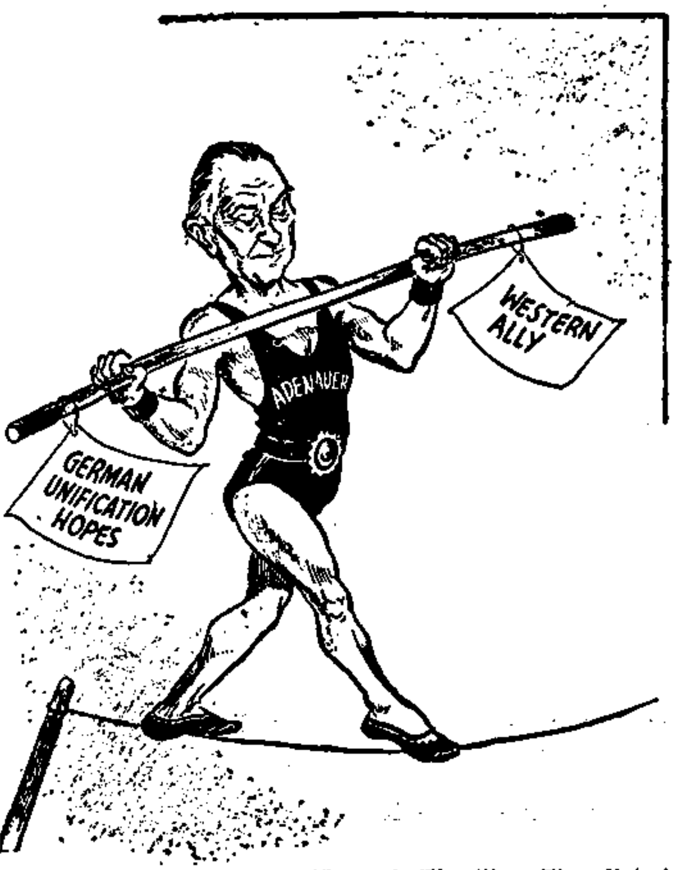
Moscow: "My information is that Dr. Adenauer would like to get a subtle agreement which, while leaving the Americans confident of his loyalty to them, would nevertheless make it clear that he is more valuable to the Russians and that the U. S. must pay more to keep him loyal."

(London Daily Express, 9-12-55)

* * *

Moscow: "I find the Russians grinning with satisfaction and triumph. . . . Marshall Bulganin shook hands with Dr. Adenauer and held on for at least ten minutes, looking into the Chancellor's eyes. For a moment the two rows of delegates waited as though at a loss what to do next. The Communist Party chief Khruchev irrepressible as ever threw out his hands in a gesture of 'Well, what more do you want?' Dr. Adenauer grinned and got up. The seven smiling Russians and the seven dejected Germans filed into the room next door—to the inevitable caviar, champagne and vodka. Should these Germans be so depressed? I do not think so. For they have achieved a contact with the East which may help them to impress their own value on Washington. And now the Germans hope that they are going to establish trade relations with Moscow on a really big scale."

(London Daily Express, 9-14-55)



(*Rosen, in The Albany Times-Union*)

The "Old Time" Spirit

By

JOHANNA PRYM

Thousands of wartime German paratroopers met at Wuerzburg to loudly proclaim their distaste for the proposed new-model German soldier.

The fourth meeting of the six-year-old Federation of German Paratroopers, unlike the three previous meetings, went unmarred by clashes or rowdyism. But heated criticism of the new German army and repeated calls for a return to the "traditional" German military spirit put Bonn defense officials on the warpath.

Although the report of the convention's official Bonn delegation was not revealed, revived rumors of neo-nazism swept through the capital . . .

Amid an atmosphere of march music and cheers, the convention speakers went from the army problem to an appeal for the "peaceful reunification" of Germany and a return of all Allied and Soviet war prisoners.

Between speeches the some 5,000 veterans swarmed through the hall cutting up old touches, seeking autographs from the VIPs and former commanders and singing old—and permitted—military songs.

Representatives from the Bonn government mingled with ex-parachutists from East Germany, Italy, Sicily and Spain. On the first day of the two-day meeting, 100 vets from the disputed and riotous Saar were given an enthusiastic greeting . . .

Scheduled speakers included Rolf Linder, leader of the Northern Bavarian group of paratroopers, Arnold von Roon, president of the association, and former generals Kurt Student and Hermann Ramcke.

An unexpected guest, invited by the Africa Corps faction, drew the biggest ovation, despite his reluctance to speak.

The guest, former Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, who together with Student and Ramcke were convicted by the Allies of war crimes, was welcomed with a standing ovation.

At one point, the veterans began a rhythmic, in-unison chant of Kesselring's name prompting him finally to walk to the stand.

In a few words, he called for a lasting comradeship of the German war veterans, and bolstered the other speakers' calls for a return to a "traditional" German army.

All the speakers took a running start at Bonn's defense plans, and Von Roon openly criticized the German "chief of state" for "boasting of the fact that he never was a soldier."

Von Roon never mentioned names, and left in doubt whether he was referring to West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer or West German President Theodor Heuss . . .

Von Roon teed off on the government a second time when he accused it of failure to win the return of all war prisoners, "not only those in the Soviet Union, but also those in the hands of the Western powers."

"Our last hope," he said, "lies in Chancellor Adenauer's impending visit to Moscow."

Student, who jarred observers by greeting the assembly with a waving upraised arm salute, was slated as the principal speaker of the convention.

The salute later was adopted by the other generals, who used it as the congregated veterans filed past the stage before leaving the hall.)

The former commander of the 7th Air Division won his biggest round of applause, however, when he officially welcomed surprise guest Kesselring.

Following Von Roon's lead, Student also cried for the release of the "comrades" in military prisons.

He dropped a minor bombshell into the attentive crowd, when he said, "We don't want politicians in our ranks and we don't want to serve foreign purposes."

Neglecting to identify the foreign powers he meant, he went on to warn the veterans that "our fight is against those who accuse us of being war criminals, robbers, pilferers and collectively guilty. We protest the accusation that we are fascists."

At the same time he called for a return to the traditional German army, for an "army without the living values of tradition has no force . . ."

"I soberly and critically see the reforms indicated by Bonn," he said. "Certainly some old remnants should be abolished; but an army which could fight for six years against a superior foe can't have been all bad."

Student terminated his address with a passionate appeal for "rebuilding of the fatherland and reunification of Germany" that left a number of veterans weeping openly.

Final speaker was the aging Ramcke, who described himself as "Papa" Ramcke and the worried father of four military-age sons.

An unscheduled speaker, Ramcke rose to add his voice to the criticism of the new army.

"I want to know beforehand what kind of military bed my sons will sleep in," he said. "We cannot minimize the heroism of our fathers, and so we ask that the army be recreated in the old bonds of tradition."

He asked further that "there be no party loyalties, no religious differences."

The meeting ended on a sour note, though, that left most of the veterans a little unhappy.

As the crowds began to file out, a Spaniard from the famed Blue Division appeared behind the microphone. Aided by an interpreter, he expressed his hope that the Spanish "soon would be fighting again alongside their German comrades."

One paratrooper exclaimed loudly, "He should never have said that."

(Condensed, Courtesy, Overseas Weekly

Nazi Literature on the March

By

S. BARAT

"West German Ambassador Heinz L. Krekeler said today efforts to revive nazism were 'dead as a door nail.'" (*N. Y. Times 11-21-55*)

The "memoirs literature" of prominent Nazis will shortly be augmented by a new book. The "Plesse-Verlag" (Plesse Publishers) in Goettingen is releasing Alfred Rosenberg's last notes "Ideals and Idols of the National Socialist Revolution," which the author of the "Myth of the 20th Century" allegedly wrote in the Nuremberg prison for war criminals prior to his execution.

The advance notice states: "The book should serve as a contribution for the evaluation of the recent past by the general public in its realistic aspects." . . .

A few years ago when memoirs by a prominent Nazi appeared on the German book market for the first time, protests could still be heard from various quarters and many book sellers even refused to sell such books. However, since then people have gotten tired of protesting and the few voices raised here and there are so weak that no one listens nor pays any attention to them; one gets the impression that no one believes any more in the effectiveness of even raising objections.

The responsibility for the excessive freedom in the German book market, as is occasionally pointed out in the press, is relegated to governmental authorities who do not avail themselves of the laws to forbid Nazi books. But it must not be forgotten that the flood of Nazi publications and their success —many of these publications such as "We Acquit Hitler" attained second and even third editions—indicate an atmosphere which cannot be eliminated by bans alone. It is proof for the existence of an avid interest in Germany for books by one-time Nazi big shots and for kindred literature for, if it were otherwise, no publisher would risk the publication of such a book . . .

In certain circles in Germany the question is raised, what could follow in the wake of A. Rosenberg's book—perhaps a new edition of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf"?—This possibility should not be rejected entirely for "Mein Kampf" is available in many second-hand book shops and all efforts to stop the sale of this book have failed thus far.

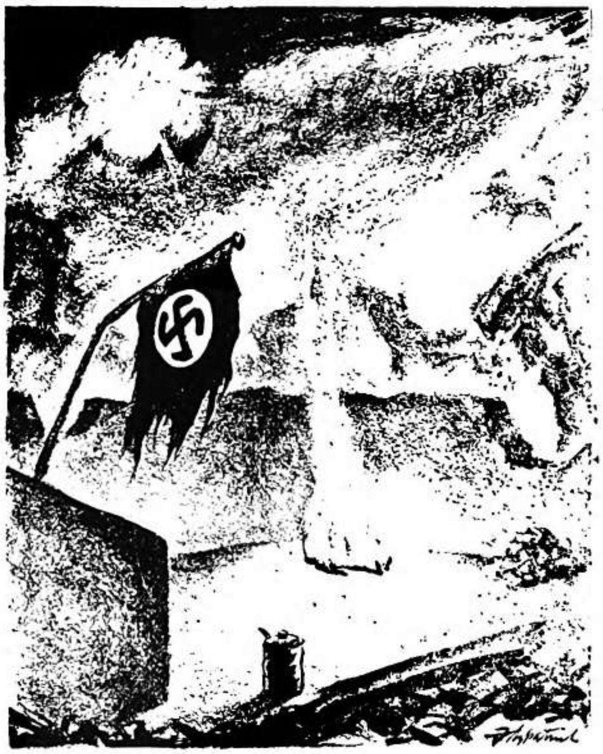
(*Courtesy, Aufbau*)

"Ninety-five officers and six N. C. O.'s of the new West German Army were sworn in over the weekend in the garage of the Defence Ministry in Bonn. The two top-ranking officers who received their commissions were Generals Heusinger and Speidel. Both were very close to Herr Hitler . . ."

(Cassandra in London Daily Mirror, 10-55)

"It has become almost a cliche to remark that the aged Dr. Adenauer cannot live forever, but it is nonetheless a key Kremlin calculation. There are many and powerful voices in Germany now, both in Adenauer's coalition and in his opposition, contending that efforts toward unification should take priority over West Germany's alliance with the West . . ."

(The Wall Street Journal, 9-20-55)



After setting the world afire—

(*Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch*)

How the Saar Statute Was Killed

By
ALBERT SIMARD

The recent defeat of the Statute which was designed to give the Saar a special European status, has been interpreted as "a blow to Western European unity." A Christian Science Monitor reporter, writing from Germany, notes that the Saarlanders, after having obtained "most of the economic benefits they could get from France," decided to take advantage of the booming economy in Western Germany. He adds, "the days when the Saar might have been expected to pay reparations, are over; its industries have been built up" (10-24-55).

In a similar vein the New York Times reported that among the French it was felt that "the Saar was glad enough to be a French ward at the end of wars that Germany lost, when the Saar needed help, but that when Germany grew strong again the Saar turned against its French benefactors" (10-25-55).

Whatever conclusions are drawn from the results of the Saar referendum, two key factors must be considered, i.e., the ambiguous role of Chancellor Adenauer and the studied silence of U. S. policy makers.

It has been said that Adenauer was an uncompromising supporter of the Saar Statute. Certainly his public declarations on the subject give that impression. Yet, upon close examination Adenauer's position is not as simple as it appears on the surface.

As early as 1949 Chancellor Adenauer insisted on Germany's "right" to the Saar. Nevertheless he cautioned the Bundestag to tone down their demands. "Please recognize," he admonished his listeners, "that Germany is still strongly distrusted everywhere abroad" (New York Times 9-30-49). From time to time Adenauer returned to the theme that the Saar "by right" was part of German territory. He was particularly emphatic on that point following the conclusion of the Franco-Saar economic treaty in 1950. At that time he denounced the French in no uncertain terms, ridiculing the French thesis that the Saar must be treated in a special way for security purposes. On the contrary, Herr Adenauer declared, the French were converting the Saar into a colony to be exploited by their "hunger for gold" (New York Times 3-5-50).

It is interesting to note that this line became a rallying point for the nationalistic manifestations which occurred prior to the referendum. Kurt Conrad, the leader of the Social Democrats in the Saar, exclaimed to a cheering audience, "We do not want Germany to be Europe's coolie and we in the Saar do not want to be France's coolies" (New York Times 8-2-55).

During the preparation for the establishment of the European Defense Community Treaty, the Germans continued to focus attention on their "rights" to the Saar. In deference to Allied hopes in maintaining Western solidarity, the French consented to negotiate with West Germany on the future status of the Saar. Following a number of talks between Adenauer and the French Government in the early part of 1952, agreement was reached to take measures that would ultimately Europeanize the Saar under the Council of Europe. Writing in the New York Times (3-22-52) Anne O'Hare McCormick stated that the agreement was looked upon by the leaders of the Council of Europe as a means by which the Saar would become the nucleus of a European federation. However, when Adenauer returned to Germany, he denied that he had consented to the Europeanization of the Saar. On April 23, 1952, the Bonn Parliament, with the approval of Adenauer, denounced the agreement categorically. The press at that time noted that even German officials were puzzled by Dr. Adenauer's complete about-face.

The present Saar Statute was the result of negotiations between Adenauer and French leaders on the basis of the Paris agreements granting West German sovereignty and the right to rearm. Once again, Adenauer consented to support the Europeanization of the Saar, certainly at least until a peace treaty was signed. The agreement stipulated that a referendum must be held in the area to obtain the approval of the Saar population for the statute.

When the electioneering campaign got under way, unrepentant Nazis and assorted nationalistic elements emerged and once again the Saar was turned into a cauldron of pro-Nazi and chauvinistic agitation. The London Daily Telegraph reported the campaign in the Saar "already recalls that of Hitler in 1934" (8-11-55). Adenauer's own party in the Saar heaped vituperation on the statute. Indeed, all of the affiliates of West German political parties in the Saar joined hands in smearing the French as well as the Allied agreements which were the basis for the Saar Statute.

Most prominent among the agitators was Dr. Heinrich Schneider, *"an unrepentant Nazi who still keeps a photograph showing him in a brown shirt uniform in Berlin in* 1934" New York World Telegram 9-26-55). Schneider organized rallies which brought memories of the Nazi get-togethers during the 1930s. His audiences joined in singing such lines as "German is the Saar, German forever" and "From the Maas to Memel, from the Adige to the Belt." There is no doubt that Herr Schneider sought in every way to emulate his late and lamented Führer. Gangs were organized under the auspices of the pro-German political parties to break up the meetings of the democratic elements. Needless to say, anyone who dared to oppose publicly the tactics of these superpatriots was branded as a traitor to the "Fatherland."

Up to the eve of the election Adenauer's position was cloudy. He was silent when the Pro-German parties in the Saar as well as prominent leaders within Germany declared that Adenauer had been coerced into signing the Saar Statute. In this connection, the New York Post correspondent reporting from Germany revealed that Adenauer's party which had given only reluctant support to the agreement with the French, "wants to back out." However, noting the cautious methods of Adenauer's leadership, the

Post correspondent declared that the party was seeking "a graceful way (to back out) but hasn't yet found the exit" (8-15-55).

This is not to say that the Chancellor himself has ever expressed publicly the desire to renege on the agreement. Yet, his utterances during the campaign were not the kind that would induce enthusiasm for the statute or clarity to help those who were undecided as to how to vote.

On September 3, 1955, he finally issued a public statement declaring his concern over what was occurring in the Saar. "I understand that the Saarlanders do not want the Hoffman Government after 7 years of suppression but the way to another government is by approving the Saar statute and then in an ensuing election to elect a landtag opposed to the Hoffmann Government." When the Chancellor was subsequently called upon to reaffirm his support for the statute, he referred to this statement but added that it was his hope that the Saar population, "taking into consideration all points of view, would make a wise political decision" (New York Times 10-21-55).

Adenauer's statement of September 3 does not express concern over neo-Nazi and nationalistic activities in the Saar but is an attack on the Hoffman Government which was far more democratic than anything experienced by the Saarlanders heretofore. From the above statement it is clear that the Chancellor did not regard the Saar Statute as an agreement that would cement ties between the French and the Germans, thereby creating conditions for greater Western unity. On the contrary, he viewed support for the Saar Statute as a method by which to destroy the Hoffman Government and enable those who have been spouting nationalistic slogans to take over. Surely, Herr Adenauer was aware of the fact that these forces had sworn to destroy the statute at the first opportunity. It should also be noted that in his latter statement referred to above, he mentions again his qualified and rather strange support for the Saar Statute though he tells the Saarlanders that in any event they may vote as they please.

As election time approached, French Premier Faure met with Dr. Adenauer in Luxembourg. Their joint statement on the Saar resulting from this meeting was essentially non-committal. According to the Associated Press (10-5-55), the French Prime Minister favored a joint appeal with Adenauer asking the Saarlanders to approve the statute. "Dr. Adenauer declined to sign" such an appeal.

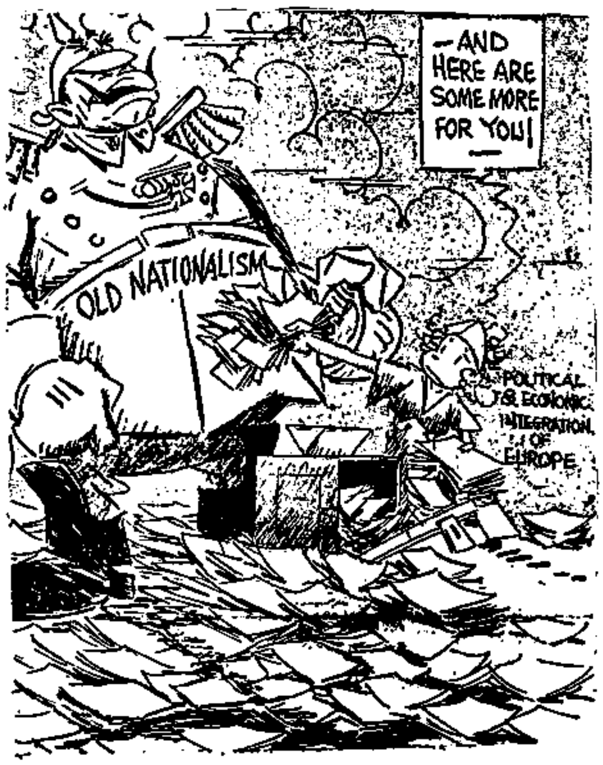
The equivocal position taken by Adenauer played right into the hands of the neo-Nazis and the nationalists. The London Telegraph commented, "rarely has any situation been so confused" (8-11-55). This was precisely the kind of double talk that Adenauer indulged in to the very last moment. Consequently, both the democratic and anti-democratic elements in the Saar were able to prove to the population that Adenauer supported one or the other side. The New York Times (10-23-55) described the situation as follows: "The pro-German press today published page size appeals under the photograph of Dr. Adenauer quoting him as saying that the Saar was free to vote as it chose. The pro-statute press published equally conspicuous appeals under the same portrait quoting Dr. Adenauer in favor of the statute."

"The position of France and the West with respect to Germany had already been weakened by Adenauer's action during his visit to Moscow in granting diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union with no strings attached. Russia, as a result, now has access to West Germany as well as East Germany, which means a bargaining position on reunification greatly superior to that of the West.

"What was not revealed officially after Adenauer's visit to Moscow last month was almost equally important in its psychological impact on the West Germans who accompanied the old chancellor. On excellent authority this reporter can state that the Russians urged the Germans to join them in carrying out the industrialization of China.

"As they report this in strict confidence, German officials belittle the offer . . . An old dream cherished by many Germans has been the leadership of German brains and technical skill of the resources and manpower of the vast Eurasian land mass covering two-thirds of the geography and population of the world. Industrialization of China would keep German factories humming."

(Marquis Childs, N. Y. Post, 10-26-55)


—AND HERE ARE SOME MORE FOR YOU!
OLD NATIONALISM
POLITICAL & ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF EUROPE

Counting the Saar Ballots

(*Courtesy N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.*)

One more aspect which is linked to the Adenauer position, are the views of his top collaborators. The Vice Chancellor of the Bonn Republic, Franz Bluecher, described the Saarlanders rejection of the statute as "a victory of reason (A. P. 10-24-55). Thomas Dehler, the leader of the German Free Democrats, part of Adenauer's government, was also jubilant and acclaimed the Saarlanders because they "tore to pieces the fog of a treacherous statute and of many false advices."

In this connection it is noteworthy that the Kölnische Rundschau, a German newspaper very close to Chancellor Adenauer's party and, indeed, close to the Chancellor himself, wrote the following: "The Saar plebiscite has demonstrated to the world that a frank and courageous avowal of the idea of a new political order pointing to the future—like that of a united Europe—can hardly be expected of one small part of a nation as long as such an avowal might be interpreted as a denial of nationality . . ." Significant too is an editorial statement appearing in the Steuben News (November 1955): "It shall be noted for the record that high Bonn officials, in close contact with the Chancellery, sent congratulatory messages to Saarbruecken as soon as the voting results became known."

Is this another case of Adenauer's skill in finessing? William Henry Chamberlin, writing in the New Leader (10-17-55), states: "On the German side, there are two somewhat divergent viewpoints. Chancellor Adenauer has leaned over backward in an attempt to promote acceptance of the Statute in the Saar voting. This is the official German viewpoint. But privately Germans will suggest that the Saar Statute was a French idea, and that the Saar population has as much right to turn it down as the French Parliament had to reject EDC." Our only qualification to Mr. Chamberlin's statement would be to question his allegation that Adenauer went all out for the Statute.

The U. S. Government maintained silence throughout the election campaign. This was a rather odd posture for our policy makers. In the first place, the U. S. had pledged its support for the French position on the Saar from the very early days of the occupation. Former Secretaries of State Byrnes, Marshall and Acheson went on record supporting French claims with respect to the Saar (see Prevent World War III, No. 40 [1952], page 31). So far as we know there have been no public statements made by our policy makers that would indicate that our previous pledges of support were no longer binding.

We originally supported the French position because it was known that the Saar economically linked with the French economy would act as a counterpoise to Germany's economic ambitions. As reported by the New York Times (10-31-55) the adverse vote seriously endangers the precarious balance. The New York Times notes that the loss of the Saar would reduce French production of coal, iron and steel to 24 per cent of the total production of the European Coal-Steel Community. If the Saar should again become German, West Germany's share would climb above 53 per cent. Moreover, the loss of the Saar might further decrease France's share below 20 per cent and this would result in the loss of her "special position in the Community."

It is important to bear in mind that our policy makers supported the Europeanization of the Saar not only because it would strengthen France vis-a-vis Germany but it would also facilitate the development of a Western European union. On the basis of these pledges and in view of our past efforts to develop unity among the Western Powers, would it not have been logical, let alone urgent, for the United States to have publicly supported the statute before and during the crucial election period? There are those who say that the U. S. could not speak out for fear the support would be interpreted as intervention.

The fact is that our policy makers did not hesitate to come out for Adenauer when he was running for reelection in 1953. In the Saar case the reasons were not only more cogent for U. S. support but in a very real sense we had a moral obligation to do whatever we could to uphold the Saar Statute. Why then was there this strange silence? Is it true, as some say, that our policy has become so blindly pro-German that any idea of Western unity except on German terms, has become taboo? Can we expect France to develop its strength while at the same time, we lend aid and comfort by our silence to those who are striving to undermine the French position?

Let it not be thought that the defeat of the Saar Statute will satiate German demands. The lessons of history should serve as a sharp warning to those who harbor such illusions. As we stated in our previous article, if the United States does not "stand firm on the Saar, then we shall be opening once more the flood gates to German expansionism whose limits know no bounds."

"Germany, crushed just a decade ago, now finds herself in a military and political position desired by generals and statesmen alike, wooed by both sides . . .

"West Germany is, nevertheless, economically the strongest power on the Continent . . .

"Many Germans still look to the East, and in East Germany, in particular, the attractiveness of a German-Russian economic-political-military arrangement is whetted by a desire for rectification of Germany's Eastern frontiers.

"Germany's bargaining power with both sides is likely to increase, not decrease . . ."

(Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times, 9-10-55)

"Ambassador Bohlen cabled from Moscow that Adenauer had been virtual putty in Russian hands, and warned that the United States could not trust the West Germans to stand up against the Kremlin in the future.

"Prior to this, Adenauer was the darling of John Foster Dulles. He could do no wrong. Today, Dulles seems not so sure. The United States had counted on West Germany as the backbone of the military bloc to defend Europe against Russia. Today opinions are shaken."

(Drew Pearson, N. Y. Daily Mirror, 10-1-55)

Sinister Forces at Work in Germany

By
GASTON COBLENTZ

Col. Bogislav von Bonin, who was dismissed from a high post in the Bonn Defense Office earlier this year, is becoming the darling of some of the most sinister forces at work in West Germany at present.

The case of the prominent forty-seven-year-old officer appears to be worth following closely.

Part of its interest comes from the fact that Col. von Bonin held important jobs in both war-time and in post-war Germany.

He became chief of operations of the Geman Army in 1944 at the remarkable age of thirty-six. After the war, the became chief of the Bonn Defense Office's Military Planning Section.

He was fired because he tried to rally his friends among high-ranking Germany military men against the plans to tie the projected West German Army as closely as possible into the Western military alliance. He charged this would prevent the reunification of Germany.

The colonel's case derives added interest from the rapidity with which a man widely known as a strong anti-Bolshevik switched to association with pro-Communist elements in a matter of a few months.

It is ironical that Col. von Bonin was one of the men in he Bonn defense set-up for whom a number of American military men tended to have special regard.

He appeared to them in recent years as the paragon of igorous Prussian virtues and integrity and seemed the inarnation of the type of upright German officer who could work in the common defense against Bolshevism.

One of the first things the colonel did after he was fired was to tie up with the "Rhine-Westphalian News" of Dusseldorf, which is accused of having Communist connections in East Germany.

The paper has been campaigning for the withdrawal of West Germany from NATO.

It is closely linked with another Dusseldorf group called he Hans von Seeckt Society, named after the famous German general of the Weimar period who favored close cooperation with Russia.

One of the heads of the Hans von Seeckt Society is Gen. Otto von Wagener, former chief-of-staff of the Nazi S. A. Storm Abteilung) in 1929-'30. He is also one of the pubshers of the "Rhine-Westphalian News."

Gen. Wagener is reported to have been in contact with Marshal Frederick Paulus in East Germany. Marshal Paulus, the loser at Stalingrad, has long been a spokesman for Communist propaganda. He is appealing from East Germany to the ficers' corps in West Germany to rebel against Bonn's liance with the West.

Col. von Bonin has told journalists that he also wants to make contact with Marshal Paulus and may visit East Germany r this purpose.

The Hans von Seeckt Society and the "Rhine-Westphalian News" are connected with Nazi elements in West Germany in addition to their eastern ties.

They constitute part of a network of connections between the Soviet-directed. East German Communists and a segment of the extreme Right Wing in West Germany.

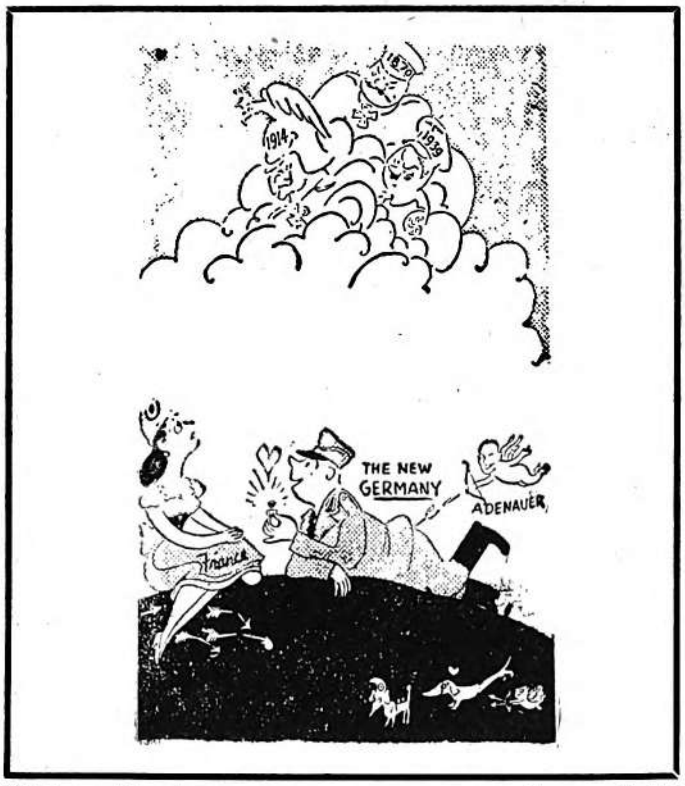
Last week Col. von Bonin addressed a group of about 100 officers in Frankfurt. They were assembled by Col. Adolf Dickfeld.

Col. Dickfeld, who shot down 164 enemy planes as a Luftwaffe ace in World War II, is head of a body called the "Working Group for All-German Soldiers' Meetings."

This organization is also friendly to the Soviets. At the same time it has ties with former Hitler Youth and S. S. figures in West Germany.

Among the men who attended the Frankfurt session were reported to be some friends of Otto Strasser, a prominent leader of the Nazi movement in the mid-1920s. Mr. Strasser recently returned to Germany from Canada this year, and has been trying . . . to organize a new radical movement.

Col. von Bonin is also reported to have entered into contact with some notorious "National Bolshevik" elements in North Germany—that is, former Nazis who are working with the Communists. *(Courtesy, N. Y. Herald-Tribune)*



"If I could only get your ancestors out of my mind."
(Yardley in The Baltimore Sun)

"...Nothing But the Truth?"

Commenting on the State Department's declaration that Adenauer's agreement with Moscow was a diplomatic triumph for the West, the noted New York Times diplomatic correspondent James Reston wrote: *"There has been a growing tendency in Washington since the war for the Government to put out not what it knows to be true but what it wants people to believe is true . . .* (9-16-55). We can think of many instances to confirm Mr. Reston's observations. For example, we recall former Secretary of State Acheson's exuberant optimism over the future of the treaties relating to the establishment of the European Defense Community (EDC). Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1952, Mr. Acheson urged quick approval of the treaties and assured the Committee that the treaties would be ratified and ready for implementation "by the end of the summer or fall" of 1952. This prognostication turned out to be a dud. At these hearings former U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy assured the Committee that a unified Germany would "be bound by the obligations conferred and imposed upon the Federal Republic" by the EDC treaties. Here again this optimism was unwarranted since there was definite provision in the treaties which said the very opposite. Indeed, Mr. Dulles has publicly admitted since then that the EDC treaties were not binding on a unified Germany. The State Department's optimism had an infectious effect on the Senate. It ratified the treaties in record time although Senator Watkins warned that there were no concrete guarantees that the other parties concerned would ratify them.

Perhaps it is natural for government officials and departments to paint a rosy picture with respect to the soundness of their policies. On the other hand, Congress, representing the people's interest, has the duty and the right to demand facts and figures instead of platitudes and generalities.

It is in this connection that we call attention to a recent statement made by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, Acting Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs before the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee (9-15-55). Mr. Kalijarvi told the Subcommittee that he was representing the State Department's view "concerning the relationship of antitrust policies to foreign trade and investment." He said that the State Department was striving to promote "an expanding world economy." He assured the Subcommittee that the State Department was endeavoring in every possible way to promote world competition "as an alternative to cortelism and socialism."

To "prove" that the State Department's efforts in liquidating cartels and monopolies since World War II "have not been insignificant," Mr. Kalijarvi cited several examples. In two cases he spoke about the cartel problem in West Germany and the attitude of the Schuman Plan High Authority. As regards the organization of the Schuman Plan, Mr. Kalijarvi informed the Senators that the charter of the European Coal and Steel Community had established "strong anti-cartel and anti-monopoly provisions closely akin to United States antitrust principles . . ." In our opinion it is debatable how effective these provisions are, even on paper. Nevertheless, if for the sake of argument we would agree that the provisions are strong, it is just as necessary to know how they are applied.

We do not have to go too far for the answer. Indeed, the Schuman Plan High Authority itself has admitted that cartels and economic concentrations may be permitted under certain conditions. Here is the way the High Authority has described its attitude toward the problem of monopolistic concentrations and cartels:

"Cartels are presumed guilty until proven innocent and therefore, prima facie, forbidden. Their innocence is something that the High Authority alone can decide. The High Authority can authorize them only if they lead to a substantial increase in efficiency, are not more restrictive than is necessary to their immediate purpose, and do not confer on their makers power to prevent competition on the common market.

"Concentrations, on the other hand, are presumed innocent unless the High Authority finds they distort the market. Accordingly, it must authorize them unless the newly formed companies to which they give rise, can restrict competition or establish themselves in 'an artificially privileged position'."

As can be seen, the High Authority tries to make a distinction between "guilty" cartels and "innocent" cartels. It therefore denies that cartels, by their very nature, impede the development of a free economy and are in direct contradiction to it. As for monopolistic concentrations, the Schuman Plan Authority declares that "Anglo-Saxon law applies, i.e., they are "innocent" until they are found to be "guilty." Once again we are told that monopolistic concentrations are not by their very nature an impediment to free enterprise. By so rationalizing the High Authority was able to give its approval to the reorganization of vertical trusts in Germany. Insofar as cartels are concerned, the High Authority declares that none have appeared on the common market, "though there is little doubt that prices are still being fixed after informal consultations between producers."

In this connection it is interesting to note how the Schuman Plan High Authority has approached the question of the German coal sales cartel commonly known as GEORG. For more than a year, discussions have been held with regard to this cartel. In May 1955, the High Authority announced that it had moved to "end" GEORG. After additional months of discussions the New York Times (11-25-55) reported that GEORG would be "broken up" into three "independent" coal sales agencies. However, these so-called independent units will be linked together by a "coordinating office" which, according to the Times, will have a monopoly of German export sales and sales of more than 50 tons of coal with the European Coal-Steel Community. No wonder, the New York Times correspondent calls this setup "a new and strange species of economic institution" designed to bring about more competition. The Times correspondent notes that by this re-arrangement of GEORG the High Authority "has rejected the American anti-trust approach . . ." The Times reports that involved in the rejection of the American position on anti-trust problems, is the High Authority's belief that there is such an animal as "good" cartels.

With regard to the cartel problem in Germany, Mr. Kalijarvi cites a public opinion poll in 1951 which showed that 30 per cent of the German people were in favor of free prices as against 47 per cent for fixed prices. A poll taken two years later showed that 51 per cent were in favor of a free economy as against 31 per cent against. Mr. Kalijarvi assured the Senators that this was a hopeful sign of progress.

On the basis of these examples and "other information," the State Department believes "that the philosophy of competitive enterprise is making significant headway in other areas of the world." As experienced politicians the Senators must be aware that public opinion polls are not always accurate. Furthermore, even if the above mentioned polls were true, how does this connect with the growth of cartels and monopolies in Germany? Certainly, reputable economists would not accept an opinion poll as an economic indicator for trends in Germany. It seems to us that the Senate Subcommittee dealing with monopolies and cartels, should beware of pat conclusions which remind us of the kind of canvassing of public opinion made by advertising agencies.

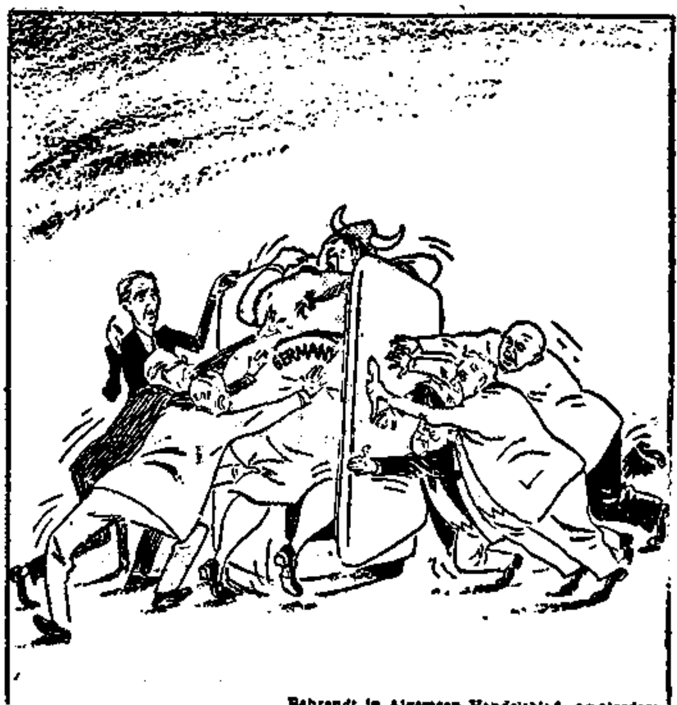
Prevent World War III has devoted many issues and pages to the cartel and monopoly problem in Germany. In its last issue (No. 46, Summer 1955), we cited reliable evidence, even admissions by German industrial leaders, that the cartels and monopolies are back again. Indeed, in many cases they are more powerful now than they were during the days of Hitler.

Whether it be Mannesmann or Krupp, Hoesch or Kloeckner, the Deutsche Bank or I.G. Farben, the fact remains that all of the anti-cartel and anti-monopoly laws, initiated by the Allies after World War II, have for all practical purposes been thrown into the garbage heap of history. This is not to say that all of the blame should be placed on the German cartelists. We would say that the fundamental responsibility rests with the Allied authorities including, of course, U. S. policy makers.

In the past we have shown how State Department officials and other U. S. representatives stalled on the implementation of anti-cartel and anti-monopoly laws until they withered on the vine. To be sure, the Germans were not idle, for there was never a sincere intention on the part of some of our own officials to carry out these anti-monopoly laws in letter and in spirit.

It is no wonder that the Schuman Plan High Authority justifies its approval of the re-concentration of German heavy industry on the ground that Allied authorities had sanctioned this development before the High Authority was officially established. We do not justify this cynical alibi but no one can refute the High Authority's assertion that it was the Allies in the first place who permitted the Germans to violate the anti-cartel and anti-monopoly laws.

If the Senate Subcommittee wants the true picture of the situation in Germany today and how it came about, they ought to call in all of the people concerned. Let them invite General Clay, John J. McCloy, John Foster Dulles, General Draper. By the same token, the Subcommittee should also call those who had direct responsibility for the carrying out of U. S. policy on cartels and concentrations over the past ten years. Are the American people not entitled to the whole truth which since the end of World War II has been shrouded from public view?



Behrendt in Algemeen Handelsblad Amsterdam

"There are problems you can't put on ice . . ."

Pertinent Opinions

PINAY had a special reason for leaving the conference at Geneva to meet with Adenauer. Deeply disquieting reports have reached Paris from the Saar in the aftermath of the vote by which the Saarlanders, by a more than two-thirds majority, rejected Europeanization for that rich industrial sector so often in dispute.

It was, in effect, a vote against France by Saarlanders of German inheritance, with all the German political parties, including the Christian Democrats on the right and the Communists on the left, making nationalist appeals that sounded in their extreme form like the primitive war cries of the Nazis.

Now, according to reports to Paris, in preparation for the Saar elections next month to choose a new government, even stronger Nazi-like appeals are being made both openly and privately. Anonymous letters are being sent to all French and Jews with economic interests in the Saar warning them that they had better sell their holdings while they still can . . .

All indications show that German opinion has turned steadily against France during the past year. This has been in a more or less direct ratio to the resurgence of German strength.

Among Germans who think seriously about such matters, the need to find a way to work with France is still a factor, but the average citizen of the Reich inclines more and more to the view that France is a weak and decadent nation which Germany can conveniently ignore.

That attitude will, in the long run, directly serve the aim of the Soviets. German nationalists, supremely confident of Germany's power, would be emboldened to make a deal with Moscow. German industrialists are attracted by vast markets not only in the Soviet Union but in Communist China.

The Russians are convinced that in the matter of reunification time is on their side and therefore they need not make the slightest concession to the Western view that the Germans must choose their own future through free elections.

If unification can take place, as the Russians insist, only by mutual agreement between the two Germanys, then with the passage of time the West Germans will accept that fact and the two regimes, the one Communist and the other more and more nationalist in outlook, will merge with the objective of cooperating with Russia.

(*Marquis W. Childs, St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* 11-13-55)

★

A MAN from the moon, not knowing any European history, might propose as a compromise a neutralized Germany, belonging to neither camp. Something of this type, in fact, may emerge ultimately.

But it raises the specter of a German government with immense bargaining power, able to upset the military balance of power by casting its weight in either direction. Any solution along the lines of neutralization would have to be accompanied by extensive checks and cross-checks on the resulting Germany.

(*William B. Frye, The Christian Science Monitor,* 10-1-55)

SEPP DIETRICH must surely be convinced of his own immortality by now; he ran out of borrowed time long ago. As far back as 1934 he won special recognition from Adolf Hitler for carrying out the assassination of Ernst Roehm during the great Nazi blood purge. Hitler promoted him to the rank of general; subsequently he became commander of Hitler's bodyguards.

Dietrich's career in World War II was identified with some of the most ghoulish enterprises in the Nazi war record. His role in the slaughter that marked the capture of Kharkov won him the informal designation of "Butcher of Kharkov." Even more celebrated, however, was his conduct in the brutal Malmedy massacre—the massacre in which more than 115 captured American prisoners were ruthlessly murdered during the Battle of the Bulge.

Dietrich survived war, defeat and trial. In 1946 an American military tribunal found him guilty of heavy responsibility for the massacre, but he escaped the death penalty, receiving life imprisonment instead.

And now he has been freed—not because of the discovery of any judicial error or because he has achieved any miracle of rehabilitation but because we are in the process of trying to liquidate all German memories of that international unpleasantness known as World War II.

He was released without any public announcement; perhaps our officials had the decency to be embarrassed. But when a man with so monumental a record of murder beats the rap again, the event is bound to be discovered.

Dietrich's biggest killings may be over. He may never claim another victim. The terrifying impact of his release—like the restoration to civic eminence of other distinguished Nazis in both the Communist and Western zones of Germany—is to invigorate and inspire the darkest forces of German neo-Naziism.

If Sepp Dietrich has survived so monstrous a lifetime of slaughter, who can convincingly tell the new German generation that international crime doesn't pay?

(*Editorial, The N. Y. Post,* 10-28-55)

★

THE NEW CONFLICT between East and West was directly Hitler's work. Communism had been contained in Europe by the barrier of intermediary states from Finland to Romania. Hitler destroyed this barrier and brought Stalin's rule into Central Europe, first by his accord with Stalin in 1939 and then by his attack upon Stalin in 1941.

It is one of the most disturbing factors in present-day Germany when some Germans reproach the Western powers of not having sided with Germany against Russia, and even add that it should have been done in defense of Western civilization. The Germans, and not the West, destroyed Poland and paved Stalin's road westward. The Germans were then as much opposed to the West and Western civilization as the Russians were. Through German fault, the whole of continental Europe, with the exception of the two small enclaves of Sweden and Switzerland, was early in 1941 under the control of totalitarian powers, hostile to the individual liberalism, the freedom of thought and the spirit of tolerance of the West . . .

(*Prof. Hans Kohn, The Christian Science Monitor,* 9-19-55)

THE CORRESPONDENT of Handelsblatt, West Germany's leading economic newspaper, reported from Moscow that the Soviet Government was prepared to negotiate a five-year trade agreement with Bonn . . .

Exports to be offered West Germany will include timber, cotton, manganese and chrome ores, oil and oil derivatives, phosphates, drugs and chemicals. The report said the Soviet Government wished to import ships, machinery, Diesel engines, pharmaceutical products, plastics, synthetic cloth, non-ferrous metals, chemicals, dyes and photo-chemicals.

Trade relations with West Germany appear to have been thoroughly studied by the Soviet Government. The problem was also investigated in Bonn in advance of Dr. Adenauer's visit to Moscow . . .

Prior to the Moscow agreement to establish diplomatic relations, the Government and what appeared to be a substantial segment of the industrial and business community took the line that even under the most favorable conditions trade with the Soviet Union could never again become an important factor . . .

The force with which these arguments were put forward in the weeks preceding Dr. Adenauer's mission to Moscow gave rise to the suspicion that there was perhaps more interest in the Soviet market than the Government for political reasons was prepared to admit . . .

It now appears that studies recommending exports as high as 3,000,000,000 Deutsche marks ($1,000,000,000) annually had been prepared by Government experts before the decision was made not to take the Economics Minister and trade representatives to Moscow . . .

So far as is known these ambitious export plans have not been discarded. The fact that Government experts drew up these plans would appear to contradict the internal propaganda line that trade with the Soviet Union does not have a future. (*M. S. Handler, The N. Y. Times*, 9-17-55)

THE PREMISE on which the conduct of Soviet diplomacy appears to be based at present is that all Soviet attempts, whatever they were worth, to agree with the western powers over Germany have failed, and that it is futile to continue them after Germany's inclusion in NATO . . .

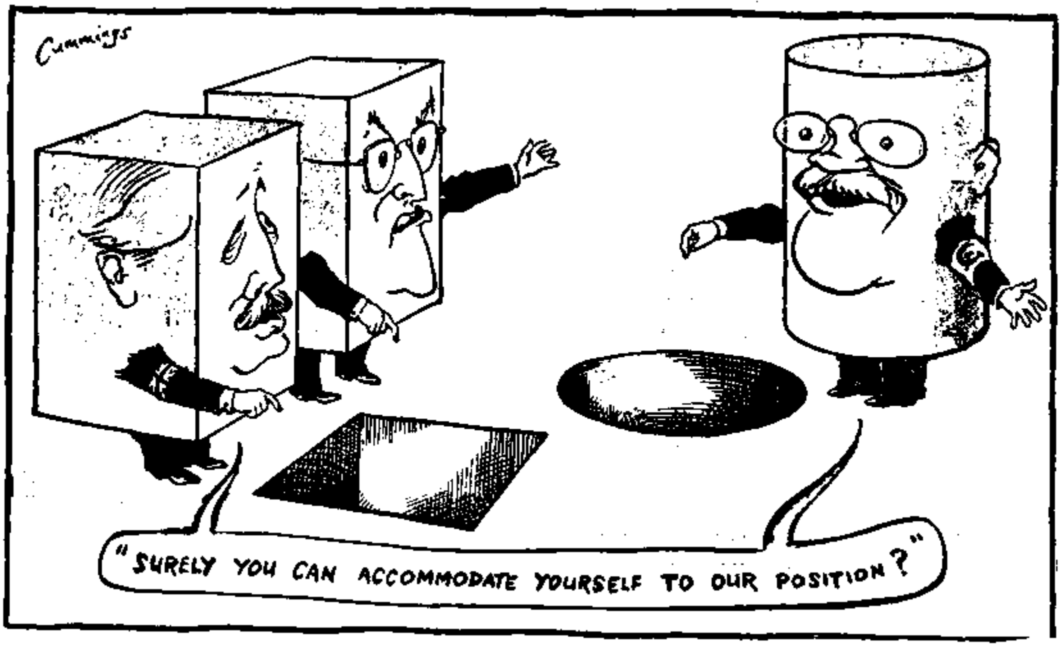
The corollary to this is that if at any time Germany's unification could not be postponed any longer, and if it had to be "unification "on a capitalist basis," Moscow would negotiate over this not with the Atlantic powers but directly with the Federal German Republic. Russia could then offer the virtual surrender of East Germany to a West German government on the condition that said government get out of NATO.

Such a bilateral deal would fit in well with the traditions of Russian diplomacy, which in critical situations has more than once sought *rapprochement* with Germany whenever it could not come to terms with the western powers. The Rapallo Treaty and the Soviet-German pact of 1939 are the obvious precedents which in their turn had behind them the older tradition of Russo-German cooperation of the Bismarck era.

(*Isaac Deutcher, The Reporter*, 9-8-55)

"Democracy in West Germany is not very deep-rooted and in the final analysis the Germans could make common cause with the Russians, thus stated the journalist William L. Shirer—Russia could offer the Germans reunification, the traditional markets of Eastern Europe and return of the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse demorcation line. What price would the eventual successor to Adenauer be prepare to pay for this? asks Shirer."

(N. Y. Staats Zeitung Herold, 11-7-55)


Cummings
"SURELY YOU CAN ACCOMMODATE YOURSELF TO OUR POSITION?"

THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA

(*Courtesy Daily Express, London*)

Konrad Adenauer's Political Testament

By

LIONEL GELBER

Mr. Lionel Gelber's article was originally published in The New Leader *as a review of Chancellor Adenauer's recently published book "World Indivisible."*

Added force is lent to Mr. Gelber's observations by the fact that they preceded the September pilgrimage of Dr. Adenauer to the Kremlin and that it was published on August 15, 1955, just after the Big Four conferred in Geneva.

The Western Powers may have been discomfited by the concessions granted afterwards to the Soviet Union by Herr Adenauer in Moscow; forebodings, heightened by the East-West impasse over German reunification at the subsequent Geneva meeting of the Foreign Ministers, are rife.

Lionel Gelber's prior analysis may, however, serve today as a double reminder. What can be gathered from it, first of all, is that there has been little reason for surprise over the way things happened in Moscow. And, secondly, what it recalls to mind is that in the events by which we are now being overtaken, the West itself has had a hand.

Incidentally, Mr. Gelber's last book, The American Anarchy (New York 1953) discusses, among other topics, how the prospect of Russo-German agreement has been handled by our own political spokesmen and opinion media—how it is that the full danger of so grim a contingency took so long in getting through to the general public.

Sir Winston Churchill, a greater figure than either, has dubbed Konrad Adenauer the best German statesman since Bismarck. And it is hard not to respect the Bonn Chancellor for his good will toward France, his gratitude toward the United States, his admiration for Britain, his ties, as a man of faith and civilized instincts, with the West. Inconsistencies, nevertheless, do crop out and, if significant, could be disquieting.

When Chancellor Adenauer denounces the evil which Germans have wrought, skeptics may be disarmed. But would their record be so tragic if, over the years, his compatriots had not cherished goals which are mutually incompatible? And if on this score Herr Adenauer himself discloses ambiguities, what about unregenerate elements whose Western orientation is less firm than his?

At first blush it would, for example, seem churlish to express doubts over Herr Adenauer's view of European unity—the Coal-Steel Pool, the Council of Europe and other comparable steps. And the United States has supported unifying projects for two reasons: They do not only have a virtue of their own but fortify the overall defensive capacity of the West. A Third Force, a modified Bevanism, could derogate from that capacity. Does Herr Adenauer toy with such ideas?

"In the interest of world peace," he observes, "it is absolutely necessary for a third power to arise. Only a federated Europe can be that third power." In such a federation, a resurgent Germany would be dominant, but upon that prospect he is silent; he does not hint at what, in the eyes of Paris and London, has been one of the main obstacles. The neutralization of Germany, as desired by Russia, is rejected in these pages; a Third Force, in the style of New Delhi and Belgrade, is not what the Bonn Chancellor suggests. But does Bonn dream of a German-led Europe, a *Puissance Médiatrice* in the fashion of a bygone age, which, as Herr Adenauer says, could throw her weight in favor of peace at crucial moments"? Is it for this that, under American auspices, the renascence of German power was promoted?

A reunified Germany in a larger European framework is the Bonn Chancellor's aim. Nationalist excess can thus be condemned while, as he demands that the Soviet grip on East Germany be relaxed, the fulfilment of a more sober German nationalism is contemplated. But the terms upon which Russia might concede the reunification of the two Germanies are not discussed.

What Moscow seeks is to deny German strength to the West rather than let the Western camp acquire more of it. West Germany has, under Herr Adenauer, been rebuilt as an ally of the West. Yet it is the East and not the West that clutches in its fist German land and German kinsmen with which alone German reunification may be effected. It was clear from the outset that only the East would be in a position to finish the job which the West had begun. The Bonn Chancellor shows in this volume how few are the Germans who vote the Communist ticket; but it is national interest rather than doctrinal affinity which, once he has vanished from the scene, might induce a realignment.

And that it can do so is, alas, an old story. On the eve of the fall of Austria, a year and a half before the Nazi-Soviet Pact unloosed World War II, this reviewer warned (*The Fortnightly*, London, March 1938) that ideological conflict, the Nazi-Communist antagonism, would be no bar to the coming Russo-German agreement. On similar grounds, when the Bonn Republic was first established, this reviewer again contended (*Reprieve from War*, Macmillan, 1950) that once West German power was resurrected, it could never be controlled by the West in the interest of the West; that in the East-West contest for the German makeweight, the West might be outbid.

It is the *leitmotif* of Herr Adenauer's book that the German people have suffered a change of heart. But the masters of the Kremlin, if the German policy of the West is to be vindicated, will have to undergo a metamorphosis no less profound. At Geneva the Big Four have staged their comedy of manners. It is between Moscow and Bonn that a more serious, protracted drama is likely to unfold.

Meanwhile with this political testament the Bonn Chancellor recapitulates the sort of counsel which his compatriots have, in the wake of nation-wide iniquity, been getting from him. Europe never recovered from the shock of World War I and incidental remarks about its origins imply that Herr

Adenauer may have shaken off most of that revisionist propaganda with which, after Versailles, Germans waged their psychological warfare against the West—which John Foster Dulles still purveyed after Munich, and in which, even after World War II, George Kennan's published lectures were steeped. A note of sincerity is struck when Herr Adenauer describes how, by way of restitution to Israel, amends for the "killing of five to six million Jews" are being made. And yet on the related subject of war criminals, it is the Bonn Chancellor himself who, in utterance after utterance, perplexed his friends in the West by questioning whether war crimes had even been perpetrated, whether the German armed forces had any stigma to efface.

In this volume, as it happens, it is "the prisoners at Spandau," the chief surviving malefactors, who earn a passing, compassionate reference. But it does contain two paragraphs on merging "the moral values of the German military tradition with democracy" which illustrate the ambivalence, from the standpoint of the West, that Herr Adenauer occasionally betrays.

Comment by him on this topic, with German forces about to participate in NATO, is no idle exercise in abstract theory. The French were reluctant to enter a European army, the Bonn Chancellor explains, not only because they cling to outworn ideas but because the French Assembly labors under the influence of Communists and Gaullists. Wholly ignored in this book, however, is the revulsion of the French against being associated with the forces of a nation which in one lifetime thrice ravaged their country.

"I should like to tender in the name of the Government," says Dr. Adenauer, "our deep respect for all the servicemen among our people who, true to high soldierly traditions, fought honorably on land, on the sea and in the air. We are convinced that the fine reputation and the worthy role of the German soldier, despite all the calumnies of recent years, are still cherished among our people and will remain so.

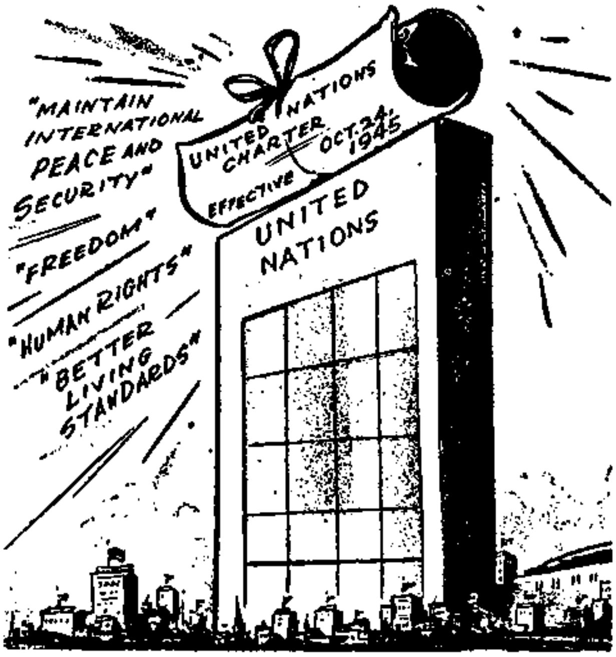
"It must be our common purpose—one I am certain we will carry through—to merge the moral values of the German military tradition with democracy. The German soldier of the future will do justice to his German and his European assignment only if he is keenly alive to the fundamental principles upon which the order of our state rests. At the same time this democratic set-up will guarantee that his loyalty will not again be misused."

Something for everybody is thus provided. Despite the fulsome tribute to the chivalry of the German fighting man, Herr Adenauer reassures the Atlantic community when he insists that, in a free society, the German armed forces must know their place. The verdict is, as it were: "Not guilty, but don't do it again."

Does the Bonn Chancellor rebuke the victims of German militarism when he combats "calumnies" against the German soldier; in such passages, to what German impulses is this critic of German nationalism, this champion of German democracy, also catering? And when Herr Adenauer speaks of the German military tradition, just what are the "moral values" he would conserve? If their "loyalty" was recurrently "misused," was it not because Germans gloried in a code of blind obedience to Prussian warlords, Imperial autocrat and Nazi dictator; in a tradition which, irrespective of régime and in war after war, spread fire and sword the length and breadth of Europe? The facts must be faced. Among Germans it is military values which have stifled democratic ones. They can now have either, but not both.

Ecrasez l'infâme! The Bonn Republic may, as a member of NATO and the Western European Union, have to bear its share of Atlantic defenses. But new political principles require military ones that are quite as new if the slate is to be wiped clean—if, as Herr Adenauer hopes, we are to start afresh.

As far as Herr Adenauer means to stick to his guns during his visit to Moscow, the publication of this book could not be more timely. What it documents is his sense of involvement with the West, his anxiety to resist what he calls "the suction of the East bloc." Yet even in Government and Opposition circles there may be those at Bonn who do not wish to postpone the inevitable; by whom, lest it give offense in Moscow, the appearance of such a book at this juncture may be deemed most inopportune. The German nation, according to Herr Adenauer, has been "transformed and purified." That, surely, is claiming a lot; in a plea for trust, the case should not be overstated. Under Herr Adenauer the foundations of German power have been restored. If these are employed to preserve our free world order, his name will be an honored one in the annals of mankind. If they are not, he may be but another in a long line of good Germans for whom German nationalism has been too much.



OUR BEST HOPE FOR PEACE

(*Walter Partymiller, Courtesy Gazette and Daily*)

The Future of Germany

By
J. F. GOLAY

Seventeen months ago, I maintained in this journal that we could not do better than stand still in our relations with Western Germany. By doing so, I argued, we and our other Western partners would retain freedom of action for the future. Should conditions develop favorable to the negotiations of a four-power agreement to reunite Germany, we would be able to take advantage of them. If they did not, equally we would be in a position to prevent any move in Germany to our detriment.

Since then, we have begun to rearm the Western Germans and, disregarding the safeguards which we ourselves put into the Bonn and Paris agreements, have allowed the way to be opened to direct negotiations between the Bonn and Soviet governments on the future of Germany.

We are, as a consequence, losing our freedom of action in Germany. We cannot come to an agreement with the Soviets, even if they were disposed to withdraw from Eastern Germany, because, by rearming Western Germany, we shall already have prejudged the question whether all of Germany is to be rearmed and we dare not risk re-uniting a rearmed Germany which is to remain outside our own security system. Neither dare the Soviets risk a rearmed Germany outside their security system. Hence, the way to four-power agreement is closed.

At the same time, we are rapidly losing—if we have not already lost—all power to prevent the Germans coming to an understanding with the Soviets at our expense. The process will be complete when substantial German forces are in being. The least we have to fear is that these forces may be withdrawn from their NATO commitments. Of the strong position in which we once stood to control developments in Germany, all that remains to us now is such security as is afforded by the good faith of an estimable but aged politician.

The majority of Western Germans have hitherto supported Adenauer's exclusively Western-oriented policy because the economic recovery and the security of Western Germany depended on it. The first has been accomplished. As for the second, whatever value the Western Germans now set upon the ability of NATO forces to defend them (the valuation varies considerably), it is doubtful in the extreme whether the majority will be prepared to pay for it the price of a permanent division of Germany. From the start, Adenauer himself felt obliged to present rearmament and the NATO tie to the German public as the course most likely to lead to reunification. But the prospects for reunification are now poorer than ever. It looks to the Germans as though the major powers were preparing to found such arrangements as they can make to get along together on a tacit acceptance of

IN 1945

"The General staff itself must be utterly destroyed. These wars of Germany's have been, from the standpoint of the General staff, merely incidents. They started back in 1806 under Scharnhorst, and they have determined to rule Europe, and, in my opinion, they have used these political leaders that have come along in order to implement their ideas and planning. If they found a Hitler-like leader with his tremendous ability of mob psychology, who could get the whole German nation behind him, he was useful. It happened he got so powerful he dominated them.

"Now, how you are going to destroy that German General Staff is something else again, because many of them have the excuse they did their duty as honorable soldiers. But my own opinion is that it should be made utterly impossible for them ever to function again."

(General Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1945)

IN 1955

"West Germany's Army was born today in a Bonn garage . . .

"For the ceremony, which took place in the Defense Ministry garage, Herr Blank stood under a huge reproduction of the Iron Cross. This Prussian emblem has been a German military decoration since 1813 . . .

"Herr Blank called attention to the fact that this day was the 200th anniversary of the birth of Gerhard von Scharnhorst, a Prussian general, father of the German concept of a 'citizens army.' . . .

"The leaders of the new army must study Germany's military past, but the old traditions must not be taken over wholesale, he asserted with emphasis . . ."

(Report to N. Y. Times, 11-13-55)

the *status quo* in Germany. Hence the strain in Adenauer's coalition. Herr Dehler, the parliamentary leader of the Free Democrats, the second party in the coalition, on September 25 described the Paris treaties as "aggravating German partition." He said that his party would be "loyal" to the treaties, but that they must not stand in the way of Germany's right to negotiate on reunification. Direct talks between the German and Soviet governments, he said, would be more important than the coming meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Geneva. Like views have been expressed by other Free Democrats and even by some Christian Democrats . . .

The Western Foreign Ministers are apparently prepared to trust the present Western German government to negotiate with the Russians. For that matter, there are political leaders in Germany in whom I too would have confidence in such dealings. But that is beside the point. No one can be sure that these leaders will have the control of affairs in Germany in the coming years.

The plain fact is that—with Western Germany rearmed—it is we, not the Russians, who will have the most pressing need to come to an understanding on the status of Germany and a European security system. Our leaders apparently do not grasp this point. Their bumbling complacency is reminiscent of Baldwinism in the thirties. They do not even trouble to make out a decent case for themselves. Mr. Dulles and Mr. Macmillan, as with one voice, assure the Western Germans that anyway world opinion will one day compel the Soviets to hand over the Eastern zone. When, the Germans ask, has world opinion ever compelled the Soviet government to do anything? The gentlemen answer, "Well, take Austria." What on earth can they be thinking of? Austria cannot be and does not want to be a member of NATO. The final terms for the ending of the occupation in Austria were negotiated between the Austrian and Soviet governments. Is this what Mr. Dulles and Mr. Macmillan want for Germany?

The only solution for Germany which has the slightest chance of being accepted by all concerned today is one which leaves none of the parties in a worse position than they are now. This means that neither NATO nor the Eastern system can be weakened or strengthened at the expense of the other, that Germany must be reunited in conditions of political freedom, and that all concerned must feel assured that Germany's position and power will not be exploited in the future to their detriment. The only way to achieve the latter is by making Germany's security the concern of all, that is to say, by creating a United Nations defense force for Germany in which all the interested parties, including a reunited Germany, participate. Such an arrangement would not entail "recognizing" or "guaranteeing" Eastern Communist regimes. It need not even entail a final settlement of Germany's eastern frontier. But by removing the principal source of political trouble: the partition of Germany, such a solution would go a long way to create a favorable environment for the settlement of other vexatious issues.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The New Republic)

"One wonders whether the patient planners in Moscow have foreseen the exact shape and dimensions of the monstrous growth they propose to nurture.

"Almost by definition, the kind of West German politicians with whom they might some day reach a bilateral agreement must be men prepared to turn their backs on western friendship and on western traditions of liberty, prepared to accept at least the essence of the bogus electoral methods which Mr. Molotov described as 'highly satisfactory' in Russia (they satisfied Hitler, too), and infected with the arrogant notion that they can 'handle the Russians.' Has Mr. Molotov a nostalgic yearning to sign, some day, a new pact with a new Ribbentrop? The ignorant over-confidence so lavishly expressed in Moscow during this week's revolutionary anniversary carries with it a very real threat to the future not only of the German and West European, but also of the East European, peoples."

(The Economist, 11-12-55)

BERNARD DE VOTO

American culture has suffered a grievous loss in the recent death of Bernard De Voto. Mr. De Voto's contribution to American letters will have enduring value. He devoted his prolific pen to bringing to life the epochal events of American History. His scholarship coupled with a unique talent in the field of American prose, made his writings a pleasurable no less than an enlightening experience for readers.

Mr. De Voto was more than an outstanding essayist and historian of the American West. He was a courageous fighter for justice in the true democratic tradition. Mr. De Voto was a keen observer of the contemporary American scene. His regular commentaries in the "Easy Chair" of Harper's Magazine served to illumine many of the pressing problems that face all Americans in these troubled times. Mr. De Voto was not a dogmatist and never pretended to have pat answers for all of the problems he discussed. But he did display a unique insight and clarity as well as a frankness which undoubtedly helped his readers to understand this complex world.

His unflagging devotion to and defense of just causes was always a source of great strength to the Society for the Prevention of World War III. We shall miss him though his works give assurance to America's bright future.

Murder Dividends

Widows Wait for Top Nazis' Blood Money

By W. STANLEY MOSS

(Mr. Moss was asked unofficially by the British Foreign Office to find out what will happen to the war crime millions left by former Nazi leaders. This is his answer as published in the Sunday Pictorial.)

The widows and near relatives of top Nazis like Goering, Himmler and Goebbels are looking forward to £.S.D.-Day.

On January 1, 1956, they may be able to cash in on fortunes amassed as a direct result of murder, looting and profiteering by men whose memory is hated by millions of decent Germans.

Only ten years after the suicides or execution of these evil men comes the most outrageous scandal to have been bred by World War II.

The processes of "denazification" are scheduled to be ended on December 31.

This means that in the eyes of German law the word "Nazi" will no longer symbolize anything less desirable than a political condition.

Vast fortunes were secreted by nearly all the leading Nazis.

If those sums are not discovered by the German Government by the end of this year they may be claimed without question by the nearest relatives of the dead men.

The sums involved amount to millions.

Not one of the top Nazis had any money of his own when the party was first formed, but they all accumulated vast sums.

If ever the term "blood money" may be properly used, this is surely it.

I saw Emmy Goering in Munich last week. She looked like a million dollars—corpulent, smartly dressed, and as full of self-assurance as ever of old.

She rents an expensive flat and employs a maidservant.

She is blatantly unworried by any consideration for economy.

Her husband's account in Berlin stands at 1,000,000 marks (nearly £100,000), but the account is blocked, and she cannot get at it.

So how does she contrive to live so well?

When I raised this question with a German Government official, he said.

"Frau Goering was an actress before she married Hermann Goering. She is probably living on the sale of pictures, jewelry, and so on, which she owned before her marriage."

A succinct response to this statement was made to me by Air Commodore Frank Beaumont, who is now living in Bavaria.

Both Goering and his wife were frequently guests at his home in Germany before the war.

"The German Government statement is utter nonsense," he said.

"Emmy Goering was a third-rate actress with very little money before she became friendly with her future husband."

She remained Goering's "friend" for some years before marrying him.

During that time he showered gifts upon her.

Every one of those gifts was paid for directly as a result of Goering's affiliation to the Nazi party.

The money he acquired was the fruit of confiscation, bribery and looting.

On New Year's Day, 1956, however, Emmy Goering will be able to come out into the open.

All she will have to say will be:

"I've discovered that my husband owned so many shares in such-and-such a company, which I never knew about."

And then there will be nothing to prevent her cashing in the lot.

Goering, who committed suicide in his cell during the Nuremberg trials, was, of course, one of the giants of the party.

Chief of the Luftwaffe, pervert, drug addict, his overriding passion was the acquisition of art treasures plundered from occupied territories all over Europe.

He was cunning in his investments. He successfully salted away a large proportion of his gains.

Heinrich Himmler, by contrast, was far less skilful in his financial dealings.

It may be that he was a more genuine Nazi than his blustering colleague.

It appears that he was concerned rather with personal advancement in the party than with financial fiddling.

As chief of the Gestapo for nearly ten years, he was gullible enough to entrust his entire fortune to the Berlin banks.

There it still remains—blocked.

He committed suicide by swallowing cynanide.

And he left his wife and daughter with no visible assets save his vast but useless bank accounts.

Frau Himmler also lives in Munich.

A bespectacled, spinsterish-looking little women in her early sixties, she draws a small pension of about £7 a month.

She appears to rely mainly on her daughter's earnings for support.

Will she suddenly learn after January 1 that Himmler had some undisclosed bank account, or shareholdings of which she knew nothing?

Josef Goebbel's sister, Maria Kimmich, is living in comparative comfort.

When Goebbels, Hitler's superlatively efficient Minister of Propaganda, shot himself dead after watching his wife and children die of cynanide poisoning, he left Maria as his sole heir.

His bank account in Berlin stands at about £85,000.

But this is generally presumed to represent only a fraction f his total fortune.

Who knows where the remainder has been distributed, or vhen it will make its reappearance?

Could Maria Kimmich supply the answer?

Now let's take a look at the widow of Reinhart Heydrich, 'The Butcher."

His murder caused the extermination of the entire popuation of the village of Lidice, in Czechoslovakia.

Frau Heydrich is living in far greater comfort than Frau Iimmler.

But she does not stand to gain nearly so much as some of ier fellow-widows on January 1.

Her husband was killed before he could really cash in on he golden days of looting and pillage.

Frau Heydrich bore her husband four children in rapid uccession to help prove the theory of the "perfect Nordic ype."

This means that she now gets a comfortable pension.

Pensions in Germany are allotted by regional authorities, nd may vary greatly from State to State.

Herr Raunau, spokesman for the German Socialist Party in Bonn, told me:

"Fully-blown former Nazis are today in receipt of pensions mounting to as much as £175 per month.

"It pays to have been a Nazi."

To prove his point, he cited a scandalous case which has ome to light.

The widow of a man who had been executed for his part n the anti-Hitler bomb plot of July 20, 1944, was receiving pension of £15 per month.

The widow of the man who had denounced him and was, ierefore, directly responsible for his murder was being paid 84 per month.

Twenty-two top ex-Ministry of State officials all of whom iust have been proven Nazis even to qualify for their posts, ich get pensions of about £175 a month.

Yes, it certainly does seem to have paid some to have een Nazis.

Now it appears that it is going to be even more profitable be a widow of a top Nazi.

There have been many questions asked recently in the erlin Senate concerning the status of the widows. The most nsistent reply in their favor has been in the form of a rect reference to Alfred Krupp.

It is contended that if Krupp, multi-millionaire arms manucturer, managed to retrieve the bulk of his fortune, why ouldn't the widows do likewise?

But that is surely beside the point.

Any money their husbands acquired came from the blood literally millions who fell foul of the Nazis.

Every penny of it should be devoted to the rehabilitation the comparative few who survived.

As compensation for what they suffered they should be abled to live without want.

It is up to the Germans to see that this is done.

Unfortunately, the matter is now out of the Allies' hands. But this gives the Germans—millions of whom also sufed under Hitler—a chance to show the world they mean purge themselves completely of the guilt of Nazism.

That's No Ghost, That's Gen. Dietrich

Sepp Dietrich must surely be convinced of his own immortality now; he ran out of borrowed time long ago. As far back in 1934 he won special recognition from Adolf Hitler for carrying out the assassination of Ernst Roehm during the great Nazi blood purge. Hitler promoted him to the rank of general; subsequently he became commander of Hitler's bodyguards.

Dietrich's career in World War II was identified with some of the most ghoulish enterprises in the Nazi war record. His role in the slaughter that marked the capture of Kharkov won him the informal designation of "Butcher of Kharkov." Even more celebrated, however, was his conduct in the brutal Malmedy massacre—the massacre in which more than 115 captured American prisoners were ruthlessly murdered during the Battle of the Bulge.

Dietrich survived war, defeat and trial. In 1946 an American military tribunal fund him guilty of heavy responsibility for the massacre, but he escaped the death penalty, receiving life imprisonment instead.

And now he has been freed—not because of the discovery of any judicial error or because he has achieved any miracle of rehabilitation but because we are in the process of trying to liquidate all German memories of that international unpleasantness known as World War II.

He was released without any public announcement; perhaps our officials had the decency to be embarrassed. But when a man with so monumental a record of murder beats the rap again, the event is bound to be discovered.

Dietrich's biggest killings may be over. He may never claim another victim. The terrifying impact of his release—like the restoration to civic eminence of other distinguished Nazis in both the Communist and Western zones of Germany—is to invigorate and inspire the darkest forces of German neo-Nazism.

If Sepp Dietrich has survived so monstrous a lifetime of slaughter, who can convincingly tell the new German generation that international crime doesn't pay?

(*Editorial, N. Y. Post*)

UNANIMITY

"For the first time since its creation, the West-German Bundestag has approved a resolution concerning foreign policy without a single dissent. In the vote on whether diplomatic relations should be established between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union, the Opposition and the Government Coalition were in full agreement."

(Bulletin of the German Federal Government, 9-29-55)

Inside Germany

THE RIGHT HAND MAN

". . . Dr. Adenauer pushed through selection of a man closely linked to his chancellery as state secretary of the Bonn Defense Ministry . . .

"The new state secretary is Josef Rust, forty-eight, who has been a high-ranking official in the Ministry of Economics. He held an important post in Dr. Adenauer's chancellery from 1949 to 1952. His appointment follows that of Karl Gumbel . . .

"An important aspect of the appointments of Mr. Rust and Mr. Gumbel is that both men are closely associated with Hans Globke, fifty-seven, state secretary in Dr. Adenauer's chancellery. Mr. Globke has indisputably emerged as the 'gray eminence' of the Adenauer regime.

"He is Dr. Adenauer's right-hand man in many domestic matters. He plays a major role in appointments to key posts in the civil servant structure of the Bonn Government. He was an official of the Ministry of Interior in the Third Reich . . ."

(By Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 10-10-55)

NOTE: In 1933, Hans Globke was appointed legal adviser to the Nazi bigwig Wilhelm Frick in the Ministry of the Interior of the Hitler Government. He collaborated with another leading Nazi, Stuckhardt in writing the official commentary on the Nuremberg racial laws. For the unfortunate and unhappy victims of Hitler's barbaric racial legislation Dr. Globke had this comforting thought: "They should have chosen their parents more carefully."

★

P. S. HE GOT THE JOB

"Political sources said West Germany's powerful personnel committee is expected to veto the appointment of former Lt. Gen. Adolf Heusinger as one of the highest ranking generals in the new German Army . . .

"The sources said the personnel committee believes that General Heusinger, who has been the new chief planner for years of the new German Army, did not have enough experience of command of troops for the top military post. It also was reported to have said he had been 'a little too cooperative with the Nazis."

(Christian Science Monitor, 10-1-55)

★

LOSS OF MEMORY

"Dr. Ewald Muehleneisen, a 50-year old attorney who was one of the key figures in the pogrom that raged through the Ruhr city of Bocholt in November, 1938, has been acquitted a second time . . .

"The court declared, as it did in 1951, that there was a 'lack of sufficient proof' to connect the then county chief of the Nazi Lawyers' League with the sacking of apartments and the burning of synagogues. The German Supreme Court in Karlsruhe, holding that proof was adequate, referred the case back for re-trial upon appeal by the prosecution. This time, the prosecutor asked for a nine-month jail sentence, but most of his witnesses suffered from a pronounced loss of memory."

(JTA, 8-17-55)

PRIDE IN MURDER

"The German doctor who directed sterilization experiments on women prisoners in the infamous Nazi extermination camp at Auschwitz has returned from Soviet imprisonment—still proud of his work.

"The doctor, Prof. Karl Glauberg, came home in a transport of German PWs the Soviets are returning on the basis of Chancellor Adenauer's Moscow agreement with the Russians.

"Dr. Glauberg told reporters that Gestapo Chief Himmler had assigned him 400 Jewish women prisoners for his experiments at the extermination center.

"The lack of publicity about Glauberg's return is part of the silence with which most of the German press is treating the fact that among the freed PWs are many who appear to have been connected with special extermination units."

(N. Y. Post, 10-18-55)

★

VOICE OF THE FATHERLAND

"Dr. Otto Strasser, former political associate of Hitler has founded a political party that will participate in the next West German general elections.

"Dr. Strasser, 57 years old, returned from exile in Canada last March, 'to fight for a Germany independent of the Kremlin and Wall Street . . .'

"He also told reporters on his arrival that his return to Germany 'meant a victory over the unholy alliance of Hitler, Morgenthau and Adenauer,' who he said had contrived to keep him abroad . . ."

(N. Y. Times, 10-15-55)

★

IN A BIG WAY

"The Soviet Union plans to set up an embassy in Bonn larger than the big U. S. diplomatic mission . . .

"The Russians may take over for their new embassy a building on which America once spent several hundred thousand dollars, these informants said.

"Moscow has informed Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's government its new embassy here will have personnel numbering around 300.

"The U. S. Embassy has a staff of 230 civilians . . ."

(Brack Curry, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 9-27-55)

★

EASTWARD BOUND

"West Germany is about to include Red China in its Far East shipping service.

"The country's biggest shipping companies, Bremen Lloyd and Hamburg-American Lines, said yesterday their 8955-ton combined freight-passenger vessel Schwabenstein and its five sister ships will regularly call on Shanghai starting Aug. 24.

"The two lines operate a joint Far Eastern Service."

(St. Louis Post Dispatch, 8-3-55

STRAINING AT THE LEASH

"The case of Capt. Heinz Karst is the second instance of a dissident German officer to rock West Germany's Defense Ministry this year . . .

"Capt. Karst is the deputy chief of the section of the Defense Ministry charged with carrying forward the plans for a democratic-style army . . .

"He was propelled into the spotlight when some one in the ministry leaked to the press a six-page memorandum he had written voicing dissatisfaction with the lengths to which the civilians were going with their army control scheme . . .

"He wrote: 'It is no longer the citizen-soldier we can look forward to, but the soldier in a ghetto, who is going to be held on a tight rein, with the sharpest control, poor food and bad pay, in order to keep him out of mischief.'

"Capt. Karst attacked the West German Bundestag Deputies who flew last spring to study American Congressional control of the Armed Forces.

"He said it was 'hard to understand' that German Deputies should travel around America 'for weeks' to ascertain how one can best keep soldiers on the leash."

(Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 9-6-55)

★

KRUPP

"The Krupp group is to invest about $25 million over a period of five years in Brazilian industry.

"In conjunction with Brazilian interests, Krupps will manufacture locomotives, industrial and transport equipment, and install rolling mills, tube plants, foundries and cement factories. Krupps has taken up half the shares in the National Locomotive Industry in Brazil."

(The Financial Times, 9-6-55)

★

RESULTS OF SOVEREIGNTY

"Three of West Germany's biggest banks took steps to resurrect the pre-war centralized banking systems. These were broken up by the Allies during the occupation . . .

"Their aim is to reconstitute the Deutsche Bank . . .

"The successor institutions of the two other big pre-war banking systems, the Dresdner Bank and the Commerzbank, have also been cooperating closely on all levels with a view to ultimate fusion.

"The pre-war banking systems were broken up into a number of independent institutions that re-grouped themselves into twelve major banks. The object of the welve banks is to reconstitute themselves into three banking systems that would enjoy a virtual credit monopoly in West Germany . . .

"Recentralization of the West German banking system was given a powerful impetus by the granting of sovereignty to the Bonn Republic on May 5 . . ."

(By M. S. Handler, N. Y. Times, 8-27-55)

THAT'S THE QUESTION

"This week the Bonn Government is scheduled to make a decision which could be the kick-off for a revival of the once mighty German aircraft industry through the licensing of U. S. designs . . .

"Some of these deals are going to require grave policy decisions in Washington as well as in Bonn.

"The Germans make it clear they want to build the most advanced designs or they will build nothing at all. Details of helicopter construction are perhaps no great American defense secret but the latest jet engines, for instance, are so considered—and Germany, after all, lies next to the Soviet Empire. The question is: Might political juggling in the course of unifying East Germany with West Germany, or even sudden Soviet military aggression, put the American designs into Russian hands? . . ."

(Richard P. Cooke, Wall Street Journal, 11-10-55)

★

NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD!

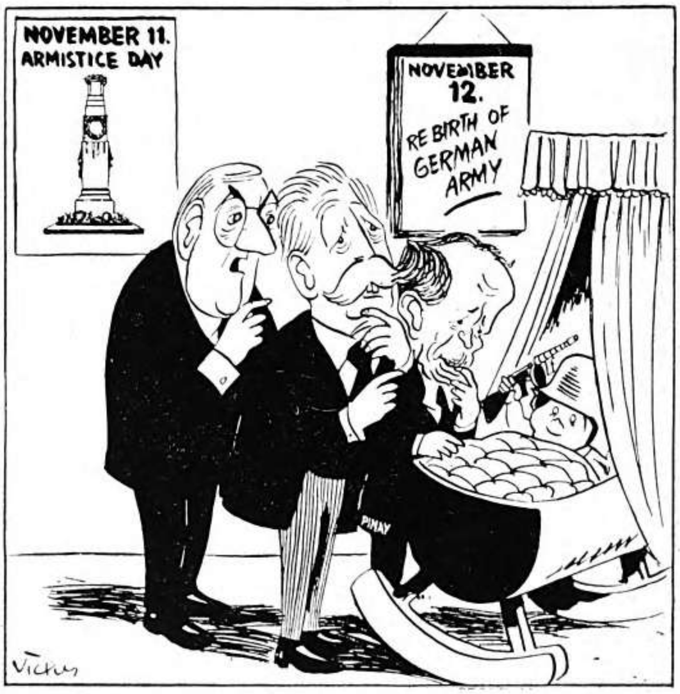
"A paroled Japanese war criminal says some others, still serving sentences, walk in and out of Sugamo prison at will, hold regular outside jobs and return 'only to sleep.'

"'The prison is like an apartment to them,' said former Gen. Sado Araki, onetime Minister of War, in an article in Bungei Shinju, a magazine with 600,000 circulation.

"Some stay out for a month at a time, he said."

(N. Y. Post, 10-12-55)

★



"Isn't he sweet and innocent—now, why should anyone be afraid of HIM?"

(*Vicky, Courtesy London Daily Mirror*)

GET-TOGETHER

"At the party congress of the Deutsche Gemeinschaft National Rally in Stuttgart 480 people were present. August Haussleiter stated what Paulus meant for the East, Kesselring meant for the West. The Wehrmacht of the future should be placed under General Student; then all would be alright. Speeches were made by the former Minister of Justice, Dr. Johannes Rupp, Ettlingen, Eugen Schleyerbach, president of the Bavarian Peasants and Middle Class League, and Prince Schoenaich-Carolath, Wuerzburg. Members of the executive are Renate Malluche, Munich, Ferdinand Schramm, who was in the Third Reich 'leader' of the German handicraft, and Alois Spaniol, Karlsruhe, who was under the Nazis Prussian State Councillor, Nazi leader of the Saar and founder of the German Front during the Saar plebiscite campaign."

(Gamma Publications, Ltd., 10-5-55)

★

FOR "GOOD CONDUCT"

"The British today released Fritz Ohlmeyer, 65, from Werl Prison. His departure left 21 convicted German war criminals still in prison.

"Ohlmeyer was originally condemned to death in 1948 for mistreating allied nationals in the Wilhelmsburg concentration camp . . .

"He was freed for good conduct." (A. P., 9-20-55)

The Road to Dachau

Leading out of the old German city of Munich to the northwest is a long street called Dachauer Strasse—the road to Dachau. The name calls to mind things that many people would prefer to forget. The huge Nazi concentration camp there became a synonym for the torture rack, the gas chamber and the most bestial excesses of the Hitler regime.

Since the end of World War II, the Germans have kept the camp open as a memorial to its thousands of victims. This week, ten years after the end of the war, the District of Dachau proposed that the camp be closed. But Minister President Wilhelm Hoegner of Bavaria ruled that it should remain open.

We commend Herr Hoegner for his decision. We think that not only the Germans but all peoples should be frequently reminded of the tragedy of Dachau.

We should remind us—as Dachau can remind us—that tyranny is not always imposed from without but can arise unsuspected from within, as Hitlerism first arose in Munich.

We need to remember that the way to the concentration camp begins inconspicuously at the vital center of a society—in the first signs of unopposed bigotry, race hatred, nationalistic arrogance, personal intolerance. It can start when people speak disparagingly of another race or creed or intimate that those who disagree with them should be suppressed.

It can begin when people fail to resist the first encroachments on liberty, when they shrug off a denial of someone else's rights and dignity and say—as many Germans once said—"It's none of my business."

Wherever freedom is successfully violated, on no matter how small a scale—there begins the road to Dachau.

(Editorial, San Francisco Chronicle)

"POOR" GERMANY

"West German industry invested 700,000,000 Deutsche marks (about $160,000,000) abroad since the post-war ban on capital export was lifted in 1952 . . .

"Most of the investments abroad were made by the iron and steel industry, the chemical industry and by automobile manufacturers. Nearly 80 per cent of the exported capital was invested in foreign firms and in shares . . .

"Geographically, 40 per cent of the investments were made in the European Payments Union Area and 30 per cent each in the Bilateral Accounting Area and the Dollar Area.

"The major part of the investments in the Bilateral Accounting Area fell to South America, particularly Brazil, while capital exports to Canada accounted for about 50 per cent of investments in the Dollar Area..."

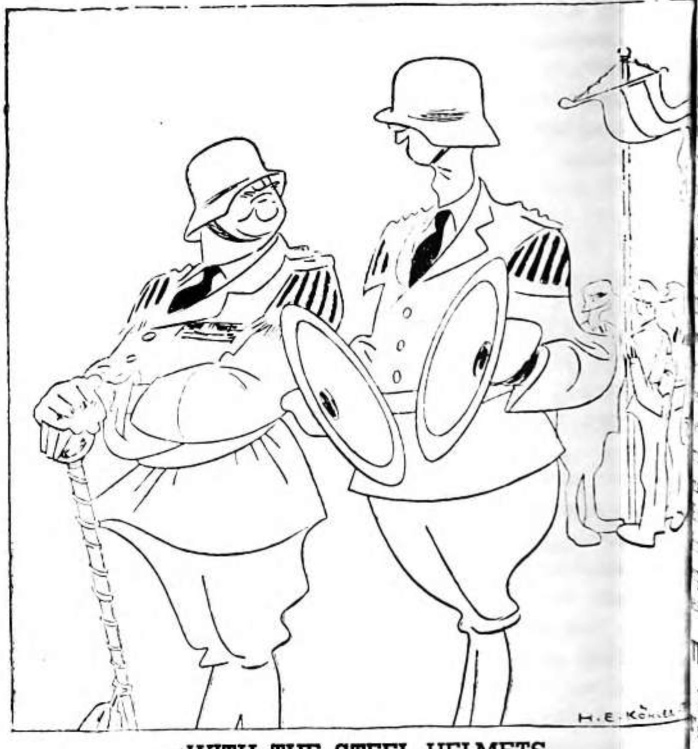
(N. Y. Times, 10-24-55)

★

CHAIRMAN MEINBERG AND GUEST

"The neo-Nazi German Reich Party elected at a recent meeting, Wilhelm Meinberg, 57, as its Chairman. Under the Nazi regime, Meinberg headed a department at Berlin S. S. headquarters. Eight other prominent neo-Nazis will join him on the party's Executive Committee.

"Dr. Werner Naumann, former State Secretary of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry, attended the meeting and was enthusiastically welcomed." (JCNS, 9-29-55)



WITH THE STEEL HELMETS

"And when are we gonna get rid of our loyalty oaths to this Republic, Kamerad?"

"As soon as we can sing again the first stanza of Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles."

(From Deutsche Zeitung, Stuttg

Geopolitics

FROM HAUSHOFER TO ADENAUER

"Words like Nature, half reveal and alf conceal the soul within"—Alfred ord Tennyson. U. S. diplomats who ave negotiated with the Soviets over the ears will appreciate Lord Tennyson's in- ight. They know from frustrating ex- erience that the Russians are masters in e art of confusing issues through the anipulation of words and phrases. Sev- ral postwar agreements between the So- iets and the Western powers have been endered meaningless because phrases uch as "democratic majority," "people's emocracy," when concretely applied, ave been transformed by Marxist sleight f hand into their opposite. There is ubstantial evidence to indicate that our iplomats, having been burned so fre- uently, are no longer content to accept uch phrases at face value. They rightly nsist that practice must be the acid test f Russian preachings.

Unfortunately the prudence shown by ur diplomats in treating with the Rus- ans seems to be for the most part absent n dealing with the Germans. A case in oint is the way we have approached the lea of European unity in relation to ermany. Of major concern to the United ates, following the end of World War -, was the tremendous damage inflicted the Germans on Western Europe. The onomic and political problems which set the peoples of that decisive area emed to make them easy prey for Com- unist blandishment. Thus, our policy akers concluded that, unless Western uropean unity on a democratic basis was mly established, the tide of Communist pansion would roll on to the Atlantic aboard.

he Same Language, But . . .

The idea of integrating the nations of estern Europe through the relinquish- nt of part of their sovereignty for the mmon welfare won many supporters. the United States this policy of in- gration or federalization of Western rope was regarded as the key to the rman problem. Our leading statesmen, including Secretary of State Dulles, declared that a viable integrated Western Europe which would be strong economically and militarily, would require West Germany's participation. By the same token, the linking of West Germany to a Western European federation would serve as an effective guaranty against the revival of a predatory Germany. Moreover, our statesmen believed, that by implementing this policy, close bonds of friendship would be established between the United States and Western Europe.

U. S. policy makers were jubilant when they learned that the leaders of the Western democracies, including Winston Churchill, were firm adherents to the concept of Western European unity. The former President of France Vincent Auriol declared, "Europe must unite herself if she wishes to recover and live, and if she does not want American assistance to be a gesture without future or a humiliating charity." For the most part the statesmen of Western Europe envisaged a federalized Europe in terms as expressed by M. Auriol. Furthermore, his position was consonant with the expressed views of our own statesmen.

As for the Germans it is a matter of record that their leaders were among the first to welcome the American initiative (see No. 32 of Prevent World War III, 1949, page 7). In his book "War or Peace," Secretary of State Dulles expressed satisfaction that Chancellor Adenauer spoke the "same language" as U. S. leaders. Thus, encouraged by the apparent unanimity of ultimate aims and purposes, the U. S. went about the task of fostering a federated Europe through such generous programs as our Marshal Plan aid. The United States appropriated tens of billions of dollars toward the realization of Western European unity.

Yet, there was one basic flaw in this grandiose plan. While the French, British and the United States spoke the same language as the Germans, their ultimate aims and objectives were as divergent from those of the Germans as the sky is from the earth. In short, we were under the misconception that the same words meant the same things to the Germans as they did to the Western Allies.

Haushofer's "United Europe"

The object of this study is to examine the objectives of a federalized Europe as conceived by present day German leaders. In this connection, familiarization with some of the basic teachings of the late Karl Haushofer, the leading exponent of German geopolitics, is essential. Geopolitics is a coined expression and has been defined as "the science of the earth relationship to political developments. It is based on the broad foundation of geography which is the science of political organisms in space and their structure . . . It guides practical politics to that point where it must take the step into the unknown. Only if inspired by geopolitical knowledge can this step be successful. Geopolitics will and must become the geographical conscience of the state" (Geopolitics at Munich by Russell H. Fifield, State Department 6-24-45).

This rather obscure description of the meaning of "geopolitics," colored by a ponderous verbiage, is characteristic of the writings of the German geopoliticians, particularly Haushofer. Yet, when all of the double talk and pseudo-scientific jargon is boiled down to its essentials, it may be defined in the word of an authority on German geopolitics, Father Edmund A. Wash, S.J., as "an apology for international theft prepared in advance of the event" (Life, 9-16-46).

Prof. Haushofer was the oracle of German geopolitics. According to Father Walsh, his views are found in his 40 published volumes and 400 essays, articles, lectures and reviews. The name Haushofer is little known in the United States but his doctrines and teachings became the very warp and woof of Germany's great strategy for world conquest. Though Haushofer had been a leading officer of the Kaiser's imperial armies during World War I, he transferred his talents to the field of geopolitics after Germany's defeat. In due time, he became one of the leading brain trusters of the secret German General Staff which had been reorganized behind the backs of the Allied occupation authorities.

Haushofer's connections with the industrial war lords of the Ruhr were also important. Thus, his influence in shaping German policy between the two wars is beyond question. It was Haushofer who taught Adolf Hitler geopolitics. He had met Hitler through Rudolf Hess, the Führer's close associate. During Hitler's imprisonment in 1923, Herr Haushofer visited the future Führer and patiently instructed him on the fine points of geopolitics much of which was later embodied in Mein Kampf. Subsequently, Dr. Haushofer introduced Hitler to leading German industrialists including Thyssen, Stinnes, Krupp, Hugenberg, Roechling and Kirdorf. When Hitler came to power, General Haushofer was appointed President of the German Academy and of the Peoples League for Germanism Abroad. Father Walsh notes that he not only became an elder statesman in the field of geopolitical strategy "but developed into a companion and political Nestor of the ruling clique."

It was Haushofer who founded the "Institute for Geopolitics" which attracted leading German scholars, journalists and politicians. His disciples carried his message far and wide as they do today. It is also a fact that Haushofer's "Weltanschauung" influenced the educational system of Germany.

"Lebensraum"

Haushofer conceived of the world as consisting of a number of key spaces. Space was synonymous with power. Hence, to survive, let alone thrive, a state must ceaselessly enlarge its area of control. He had little regard for small nations and minority groupings. These were destined to be absorbed by world power blocs. Haushofer described the state as an organism which required the necessary conditions for expansion. In this context Germany, as the most dynamic state organism, must conquer space without limit. He once wrote, "Geopolitics is a duty to safeguard the right to the soil, to the land in the widest sense, not only the land within the frontiers of the Reich, but the right to the much more extensive folk-and-cultural-land." It was Haushofer who invented the term "Lebensraum" so frequently employed by Hitler in justifying his grabbing of other people's territories.

Prof. Haushofer had studied the works of the eminent British geographer Sir Halford MacKinder. The British scientist had observed that the key to the domination of the world rested ultimately in the control of the Eurasian landmass. He had expressed the view that should such control be exercised by the Germans and/or the Russians, the Western world would be placed in an inferior position strategically that would be most difficult to overcome. Having carefully studied MacKinder's theories, Haushofer sought to apply them on the basis of mutual collaboration between Russia and Germany. As early as 1913 Haushofer wrote: "A community of interests between Japan, Russia and the central European imperial powers would be absolutely unassailable." Following the end of World War I, Haushofer continued to propound this view. This is not to say that Haushofer sympathized with Russian Communism. He believed that indirect methods in handling the Russians would be more effective than the use of force. He advised Hitler to pursue such a policy emphasizing that once Central and Western Europe with its African possessions were firmly under control, the Reich's superiority would then be so overwhelming that the Russian heartland would fall to Germany practically automatically as the result of economic and political penetration. Mr. Fifield writes, "The attitude of Haushofer toward the Soviet Union was motivated by a strong desire to found a combination of powers consisting of Germany, the Soviet Union, Japan, China and India under German leadership."

Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo Axis

It was Haushofer's influence that delayed Hitler's invasion of Russia. Indeed, on the occasion of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, Haushofer hailed it. He spoke of the pact as vindicating his earlier pleas for a Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo-Axis. Such an axis would form a vast transcontinental bloc which would be in a position to counterbalance the United States and Great Britain. "Such an alliance," he wrote, "does not aim at 'world domination' but to be sure of the abolition of the capitalistic rule of Western democracies over the 'have nots' and the establishment of a juster world order free from such exploitation." It is interesting to note that the Nazi successor to Adolf Hitler, Grand Admiral Doenitz, signed a secret memorandum a few weeks before Germany's surrender in which he called for an alliance between the Russians and the Germans. These were his words: "Thus would be formed an alliance between the young Socialist forces against the old entrenched powers of the West."

Following Hitler's invasion of Russia, Haushofer's influence with the Führer began to decline. It was too late to turn back after Hitler had made the fatal error of committing Germany to a two front war. Nevertheless, Prof Haushofer did not despair for the future of his Reich. In 1944, knowing that the Hitler regime was doomed, he published a new essay in his magazine Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, which indicated that he had revised his theories so as to meet the new situation that would flow from Germany's defeat. The Haushofer article was analyzed by Paul Wohl, an expert an Russo-German relations (Christian Science Monitor 10-28-44). Mr. Wohl pointed out that Herr Haushofer no longer believed that world domination would go to that power or powers which controlled Russia and Siberia. According to Mr. Wohl, Prof. Haushofer was now convinced that the real danger of world domination loomed elsewhere—"in America."

The Real Enemy

Previously, General Haushofer felt that the idea of a Germany, dominating Africa and collaborating with the Soviet Union, was the key to world domination. He no longer shared that view. Mr. Wohl quotes Haushofer as stating that the real threat came from the U. S. dominated North-South empire which "already extends rapacious hands to tropical Africa, Iran, India and Australia. By using its Pan-American supremacy as a jumping off point for further expansion East and West, the United States seeks to establish the basis for its world empire and to threaten future opponents with a third world war. This American north-south empire represents the only real danger of imperialistic world domination." Mr. Wohl tells us that in this same article Haushofer deplored the blood shedding between Russia and Germany and inferentially called for a Russo-German understanding to meet the American challenge. In this connection Mr. Wohl reveals that Haushofer's new line has probably alread fashioned the political thinking of the mall circle of men who sooner or later will try again to win the peace for Germany."

It is one of the oddities of the Allied ccupation of Germany that Haushofer hould have escaped prosecution as a war riminal. Whether this was due to the act that Allied officials were ignorant of his writings and activities is open to question. It is true that, when he was interogated by Allied officials, he posed as a misunderstood scientist who had been uped and coerced by the Nazis. He hose his words and expressions with reat care so that they would sound lausible and attractive to his listeners. Germany, he told reporters, needs "a eriod of quiet to get down to work." He added that the Germans especially hould have "a real outlet." The Associated Press reporter wrote that Haus-ofed advocated a federated Europe. He uoted Haushofer as follows: "Confederation is the only way for Europe beuse history has proved that any form of a tyrannous set-up has failed—under Napoleon and Hitler. It should be planned first on an economic basis so that there would be no political resentments involved such as exist now against Germany. Later there would develop political understanding from a logical force. I am very much cheered that the Allies have decided Germany will be treated as an economic unit and that they will not chop up the country" (10-7-45). To those who are advocating western European unity Haushofer's words sounded like music. It seemed like a definite commitment to cooperate with the Western democracies. However, placed in the context of his significant essay of 1944, it is clear that Herr Haushofer's words "like Nature, half reveal and half conceal the soul within."

Adenauer Speaks

By strange coincidence, Haushofer's clarion call for European federation was achieved by other Germans slated to become the pro-Western leaders in Germany. In the forefront was Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

It goes without saying that Konrad Adenauer's public utterances are never without purpose. He is not one who is apt to make reckless statements. For the most part he embellishes his thoughts with ethical and moral platitudes that have a definite appeal to Western idealism. For Adenauer it is not what is said but how it is said. This brings to mind a lecture on foreign policy delivered by George F. Kennan, one of the architects of our postwar German policy and a student of German geopolitics. He said, "we would do well to learn to think of the conduct of foreign affairs as a problem of style even more than of purpose. Where purpose is dim and questionable, form comes into its own . . ." (delivered in 1951 at Northwestern University).

There are few records of Adenauer's public pronouncements of policy prior to World War II. However, we are indebted to his recently published book "World Indivisible" which does give us

"If you examine the Soviet declarations of policy since Bulganin and Khrushchev became the travelling twins of militant Russian co-existence, you can find no direct conflict with Molotov's bluntly unsubtle attitude here towards German unification.

"Why, then, have we experienced such a sense of outraged indignation, as expressed by Dulles? It appears that only now the Secretary of State is beginning to learn that we were mouse-trapped at the summit. He had been so eager to produce a diplomatic triumph of consequence that he was snared into delusion and, thereby, spread delusion at home and abroad.

"We will not and we cannot have any serious negotiation unless, and until, we are willing to use Germany outside NATO as a negotiable card. The Russians told us so, in public declarations by their highest leaders.

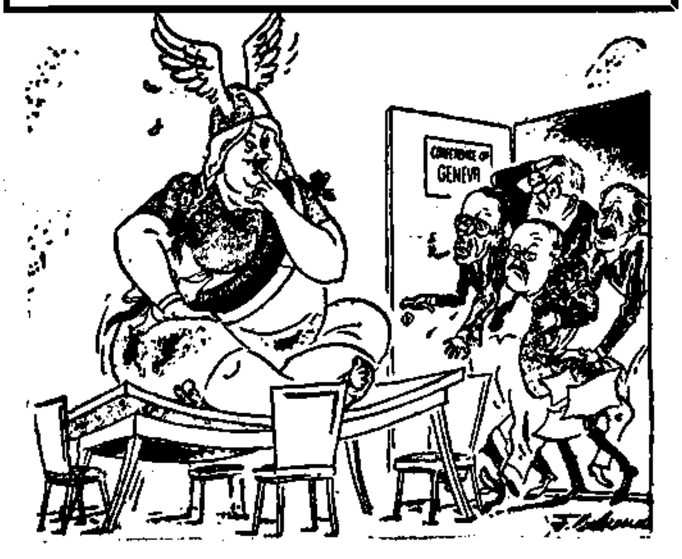
"This conference is another defeat for us, another setback in the Dulles record of unbroken defeat. Sooner or later, probably sooner, the two Germanys will be talking to each other. We cannot prevent that, nor can the doughty, ailing Chancellor Adenauer. So the Russians score.

"A searching reappraisal of American foreign policy is in order."

(Seymour Freidin, New York Post, 11-15-55)

". . . Dr. Adenauer and Herr von Brentano have revealed their own uneasiness by making very defensive speeches since their return (from Moscow). Dr. Adenauer, himself, has been reaffirming Germany's loyalty to its treaties. At the same time, however, he has claimed that with a Soviet Ambassador in Bonn there will now be a chance of direct discussions about 'how to proceed towards German reunion.' It is evident that the Chancellor has been greatly impressed in Moscow . . ."

(The Economist, London, 9-24-55)



"My God—she's still there."

(France Observateur, Paris)

some idea of his outlook as early as 1930. It should be borne in mind that the year 1930 was one of economic and political crisis for Germany. Hitlerism was on the march. It was during this period too that Haushofer's influence was great not only among the Nazis but also with non-Nazis who dreamt of a Greater Germany but refrained from employing the rather blunt language of Hitler. It was in this year that Adenauer as Lord Mayor of Cologne, developed a program for "world unity." This program said in part: "The land masses and hemispheres have merged into one vast continent upon a unitary planet; the globe has so shrunk that there are no longer any unknown places upon it, no strange lands or strange peoples to be discovered. Man looks for new worlds to conquer in the stratosphere. And so Europe, which used to be the hearth of world history, has become only a part of a historical whole. Germany's task is to make apparent the inherent unity of Europe and the need for a natural division of labor on the Continent. This can be established only if Europe is conceived of as an organism. We must be fully aware of what this means, must grasp all the effects of this new state of affairs and try consistently to bring all its potentialities to fulfillment."

The actual terminology, let alone the concepts, contained in this statement will be familiar to anyone who has bothered to read the works of Haushofer or his disciples. It was a view that could be readily incorporated in Hitler's program for a United Europe. This does not imply that Adenauer supported the Nazis as such. It is to say, however, that the ideas of Haushofer did not merely find their influence among the Nazis alone but were absorbed consciously or unconsciously by all Germans even those who professed to be anti-Nazi. This is the fundamental point that must be borne in mind in order to understand's Adenauer's "United Europe."

Adenauer's Friends

It is significant that the introduction to Adenauer's book was written by Prof. Ernest Jackh, founder and former President of the "Hochschule für Politik" in Berlin. Prof. Jackh declares that the above mentioned program was framed by Adenauer and himself. Haushofer's Institut für Geopolitik had close ties with the Hochschule für Politik. Prof Haushofer's son Albrecht was head of the geopolitical seminar in that school, "a key position in the training of military and civilian officers of state" (German Strategy of World Conquest, by Derwent Whittlesey). Prof. Jackh writes that Theodor Heuss, now President of the Federal Republic, hailed this program. As pointed out in the No. 45 issue of Prevent World War III, Heuss was the intimate collaborator and pupil of Friedrich Naumann, a leading exponent of the idea of a Pan-German Europe. In 1916 Naumann wrote a book "Middle Europe" in which he called for the organization of a European power bloc dominated by Germany.

Methods and Objectives

As mentioned above, Dr. Adenauer has been one of the most ardent advocates of a United Europe since the end of the war. Dr. Adenauer saw in the united Europe the opportunity of attaining two goals, (a) gaining U. S. economic and political support for the rapid revival of Germany's industrial power; (b) Germany's domination over Western Europe whose resources would be employed for the furtherance of Germany's ambitions.

Insofar as the first objective was concerned, Dr. Adenauer knew that the American people would support any plausible proposition which on the surface would do away with some of the causes that have involved American arms and men in European wars. It was his belief that the United States would give special attention to Germany's needs once the Germans were able to convince our policy makers that Germany was the most determined and reliable exponent of the united Europe idea. In a statement before the Bonn Parliament on May 26, 1950, Adenauer admonishes his fellow politicians to champion the concept of Western European integration. *"Let us be quite clear about it,"* the Chancellor said, *"if in such an important matter we were to oppose the efforts of the United States to bring about a united Europe, the United States would not maintain in the future her pro-German policy."*

The knowledge that the U. S. would go all out in support of such a program made it comparatively easy for the Germans to put across the idea that European integration depended on the rebirth of Germany's power even at the expense of her neighbors. On April 3, 1950, he exclaimed, "If Germany is gone, Europe will be gone." On May 22, 1950, he reiterated this theme, "there will be no strong Europe without Germany."

The implication of Dr. Adenauer's remarks was spelled out in more concrete terms by one of his close associates, Dr Walter Strauss. In a speech on January 7, 1949, he outlined the terms that would create "a better future for the whole of Europe." Toward accomplishing this objective he said, "it should be appreciated that the German claim is for priority to be given to the requirements of the German economy in the interest of a reconstruction of the German economy without which there can be no reconstruction of the European economy." Thus, the united Europe slogan created many opportunities for the Germans. Adenauer recognized that, given the establishment of such institutions as the Coal and Steel Community (the Schuman Plan), all Allied controls over Germany's war potential would be removed. Everything possible must be done, he declared, "to incorporate Western Germany into Western Europe economically and politically" (New York Times 4-3-50). His frequent demands that there should be prompt integration, received the enthusiastic support of Germany's leading industrialists They too shared Adenauer's view that the creation of a continental economic bloc "would enable German heavy industry to escape the consequences of losing the war . . ." (Carolus, The Nation 6-24-50).

For similar reasons Adenauer spared no effort to set up the European Defense Community. However, since Germany was suspected in Europe, Adenauer preferred that this project be sponsored in the first place by others. "Germans could not propose it without risking the impression that it was simply a cunning maneuver to unlock the occupation shackles and revive the Wehrmacht. But when the enemy from across the Rhine proposed it in 1950, Konrad Adenauer could more easily champion it" (Time Magazine 1-4-55). Though the European Defense Community treaty was ultimately defeated, Adenauer succeeded in throwing off the few remaining controls over the German powerhouse. This was the precondition for accomplishing the next objective, i.e., Germany's domination of Western Europe. The idea that an uncontrolled Western Germany would, in a short time, secure hegemony over Western Europe was recognized by Adenauer In a press interview (1-23-49) he stressed the importance of a united wes ern Europe to act as a Third Force between Soviet Russia and the United States. A correspondent for the Overseas News Agency reported that Adenauer "made it quite plain that Germany should in his view be the dominant power of such a coalition.

Adenauer's view that Germany would dominate an integrated Europe seems to have been shared by high officials in the United States. James Reston reported: "It is now recognized in official quarters that the potential economic and military power of Western Germany is so great that it is likely to dominate any purely Western European economic or military organization" (N. Y. Times 4-26-50).

"Reinsurance With the East"

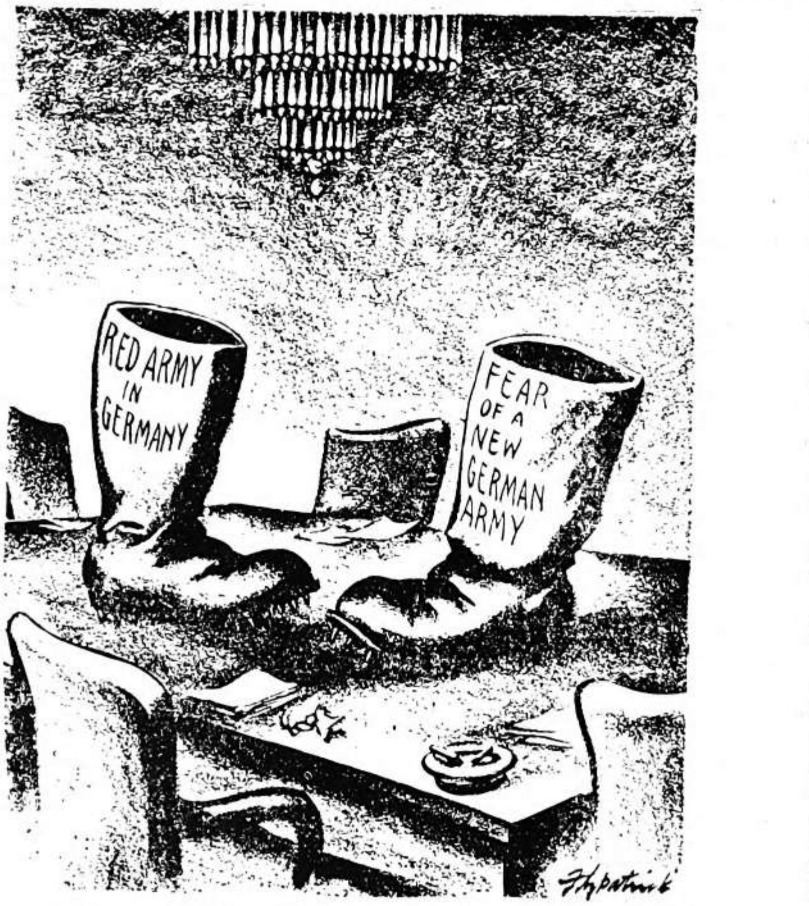
Thus it becomes clear that Adenauer's stumping for a United Europe was but a means to an end. It was not going to create the kind of Europe envisaged by statesmen in the Western democracies. It would not be directed toward cultivating democratic principles and strengthening the bonds of friendship with the U. S. It was going to be a German creation and would be employed to further German end. This was the conclusion reached by Walter Lippmann five years ago when he wrote that by the process of integration "the Germans will acquire such independent power that they can have a foreign policy of their own." He pointed out that such a foreign policy would ultimately involve "a Bismarckian policy of 'reinsurance' with the East" (New York Herald Tribune 5-11-50). Recognizing this danger Mr. Lippmann declared that it would be necessary for Germany's chief partner in such an integration scheme, France, to be kept fully informed with respect to any German negotiations with the East. In 1954 Herr Adenauer viewed this question in another light. By hat time Germany was sure of its trength and reborn power. Therefore, at he Brussels Conference (1954), Aden- uer was able to boast, "in any race for ussian favors Western Germany, not rance, is the likeliest winner."

In conceiving the further development his version of the western unity idea, denauer has insisted that in due time all Europe must be incorporated in order make her "once more a significant mponent in world politics and in the orld economy." Thus, Adenauer's Third rce involved all of Europe from the hannel to the borders of Russia. In the tradition of Haushofer he declared that "the age of national states has come to an end." And in the same tradition he excepted Germany. "A nation like Germany with one of the first seats in mankind's history has a claim to feel along nationalistic lines . . ." (New York Times 8-14-49). The doom of other nations and the shining future of the German nation was described in more precise terms by a member of Adenauer's cabinet, Dr. Hans Seebohm: *"Does free Europe want to join Germany? Germany is the heart of Europe and the limbs must adjust themselves to the heart, not the heart to the limbs"* (9-15-41).

Adenauer has viewed a federated western Europe as a base upon which all of Europe could be united. He has admitted that this could only be achieved through negotiations with the Soviet Union. This explains his statement of July 1, 1953: "Already today the states of the European Schuman Plan have formed a market of 157 million people. Thus from the point of view of the Russian economy these countries represent a highly interesting trade partner. Years ago there was a time when the economy of Germany and Russia complemented one another in a magnificent way. The economy of an integrated Europe, including Germany, could do vastly more. The greater the economic integration (between Western Europe and Russia), the greater the political security."

The "Third Power"

What could be the basis for a Soviet-German understanding? It is a well known fact that the Soviet Union regards the presence of American troops in Europe as a major obstacle to her own designs. It is also a fact that the Soviets would like to see an independent force in Europe that would make the United States give up its bases. This is precisely what a federated Europe under German aegis would achieve. A federated Europe under those conditions would be an independent force controlling vast resources and hundreds of millions of people. Six years ago, Adenauer stated, *"In the face of the two big world powers there is no chance left for Europe if it*


RED ARMY IN GERMANY
FEAR OF A NEW GERMAN ARMY

THE CONVERSATION PIECES ARE STILL THERE

(Fitzpatrick, Courtesy The St. Louis Post Dispatch)

does not unite to form a Third World Power to meet the massive threats from outside" (St. Louis Post Dispatch 11-6-49). In an article written exclusively for the New York Times, he returned to this point: "In the interest of world peace, it is absolutely necessary for a third power to arise. Only a federated Europe can be that third power. This federated Europe would never be as mighty as Soviet Russia or the United States. And by virtue of its internal structure it could never be an aggressor. The countries that made it up would be unalterably opposed to war, because they have had enough of it. But such a power as a united Europe could throw her weight in favor of peace at crucial moments, when the tensions between the two great powers grow too alarming . . ."

It will be noted that in his concept of a third power to "protect the peace," the United States is regarded as one of the massive threats to Europe. This is made even clearer in a statement by one of Germany's leading newspapers, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (9-4-52): "Western Germany should follow a policy of co-operation with the Western powers. But this must never lead to a situation in which Germany becomes the battlefield and the Germans cannon fodder . . . When, however, against all expectations and reasons, the Americans should start an aggression against the East, disregarding our determination and probably those of other Europeans to stay out of the war, then we should not be forced into participation in a war just for the reason the Americans had helped us in our rearmament. In such a case, the superior strength of Europe should then be automatically directed against any disturbance of peace that comes from the West."

The Bulletin issued by the German Federal Government also speaks about this new "balance of power." It declares that European integration was "of paramount importance"; that "an integrated Europe would not *by itself* (our italic) threaten Russia. The integration of Europe has become "a necessity for the stabilization of the balance of power urged by the trend of our times: to form supranational communities on the various continents." Here again there is a hint to Russia that a united Europe, independent of the U. S., would not be a threat to the East. This is the only meaningful interpretation of the words "by itself" italicized above. Finally, we can see in this balance of power theory the geopolitical dreams of Prof. Haushofer. In practice, the German concept of a Third Power Bloc would be directed against the United States.

The Climax

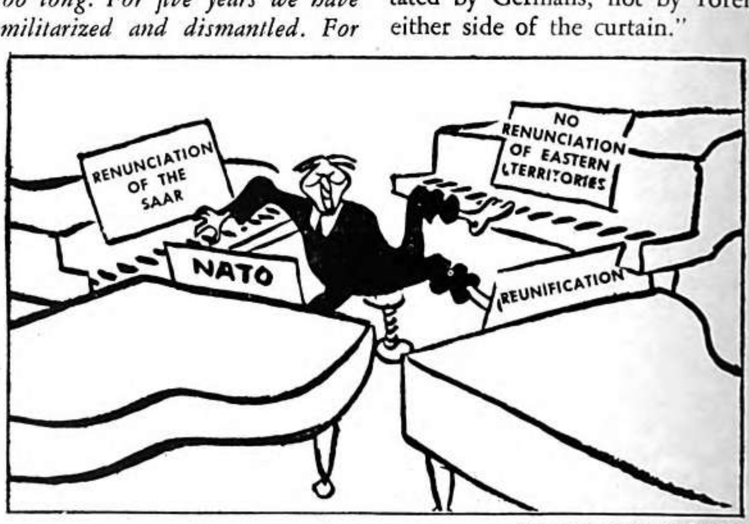
The climax of Adenauer's united Europe policy occurred when he undertook unilateral negotiations with the Soviet Union. This was the logical result of his previous policies which had enabled Germany to achieve a paramount position in Western Europe. Thus, in the words of a prominent West German newspaper, the Adenauer mission to Moscow marked the end of "his one-sided pro-Western policy . . ." (New York Times 9-18-55).

That Adenauer is a faithful student of German Realpolitik, the handmaiden of Haushofer's geopolitical theories, will be denied by his admirers. They will point out "unswerving" loyalty to the western cause. They will cite chapter and verse "proving" how Adenauer has fought the unreconstructed nationalists and other foes of western democracy. We must admit that it is difficult to penetrate Adenauer's armor but here and there we have found chinks which, in our opinion, deflate his uncompromising support of democratic concepts and principles.

The same Adenauer who has spoken of his eternal friendship for the Allies, has condemned the Allied denazification policy and the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. Here is what he said: *"Germany has been besmirched, insulted and degraded too long. For five years we have been demilitarized and dismantled. For five years we have had war crimes trial. and the German soldier has been maligned and insulted."* It was the same Adenauer who once warned the West. *"it was the German Army and not the German people that capitulated and this the world had better remember."* These are statements which are not at all in line with the Adenauer that the American people are accustomed to hear. The New York Times chief foreign correspondent C. L. Sulzberger once described Adenauer in terms which we believe are realistic and by no means unfair to the old gentleman: "Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has achieved a job of statesmanship which, if it continues to success, will rival that of Talleyrand after Napoleon's defeat. Under the cloak of "Euorpean" concepts and integration with the West. the farsighted and single-minded Chancellor has never forgotten Germany's aspiration to group all Teutons within one border.

"He talks freely about the need to return German emigres to their former homelands in present-day Poland. He wants to achieve his aims peacefully, but this does not mean he does not intend some day to see them accomplished. And what applies to Poland also applies as surely to Czechoslovakia and other lands.

"This old man has seen the disasters that arise from what might be termed the 'Grafenwoehr type of thinking.' He is not in any undue hurry. Aided by ideological jealousies and intra-Allied cleavages, he quietly pursues what is probably the only long-range policy being applied in Germany today, a German policy dictated by Germans, not by foreigners on either side of the curtain."



Braunschweigische Presse

BONN'S DIPLOMATIC VIRTUOSO
Adenauer's piece for 4 pianos.

The Ruhr and Cairo

By WILLIAM RICHARDSON

Responsible observers here believe a powerful neo-Nazi etwork is operating on both sides of the Iron Curtain to elp the Kremlin engineer the Russian-Egyptian arms deal ow threatening Middle East peace.

German generals probably advised Premier Nasser to buy ed arms and Ruhr industrialists working through Egypt and pain—while openly flirting in recent weeks with the Eastern loc—helped clinch the deal.

The facts are these: Shortly after suffering humiliating deat from Israel, ex-King Farouk imported high-ranking Gerian generals and admirals to act as his shadow general staff. hese were full time officers who collected a cadre of several ore technicians, strategists and training experts. Other ex-enerals commute regularly between the Ruhr and Cairo as ilitary consultants—and with business assignments from erman industrialists and import-export firms.

After Farouk many of these officers were retained by Gen. laguib and Nasser. Experts here do not believe there is the ightest doubt these ex-Nazi generals gave at least technical lvice to Nasser on capabilities of Red weapons.

Egypt's reported purchase of Russian motor torpedo boats considered definite proof of this; it is known that ex-Nazi ival officers have long advised Egypt to tighten the naval ockade of Israel. They have even tried with the aid of Geran technicians to manufacture two-man submarines for this urpose as long ago as 1952.

This network extends into South America, Spain and the iddle East. It is particularly strong in Spain where the pillar the German colony is Otto Skorzeny, Hitler's triggerman ho rescued Mussolini and was once assigned in wartime to sassinate Gen. Eisenhower. Skorzeny has close family ties with financial wizard Hjalmar Schacht who lately has turned financial adviser to Middle East governments.

Now, it has been definitely learned only last week that Egypt has been the trading link between Russia and Spain. Russia imported Spanish mercury in return for oil products which were cleared through Egypt. Many economic experts believe neo-Nazis in Spain engineered this. Russian and Spanish embassies last week in Paris began unofficial trade talks.

In recent months Egypt has pushed closer to the Communist orbit. Nasser has signed trade agreements with Russia, Red China, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania. Soviets have been quite open about their intentions to infiltrate the Middle East although the U. S. State Dept. has curiously given this little publicity.

But Kremlin strategy extends beyond the Moslem world. Molotov has told spanish journalists he would not oppose Spain's entry into the U. N. Communist officials in Moscow have openly said they want to extend relations with the Mediterranean bloc—which is an Arab-Spanish affair except in the North—into other Latin countries such as Argentina. It's a long way from Egypt to Argentine, both geographically and ethically, but this Arab-Spanish bloc has a strategic economic continuity—and it has been peentrated by neo-Nazi experts all along the line. A far bigger pattern was beginning to emerge today from this new Soviet move than was first acknowledged. After all, Stalin and Hitler both had the same ambitions to control the oil-rich strategic Middle East as the gateway to wealth and victory. *(Courtesy, N. Y. Post)*

"The political idea that Germany must ally herself with the East is a very old one in German foreign policy—before and after the Bolshevik revolution.

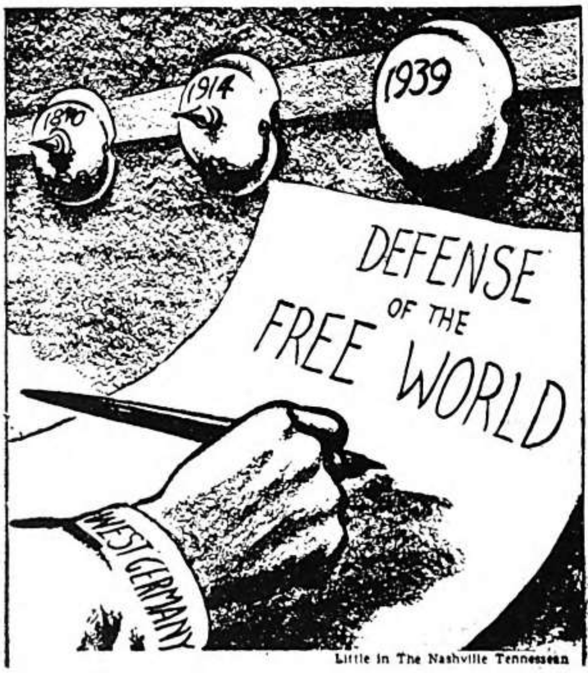
"The concept was an important factor in Frederick the Great's schemes 200 years ago.

"It figured in Iron Chancellor Bismarck's policy during the second half of the 19th Century, it arose again when Hitler sealed his 1939 bargain with Stalin to protect his back while invading Poland and attacking the West in World War II . . .

"Not only did the German generals aid the Bolsheviks during World War I but they laid the groundwork for the modern Red Army.

"In their machinations to circumvent the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty, the German high command made secret deals whereby German military experts and German munitions men built airplane and tank factories in Russia . . ."

(N. Y. Journal American, 9-7-55)


1870
1914
1939
DEFENSE OF THE FREE WORLD
WEST GERMANY
Little in The Nashville Tennessean

"An old fighting man signs up on a new side."

Items of Interest

JUST A START

"West German steel mills have begun to import large quantities of pig iron from the Soviet Union. One hundred thousand tons are en route, according to Handelsblatt, West Germany's leading economic newspaper . . ."

"The import of 100,000 tons of pig iron from the Soviet Union is regarded as an event of significance for a future trade pattern between the two countries . . ." (M. S. Handler, N. Y. Times, 8-21-55)

* * *

HOME AGAIN

"Werner Naumann, chief figure of a neo-Nazi cause celebre of 1953, showed up again at a meeting of the small, extreme rightist German Reich party in Hannover.

"Two years ago Mr. Naumann, a former top official in the Nazi Propaganda Ministry, was arrested by the British on a charge of conspiracy to overthrow the present democratic order in West Germany . . .

"The German Reich party's program includes opposition to Bonn's alliance with the Western World. The party demands the revival of true German national feeling."

(By Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald Triune, 9-30-55)

* * *

"ON ITS OWN TERMS"

"The West German Border Police let it be known to the Adenauer government that it would allow itself to be incorporated in the new German army solely on its own terms.

"The border police consist of 18,000 men, and its commanders have submitted a memorandum to the government in which four conditions were mentioned as to their integration in the army . . .

"The four points in the conditions submitted by the commanders are:

"1) That all units of the border police must be taken over as complete integral units by the army in their present organizational structure;

"2) That the officers of the border police will in no manner be subjected to political investigation by the Defense Ministry or by the civilian Bundestag committee;

"3) That the officers of the border police must retain their present rank; and

"4) That a certain number of police officers must receive ranking jobs in the Defense Department.

"Government officials have stated that numerous officers and enlisted members (of the border police) threatened to leave the service if these four conditions were not met.

"The border police is the only trained and well-disciplined combat group from which three army divisions could be formed immediately."

(N. Y. Staatz-Zeitung, 11-16-55)

ALL OVER AGAIN

"Franz von Papen returned to the Saar Sunday and voted 'nein' in the referendum in which the territory rejected international status. He left yesterday after being serenaded by the firemen's band and two choirs in Metlach, where he has a farm. Von Papen was Germany's last pre-Hitler chancellor and helped bring Hitler to power. As a special ambassador he helped persuade the Saar to vote for a return to Germany in 1935. He was barred after World War II but allowed to return Sunday to vote."

(N. Y. World-Telegram Sun, 10-25-55)

* * *

"LEBENSRAUM"

"Questions on currency devaluation were put Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the German banker and economist, at a Press conference in London . . .

"Asked whether inflation in Britain might give Germany the opportunity to take her place in the world markets, Dr. Schacht was non-committal . . .

"Among other points made by Dr. Schacht was that Germany should be allowed entrance to mandated territories on the same basis as Britain and France. Germany had the food, he said; she needed the raw materials . . ."

(Financial Times, 8-16-55)

* * *

THE "NEW" COMPETITOR

"West German business men are 'outbidding and outselling' both Americans and Russians in Egypt and India, William Kretzer, industrial designer and builder, said on his return from Cairo. Mr. Kretzer said the majority of buses in Cairo and Alexandria are o German make and about 50 per cent of the taxis in Cairo are also of German manufacture . . ."

(N. Y. Times, 11-14-55)

* * *

"NOTABLE TRIUMPH"

"A former Nazi diplomat has been appointed chief European advisor to King Saud of Saudi Arabia, the Daily Mail reported from Beirut. He is Otto von Henting, head of the Arab Section of Von Ribbentrop's Foreign Office.

"The Daily Mail correspondent says that this is a notable triumph for German Middle East policy. The Bonn Government has been trying desperately to regain influence in the region by placing political and military advisors throughout the area. It has achieved considerable success in Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia, the correspondent added. He said the appointment of von Hentig appears to be made because King Saud wants an advisor 'who can be relied upon to support him' in his efforts to disrupt the Turkish-Iraqi-British pact."

(J. T. A., 8-16-55)

TRONG PRESSURE"

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer is coming under rong home-front pressure to modify West Germany's liance with the Western powers in a move to get ussia to agree to German unification.

"The leader of his own coalition ally, the strong Free emocratic Party, has just joined the growing chorus criticism directed at the Paris rearmament treaties.

"FDP Chairman Thomas Dehler jolted Adenauer and s supporters with a declaration that 'reunification the basis of the Paris treaties is impossible.'

"Dehler said these treaties 'must not bind Germany definitely' . . . He urged direct negotiations between oscow and Bonn to end the division of Germany, ying:

" 'The first prerequisite for German unification is a mmon understanding with the Russians. To this end e future diplomatic relations between West Germany d the Soviet Union must be utilized. Direct discussons between the two nations will be more important an the Geneva Conference.' . . ."

(The Washington Post and Times Herald, 9-28-55)

★

IE NEW PARTNERSHIP

"There is more than passing significance to recent ws reports here of meetings between Communist ina's Mao Tse-Tung, and a Japanese gentleman by e name of Fusanosuke Kuhara . . .

"The interesting part about Mr. Kuhara's pilgrimage Peking is that, far from being a leftist or sympathizer, r. Kuhara is generally regarded as one of the prer brand of ultranationalists. His name, in fact, was osely related to those jingoist youths who committed e famous assassinations of Japanese Government icials in 1932 and 1936 . . .

". . . While Mao's Communist legions were still far m victory, Mr. Kuhara forecast that a new and unid China would emerge—within three to five years—der Communist leadership. And he further forecast at the new China, because its leaders would be imarily Oriental in their thinking, would ultimately ovide a third force in world affairs. Mr. Kuhara then nt on to give his views—and incidentally those of wide group of Japanese rightist thinkers—on the rise Asian power . . .

"Mr. Kuhara then concluded by outlining an ambius plan for the establishment of a 'United States of ia,' which would include Japan, Manchuria, Korea, lia, and both Nationalist and Communist China . . ."

(The Christian Science Monitor, 11-9-55)

★

ST TALK

'Krupps stated that a visit to Moscow last week by e of its representatives was for preliminary talks and locomotive orders were secured or were likely to secured in the near future. Further, reports about omotive orders for Portugal were 'entirely wrong' d no orders have been booked."

(The Financial Times, 11-1-55)

THE "VICTIMS" OF DENAZIFICATION

"Jeannette Wolff, SPD member of Bundestag, stated that the widows of those high officers who were executed after the 20th July 1944 get 170-250 DM per month, but the Nazi mayor of Bielefeld, Budde, district leader of the NSDAP, got 21,000 DM; the former Nazi mayor of Dortmund, Dr. Pagenkopf, a SA major, got an after-payment of 42,000 DM; the former Nazi president of police of Luebeck, who was later an SS general in Riga, receives a pension of 1,000 DM per month and claims 50,000 DM as compensation; the former Gauleiter of Swabia, Karl Wahl, received from Augsburg a compensation of 12,000 DM, and the former Nazi mayor of Osnabrueck, Dr. Hans Wildgassen, who worked with Gauleiter Florian, receives 950 DM."

(Bulletin on German Questions, 9-3-55)

★

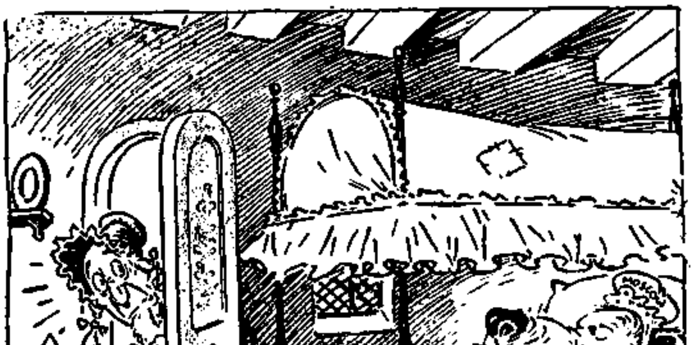
ECHOES OF THE PAST

"Few of the thousands of Germans who have just returned home from Soviet prison camps are still confirmed Nazis, but most have come back with intensely nationalistic feelings, kindled by the intoxicating welcome they have received . . .

"Perhaps the most nationalistic among the returned prisoners are the majors and colonels . . .

"Among these, too, there appears to be the highest percentage of unrepenting Nazis. Some had barely put aside their treasured uniform coats when they began lecturing reporters and fellow returnees on 'the need for national discipline' and the value of the 'Führer-prinzip' (the leadership principle propagated by Nazi theorists) . . ."

(The Christian Science Monitor, 11-18-55)


Germany
CONCESSION BY ADENAUER FOR FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

THE STORY OF LITTLE SAMMY RIDIN' HOOD

(Courtesy N. Y. Herald Tribune)

"THE BIG PITCH"

"To German industry the vast areas of Russia and Soviet Europe always seem to ripple with as many grains of profit as they do with wheat . . .

"Today in the rebuilt, feverishly active industrial complex of the Ruhr, the old feeling is coming back. Here in the heartland of slag and steel, stolid industrialists become excited when they listen to invited speakers talk in terms of East-West trade.

"Most of these speakers, by the way, are deeply conservative, backbone-of-the-community type characters. They all try to project the past into a big West German boom. The big pitch is that German business had better get into the East-West trade act first and fastest with the best before anyone else does . . ."

(Seymour Freidin, N. Y. Post, 9-20-55)

★

"HOME, SWEET HOME"

"John J. McCloy, former United States High Commissioner in Germany, arrived here by plane and upon landing at Tempelhof Airdrome stated, in German: 'I am at home' . . ."

(N. Y. Staats-Zeitung und Herald, 10-24-55)

★

NO COMMENT

"The German Embassy called in the German consul in Detroit to hear his reply to an accusation of "meddling in American politics."

"This accusation was made against the consul, Dr. W. H. Von Almsick, by G. Vernon Leopald, a young attorney who was a refugee from the Nazi regime.

"Leopold took exception to what he called efforts by Von Almsick to 'propagandize' on behalf of a bill to restore to the owners German and Japanase assets in this country seized during World War II . . ."

(A. P., 11-28-55)

★

KRUPP AND CYRUS EATON, CLEVELAND

". . . A union of western European communities will bring together a group of countries capable of producing 50,000,000 tons of steel and 250,000,000 of coal, according to Dr. Fritz W. Hardach.

"Dr. Hardach is general manager of the Krupp coal and steel properties. Arriving with him in Cleveland were Dr. Rudolf W. Rasch, managing director of Ilseder Huette AG, which administers large coal, steel and ore properties, and Dr. Herbert M. Gross, an economic consultant . . .

"Dr. Hardach visualized the economic community as 'a supernational government' for the good of western Europe. It comprises Germany, France, Belgium and Luxemburg . . .

"Krupp interests, Dr. Hardach added, are still negotiating with representatives of Cyrus S. Eaton, Cleveland industrialist, about purchasing medium-grade iron ore shipped from Eaton holdings in the Ungava region of northern Quebec near the Arctic Circle . . ."

(Cleveland Plain Dealer, 10-20-55)

OPERATION "U. S. A."

"A second German diesel manufacturer has sized up the U. S. market and decided to come in. Last spring, Daimler-Benz announced plans for a U. S plant. Now, Kloeckner-Humboldt-Deutz says it's dickering with a 'large heavy machinery manufacturer not now in diesels' to set up a joint U. S. operation...

"Deutz, Germany's largest diesel builder, has high hopes for its air-cooled diesel in the U. S. market. The company had a plant in Philadelphia before World War I but withdrew from the American scene when diesel patents ran out in the 1920s. Its New York sales office, opened in 1951, is expected to do $500,000 worth of business this year."

(Business Week, 10-1-55)

★

OPERATION "CANADA"

"Construction has been started in Saskatchewan's capital city of Regina on a $3,000,000 steel pipe plant established there by the Hoesch Werke Company of Dortmund, Germany.

"The new plant will be the company's first production unit outside Germany . . ."

(Christian Science Monitor, 10-26-55)

★

IN HONOR

"Four hundred veterans of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's Afrika Panzer Army gathered in the dusty Libyan port of Tobruk to honor the memory of the Germans who fell in the North Afica campaign of World War II. The memorial is near Tobruk harbor, still dotted with the wrecks of ships sunk there during the siege of 1942."

(N. Y. World-Telegram Sun, 11-21-55)

★

GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

"Hitler and his ideas were eulogized in a speech by the neo-Nazi author, Hans Grimm, at a public meeting of supporters of the neo-Nazi publication, 'Nation Europa.' "

(JCNS, 9-30-55)

"The State Department's professed joy over the outcome of Chancellor Adenauer's Moscow mission is hard to fathom . . .

"What is most disturbing about the hoopla over Germany is the failure of a single leading American figure of either party to concede that the time for reappraisal of our German policy is at hand. The case for a unified, neutralized, demilitarized Germany — guaranteed against aggression—is more compelling now in wide areas of Europe than ever before. But it is not even a subject of serious public debate in the U. S. . . ."

(Editorial, N. Y. Post, 9-15-55)

Pan-Germanism Rides Again

Five years ago the former Dean of the House of Representatives, the late Congressman Adolph J. Sabath, charged that he Germans were "trying to make political capital of their expellee problem." Congressman Sabath based his accusations on an analysis of the German refugee problem published in the Summer 1950 issue (No. 35) of Prevent World War II, which he had inserted in the Congressional Record.

From the very beginning, the Society warned that the Germans were deliberately distorting the problems confronting the refugees. In the article cited by Congressman Sabath, we declared that the Germans had aggravated the plight of the refugees "to extort more and more concessions from the American taxpayers."

It goes without saying that the influx n West Germany of these refugees and xpellees created initial difficulties. On he other hand we showed that contrary o the allegations of the German authorities, much could be accomplished in the way of alleviating conditions for the expellees and refugees with the view toward absorbing them in the West German economy. Current reports and analyses ndicate that the refugees have been making a decisive contribution in connection with the rapid recovery of the German conomy. One authority on this subject, rof. H. C. Wallich, writes: "But the refugees did not remain a burden exclusively. It is hardly possible to increase the population of a country by 25 percent without making some impact on production. As time went on, the refugees were bsorbed into the gathering German boom. They were willing to work hard, or low wages and on the roughest jobs. Starting from scratch, they were under desperate pressure to make good. Some f them were aided by special skills, and a few succeeded in quickly rebuilding the enterprises they had lost in their former homes. In the aggregate they greatly raised German national income above what it would have been without them" (The Yale Review, Summer 1955).

Ulterior Motives

In spite of the fact that the German economy has absorbed these people and s benefited thereby, the false propaganda continues. This too confirms what we said five years ago, i.e. that the refugee problem was being played up for ulterior motives: *"It is being used to assault every remaining safeguard against the resurgence of Pan-Germanism and neo-Nazism. It is also employed as a weapon to discredit and injure Allied prestige . . ."*

Among the more vociferous of the expellee groups are the Sudeten Germans, many of whom were expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War II because of their fifth column work on behalf of the Nazis. The Sudeten Germans are well organized. Their propaganda has spread throughout Western Europe as well as in the United States. It has found its way into the Congressional Record. Indeed, the official organ of this group "Sudeten Bulletin" (July-August 1955) announced that the Federation of Expellee Associations would establish a public relations office in Washington, D. C., not only to represent the expellees' interests but "to combat the many factual misrepresentations which have been so widely disseminated by a number of non-German exile groups."

The announcement mentioned that the man slated to head this outfit in the United States, was Dr. Richard Sallet. Dr. Sallet is known to old newspaper hands as an ardent supporter of the Nazis during the 1930s. As a matter of fact, he conducted an "educational" campaign right here in the U. S. A. designed to create appreciation for "the wonders" that were being accomplished in Germany under Hitler. Dr. Sallet is a Ribbentrop diplomat and was known as a "specialist" on American affairs.

The "Sacred Mission"

Of course, leaders of the Sudeten expellees pose as vigorous anti-Communists but they show little energy in espousing the cause of democracy and respect for the truth. They have little in common with those who are working for the rebirth of genuine democracy in Eastern Europe. On the contrary, as we shall presently see, they have utter contempt for democratic principles. In many respects they operate in a manner that can only give aid and comfort to the present regimes in Eastern Europe. The London Economist once said of these characters, "These are the men who represent a dangerous hotbed of nationalist ideas."

The London Economist was not exaggerating. This can be seen by the speeches and statements made by Sudeten leaders. We have before us the text of an address delivered by a leader of the Sudeten Germans, Rudolf Lodgman von Auen on the occasion of a rally at Nuremberg (the rallying place of so many Nazi get-togethers). Herr von Auen told his cheering audience that Germandom was an irresitable force. "The word 'Reich' means more than princely dominion, kingdom or republic. It embraces a universal and ideological task and is not like the state, dependent on boundaries or frontiers." He alluded to the history of Germany's three Reichs. While he expressed disappointment that Hitler's Reich "toppled after a meager twelve" years, he asserted Germany's sacred mission to reestablish the Reich "even to the point of annexing German territory." Von Auen is purposely vague as to what constitutes "German" territory.

Proceeding from the necessity of recreating a fourth Reich, von Auen launched a bitter tirade against the Czechoslovakian people. He recalled how Hitler had threatened the Czechosovakians and reaffirmed the determination of the Sudeten Germans to revive Hitler's "Drang nach Osten." Germany has a "holy mission" and "we expellees in our unique situation have the special obligation to win our eastern neighbors to the idea of a European Federation . . . ." Before concluding his remarks, von Auen attacked the great democratic leaders of the Czechoslovakian people Thomas Masaryk and Edvard Benes whom he accused of being imperialistic and of having sold out "to Bolshevism."

Von Auen was not the first German to attack the genuine former democratic leaders of Czechoslovakia. Hitler too smeared Masaryk and Benes. His henchman Konrad Henlein, leader of the Nazi party in Czechoslovakia, also denounced the democratic leaders of Czechoslovakia as the "Hussite Bolshevik criminals of Prague."

The idea of browbeating the Czechs did not die with Hitler. Von Auen demonstrates that he has not forgotten the methods of his late Führer. Another article in the Sudeten Bulletin (October 1955) by Albert K. Simon warns the Czechoslovakian people that they can no longer depend upon the Western Powers for protection against the Germans. He further declares that the Czechs must recognize Germany's "rights" in Czechoslovakia.

These are but a sampling of the kind of speeches and articles which are found in the Sudeten Bulletin. They are frank in their hatred of the Czechoslovakian people and equally blunt in the belief that the Czechs as well as all other European nations had better recognize Germany's superior position in Europe—or else!

The "Echos"

As mentioned above, this chauvinistic propaganda extolling the idea of Deutschland über Alles, has been circulating in the United States. The most persistent purveyors of this line are pro-German journalists and important sections of the German language press. The German language paper Nord Amerika is notorious in this respect. Among its contributing writers is Austin J. App. Professor of a college in Texas, he has been exposed in previous issues of this magazine as an apologist for German war criminals. On September 1, 1955, he devoted an entire column to the "injustices" suffered by the Sudeten Germans and accused former President Truman of playing a major role in the expulsion of the Sudetens from Czechoslovakia. *"By his (President Truman's) signature,"* App writes, *"the American Government became co-responsible for the greatest crime in history . . ."* In a subsequent column devoted to this subject (10-27-55), Professor App delivers an ultimatum to the West. The West, he warns, must turn over all territories claimed by the Germans or *"the Germans will have to undertake to end the 'unnatural' quarterings and amputations themselves."* Only by acceding to Germany's demands, Mr. App declares, will the world be allowed to live in peace. Concluding his war-like fulminations, App echoes the Pan-German slogan *"justice requires a Germany united from the Maas to the Memel and the Etch to the Belt, as the old song says."*

Another influential exponent of this hate campaign against Germany's neighbors is the Steuben Society which has already been exposed as a Pan-German outfit. In a telegram (published in the Steuben News, August-September 1955), addressed to the Sudeten rally at Nuremberg mentioned above, the National Council of the Steuben Society affirmed its loyalty to the Sudeten cause. The Council expressed the belief that in the not too distant future the cause would "win out over the infamy of 1945." The "infamy" is not identified. Could it be Germany's defeat? The same telegram discusses in racist terms the "Slav versus Teuton" struggle and hints that the proud Teutons will once again become overlords of Eastern Europe. In the same way as Mr. App denounced the Allied Powers, the Council of the Steuben Society tells their German brethren, "It is to the eternal shame of the Western Powers that they gave their approval to this rape" (Steuben News, August-September 1955).

It is interesting to note that the Steuben Society's slanders against the Western Allies and its Pan-German propaganda does not deter Pentagon officials from appearing as guests at rallies sponsored by this organization.

The "Legal" Approach

Though threats and racist propaganda are a constant feature in the publications of the Sudetens, they try at times to embellish their Hitler-like tirades with arguments that appear to be respectable. In the September 1955 issue of the Sudeten Bulletin such a piece appeared under the heading "Were the Sudeten Germans Disloyal?" The author is anonymous but he is supposed to be "a well

". . . This change in the vocal trends of German public opinion was accompanied by a softening process of newspaper articles about 'Life in Soviet Russia' . . . 'The Russian bear won't eat you,' was the gist of the wishful reports. 'Russia only wants security and protection from the threat of American encirclement. The Americans are the real danger. Look what they did in Yalta. It is they, not the Russians, who ought by right to help us to be reunited.' . . .

"These fantastic notions, disguised as Realpolitik, helped to bring 'reunification' to the forefront as a major psychological and political matter, and it united former Nazis, German nationalists, advocates of a Bismarckian Eastern Re-insurance policy and of a modern Rapallo, intellectuals, industrialists, Socialists and Communists. It was significant of this modern version of German nationalism that, its fighting spirit having expired, it should forge an alliance with pacifism and neutralism . . ."

(Roland Hill, The Tablet-London, 9-3-55)

SUCKERS AGAIN?

"Russia's obdurate scuttling of the Big Four conference is already being countered with a far-reaching plan to speed the rearming of West Germany.

"A major feature of this counter measure is a $2,000,000,000 bond issue to be sold to the public in both the U. S. and Germany . . .

"In addition to these bonds the U. S. would contribute another $3,000,000,000 in direct loans and military aid of various kinds . . .

"The Pentagon report stresses that Bonn expects the U. S. to bear a large portion of the rearmament costs.

"On that the report states significantly: 'The Adenauer government, taking into account only strictly military expenditures, estimates the total for the three-year period at about $15,000,000,000, less than half of which it expects to be paid by the German taxpayer.'

"The summary questions the view of Bonn officials about Germany's inability to pay for rearming. It is pointedly contended this is both underestimated and less than what other NATO countries are providing . . ."

(Robert S. Allen, N. Y. Post, 11-16-55)

known scholar of international law, eminently versed in Czechoslovak affairs." His dissertation turns out to be a pseudo-scholarly brief which is supposed to prove that the Sudeten Germans were loyal to Czechoslovakia up to the beginning of World War II. Their only crime, according to this authority, is that they endeavored to obtain "national self-determination without bloodshed." The writer does not hesitate to invoke the ideals of the American Revolution to support the Sudetens' cause but as the saying goes, even the devil can quote Scripture.

One who is not conversant with the tate of affairs in Czechoslovakia on the eve of the Munich Pact, may be ensnared by the facile arguments of this "savant" on international law. He devotes many words to legal concepts but he studiously avoids the essence of the question.

Loyalty versus disloyalty to tyranny or the right of a people to self-determination are basically irrelevant to the Sudeten question. In reality that question which brought on the Munich Pact followed by World War II, was manufactured to serve as a smoke screen for Hitler's strategy to conquer Europe and then the world. Talk about self-determination was merely sand to be thrown into the eyes of those people who saw vents from far away and mistook the fifth column work of the Sudeten Germans on behalf of the German General Staff for a democratic revolution comparable to our own Revolution of 1776.

It is fortunate for the cause of democacy that the Allies were able to secure German documentation which exposes the real motives behind the Nazi grab of the Sudetenland. This documentation is available to the public and much of it will be found in the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials documents, excerpts of which we quote below:

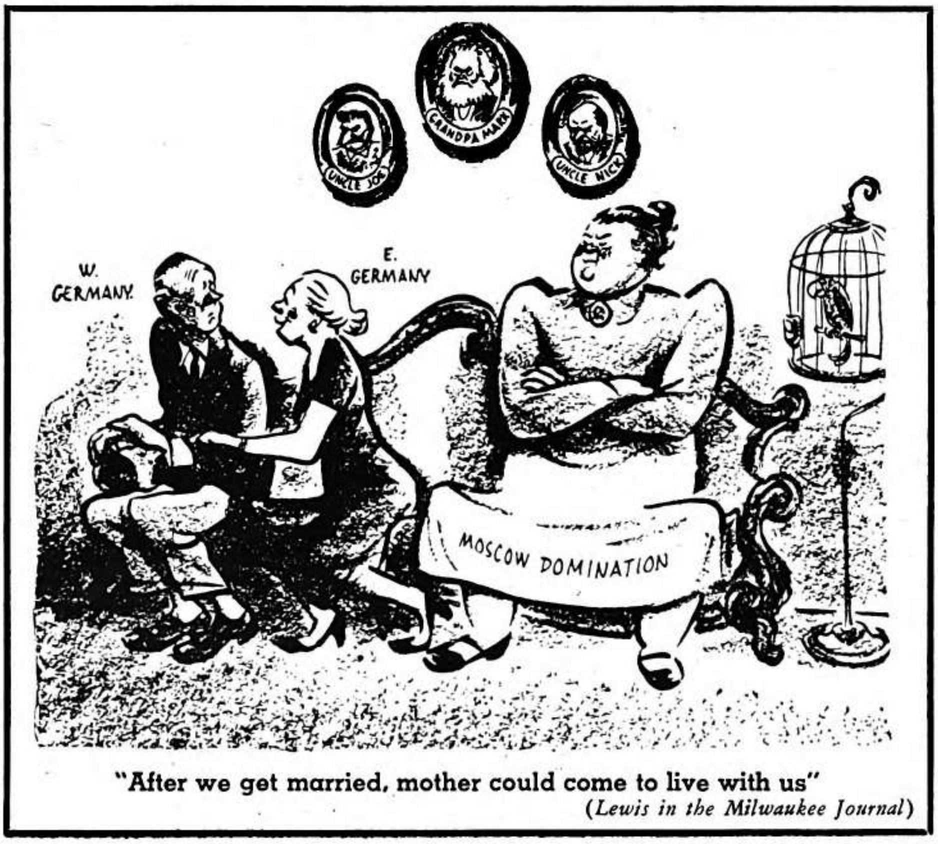
The Record

On November 5, 1937, Hitler delivered a lecture to his leading generals and political henchmen. The notes of this super-secret conference reveal Hitler's rategy and ultimate aims. They were faithfully recorded by Oberst Hossbach. The Führer outlined his plans for the izure of all Europe. According to the Nuremberg documents the implementaon of this program would "shorten ermany's frontiers . . . increase its industrial and food reserves . . . and . . . place it in a position both industrially and strategically, from which the Nazis could launch a more ambitious and more devastating campaign of aggression" (Vol. I, p. 515). Toward accomplishing this objective, the subjugation of Czechoslovakia was a "must."

Generals Keitel and Jodl (both hanged at Nuremberg for war crimes) initialed a memorandum dated June 18, 1938, wherein it was stated that in fighting a war against the West it was necessary to start "with the destruction of Czechoslovakia" (Vol. III, p. 326). On November 23, 1939, Hitler told his supreme military commanders that the conquering of Austria was a precondition for the seizure of Czechoslovakia and then Poland. Hitler declared that the successful accomplishment of this strategy would enable the Germans to concentrate their full might on the western front. "For the first time," the Führer boasted, "in 67 years, it must be made clear that we do not have a two front war to wage." He was confident that his recent pact with Russia would simplify Germany's military problems. Of course, the Germans eventually would attend to the Russians but, he said, "we can oppose Russia only when we are free in the West" (Vol. III, pp. 573, 575).

The direction of Hitler's main blow following the defeat of Czechoslovakia and Poland was described by Fritz Wiedemann, Hitler's Adjutant, in a sworn affidavit at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. Wiedemann described a conference between Hitler and the German General Staff on May 28, 1938. Hitler stated, "It is my unshakable will that Czechoslovakia will be wiped off the map . . ." He declared that the Germans would "first tackle the situation in the East, then I will give you 3-4 years time and then we will settle the situation in the West." Wiedemann admitted in his affidavit that the so-called situation in the West "was meant to be the war against England and France" (Vol. I, p. 521).

Czechoslovakia including the Sudeten territory were regarded as having enormous economic and strategic value. The top secret minutes of a conference with Goering in the Air Ministry, held on October 14, 1938—just two weeks after the occupation of the Sudetenland—reported: "The Sudetenland has to be exploited with all the means. General Field Marshal Goering counts upon a complete industrial assimilation of Slovakia. Czechia and Slovakia would become German dominions. Everything possible must



"After we get married, mother could come to live with us"
(Lewis in the Milwaukee Journal)

be taken out. The Oder-Danube Canal has to be speeded up. Searches for oil and ore have to be conducted in Slovakia, notably by State Secretary Keppler" (Vol. I, p. 580).

The minutes of another top secret meeting between Goering and leaders of the German High Command (7-27-39) read as follows: "In a rather long statement the Field Marshal explained that the incorporation of Bohemia and Moravia into the German economy had taken place, among other reasons, to increase the German war potential by exploitation of the industry there . . ." (Vol. I, p. 581).

Strategic Real Estate

As will be noted, these top secret meetings do not reveal any concern for the "oppressed" Sudetens. Indeed, like the rest of Czechoslovakia, the Sudetenland was regarded as an important piece of real estate from the point of view of increasing Germany's war potential. The leaders of the Sudeten Germans were aware of their real job. This was admitted by Konrad Henlein, the Nazi chieftain in the Sudetenland. For years the Henlein organization had operated as an agent of the German Government. When the Nazis came to power in Germany, they took over the control of Henlein's party in Czechoslovakia. A secret memorandum from the files of the German Foreign Office dated Berlin, August 19, 1938, discussed the subsidies granted to the Sudeten German party by the German Foreign Office "regularly since 1935 . . ." (Vol. I, p. 549). The Sudeten Germans under Henlein's guidance, pretended that they were free from foreign dictation, but Henlein dispensed with those pretenses in a speech in Vienna, March 4, 1941, in which he said: "In order to protect ourselves against Czech interference, we were compelled to lie and to deny our allegiance to the National Socialist cause. We should have preferred advocating National Socialism openly. However, it is doubtful whether in doing so, we would have been able to perform the task of destroying Czechoslovakia" (Vol. III, p. 659).

The task of the Sudetens was to undermine the democratic system of Cechoslovakia through propaganda, murder, terrorism, espionage and anti-Semitism. In this connection, Jan Papanek, a former Czech diplomat and staunch anti-Communist, quoted Herr Henlein as follows: "In the course of a few years the Sudeten Germans have succeeded in endangering the inner stability of Czechoslovakia so fundamentally and causing such confusion in internal affairs that she was ripe for liquidation. All this was only possible because all the Sudeten Germans had become National Socialists . . . In spite of all that we, the Sudeten Germans, have accomplished by our own efforts we could never have achieved our aim without the intervention of the Fuehrer. His ideas inspired us, his strength held us up, his Germany gave us faith in victory. May history some day pronounce her verdict. The Sudeten Germans have faithfully and willingly done their duty" (Letters to the New York Times, 12-22-45).

It has been said that not all of the Sudeten Germans were willing tools and agents of the Nazi government. This may be true but the overwhelming majority were either actively involved or gave tacit consent to the Nazi plan for the destruction of the democratic institutions of Czechoslovakia. As early as 1935, 65 per cent of the Sudeten Germans had voted for the Nazis although at that time they knew full well what Hitler aimed to do. No one can truthfully state that the Sudeten Germans were compelled to vote that way. Of course, when Hitler's triumph was imminent in 1938, the Sudeten vote for the Henlein party rose to 92 per cent.

Those who allege that Hitler was only interested in saving the "oppressed" Germans in Czechoslovakia ignore Hitler's own statements and program. On March 15, 1939, Hitler admitted that it was his intention "to incorporate Czechoslovakia into the German Reich" (Vol. I, p. 574). To justify this act Hitler signed a declaration on March 16, 1939, alleging that "the Bohemian-Moravian countries belonged for a millenium to the living space of the German people" (Vol. I, p. 577).

The Munich agreement was not regarded by Hitler as the final act in the liberation of his "oppressed" Sudetens. On the contrary, Hitler viewed the cession of the Sudetenland as but the prelude "for the liquidation of the remainder of Czechoslovakia" (Vol. I, p. 560).

A Stepping Stone

Czechoslovakia was a stepping stone on Hitler's road to the conquest of Poland and points West. Munich confirmed Hitler's belief that the West was hopelessly decadent. "Our enemies are little worms," he confided to the German General Staff, "I saw them in Munich (Vol. III, p. 585).

We can go on citing German documents attesting to the fact that the Sudeten question had been deliberately cooked up by the Germans to camouflage their plans for the conquest of Europe These documents are available to all Americans who want the truth. Needless to say, the propaganda of the Sudeten Germans today does not merely try to rewrite history, it hopes to suppress it

Attacking the Democratic Cause

There is still another aspect to the current Sudeten movement which bears watching. It is the attitude of the Sudetens to non-German democrats. Currently, the Sudetens are attacking democratic exile groups of the eastern European countries. Their reason is partially obscure but essentially it stems from the fact that the Sudetens oppose any solution in eastern Europe except one that would guarantee Germany's hegemony It is for this reason that the Sudeten propaganda machine has launched a violent campaign against Radio Free Europe Their leader von Auen charges that Radio Free Europe is "non-constructive and nurtured on completely obsolete ideas." What bothers the Sudeten Germans is simply that Radio Free Europe refuses to propagate Pan-Germanism and insists on encouraging those forces that would bring about an independent democratic Czechoslovakia. Time and again the Sudetens returned to the theme that Radio Free Europe and the democratic exile groups supporting it, are "tools of the Communists."

It is significant that leading circles in the Bonn Government including Chancellor Adenauer are trying to liquidate Radio Free Europe. In this connection West German authorities recently halted the sending of balloons with Bible tracts over the iron curtain countries. This program, according to the U. S. church group which sponsors it, was halted by German authorities on the grounds that the U. S had secretly made an agreement in Geneva (July 1955) to ban this project. The State Department has denied the existence of any such agreement.

It is also a well known fact that the commissars of the Kremlin have bitte tacked Radio Free Europe and the bal-oon sending program. Soviet Foreign inister Molotov told Adenauer to cor-ct this intolerable situation when the hancellor visited Moscow. David Nichol, orrespondent for the St. Louis Post Dis-atch, reported on September 14, 1955, hat there are Germans who "would wel-ome the Soviet complaint for halting he crusade for freedom's balloon launch-g." He continued, "these and the broad-asts of Radio Free Europe to the satellite eoples, Germans say, unnecessarily com-licate their future relationship with their entral European neighbors." The Ger-ans are aware that headlong opposition this program would create suspicions. ence, they revert to their familiar tactic f smearing Radio Free Europe as "Com-unist infiltrated" in order to make their opposition more acceptable in the eyes of Americans.

Counterfeit

The fight against Radio Free Europe is not the first time that Moscow and Bonn have seen eye to eye. Yet, the Sudeten Germans continue to publicize themselves as the most zealous anti-Bolshevist crusaders. The fact is that their anti-Bolshevism is counterfeit. It is a cover-up for their Pan-German activities which are not directed solely against the East by any means. Indeed, it would appear from the lessons of recent history that the Pan-German drive may find a more attractive outlet in the West.

The frightening part of this situation is the silence of the Western Allies. Surely, they cannot believe that the Sudeten Germans represent democracy's hope in Europe. Surely, they cannot believe that by remaining silent they are discouraging the growth of Pan-Germanism. On the contrary, failure to act and to condemn these sinister elements opens the flood gates to those forces which hope to realize the dreams of Bismarck, the Kaiser and Hitler.

Let our statesmen ponder the words of a leading member of Chancellor Adenauer's Cabinet, Jacob Kaiser, the German Minister for Unification: "No real Europe can be formed until the German bloc is reconstituted. I remind you that this bloc includes, in addition to Germany, Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar of course, and Alsace-Lorraine. When I think of the Strasbourg Cathedral, my heart hurts."

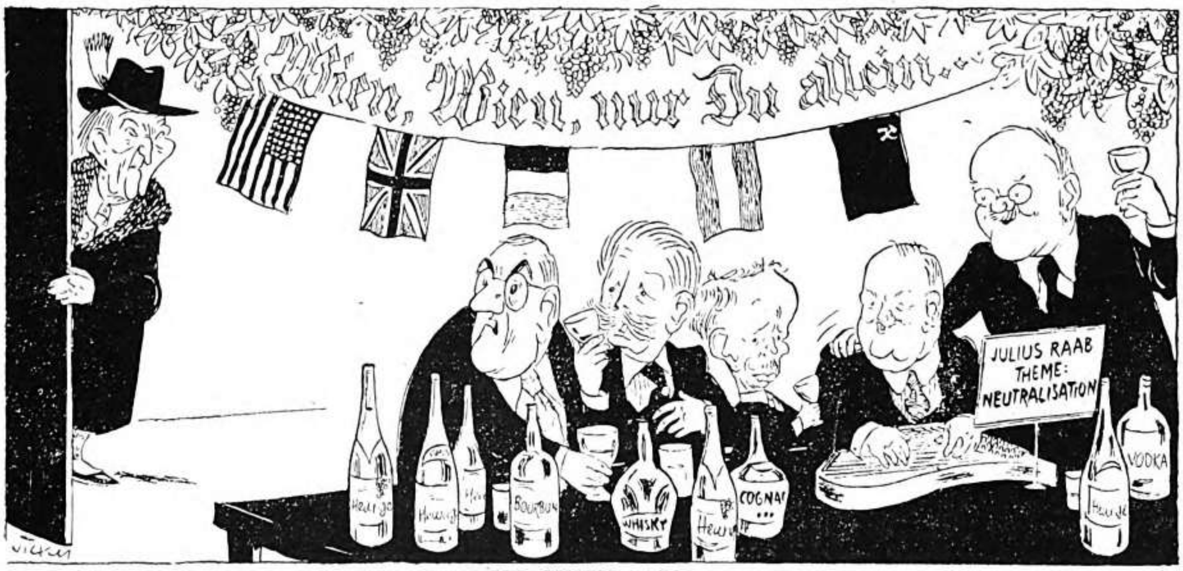
"If the West Germans could keep the Western Powers bound to strict support of their maximum demands — reunification only with the right for all Germany to enter Nato and no recognition of two German States, failing reunification—they could make any agreement between the West and Moscow and Germany impossible, and keep the gulf between the great Poweres open. If, at the same time, they have their own wire to Moscow, they could hope, at a suitable opportunity, to make their own deal with Moscow at the expense of the West.

"Does the new Soviet-East German Treaty exclude such a deal? One wonders . . ."

(The New Statesman and Nation, 10-1-55)

". . . While they will not express it publicly, since publicly they are committed to reunification, there are many British who take an extremely dim view of the prospect for Germany. One is told in London that American policy has been naive to the point of folly in pushing German recovery so fast and in giving the Germans everything they wanted, and then something more. Seen from this dour perspective, Adenauer is scarcely more than a front man for a group of clever schemers prepared to sell to the highest bidder. If the price is right, Adenauer will make a deal when he goes to Moscow in September and leave the West, and particularly America holding a very empty bag . . ."

(Marquis W. Childs, St. Louis Post Dispatch, 7-31-55)



THE SIXTH MAN

(Vicky, Courtesy New Statesman and Nation)

Middle East Caldron

By JAMES H. SHELDON

The Middle East is a place where troubles start. It has been such a place ever since dim ages before the Trojan War—because the area lies at the strategic crossroads between Europe, Asia and Africa.

For the same reason that Caesar and Napoleon campaigned around the Nile, so did the Kaiser and his henchmen talk about the "Drive to the East" and concentrate their energies on such projects as the Berlin-to-Baghdad Railroad.

Germany's old-line geo-politicians, and likewise the Nazis of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich, gave top priority to building up their influence in the Middle East—and German industrialists and diplomats of today follow the same line, albeit with different labels attached.

The United States has long been at pains to develop a policy which would achieve the near-impossible objective of reconciling opposing forces there—and when the Russians needed a new political line this year, they found the opportunity ready-made in their offer of arms to Egypt and other Arab states.

One important reason for continued tension in the Middle East can be found in the entrenched position which the Nazi regime so vigorously built for itself there—a position which has been given continued support by post-war German developments.

Back in 1945-6 an entire group of some 17 Nazi army and S. S. (Himmler's dreaded Elite Guard) men were smuggled out of Germany, in spite of the Allied occupation, into Egypt. False passports and like subterfuges were involved. Included were two top men from "Milamt Six" (the secret intelligence section of the S. S., which had been organized by Walter Schellenberg under the direction of the notorious Ernst Kaltenbrunner).

Others were former high ranking experts from the Abwehr (German Army Counter-Intelligence) department formerly under Lt. Gen. Erwin Lahousen. (This was the Abwehr section concerned with "foreign countries, penetration and sabotage"). Still others came from the S. D. (a Gestapo intelligence group operating within the S. S. Corps) and at least two of these early migrants to Egypt had served with the notorious Einsatzkommandos ("Special Service Detachments")—the S. S. extermination units operating in Eastern Europe.

This group of Nazi experts soon became accepted as an all-powerful cadre in Egypt, and proceeded to organize the intelligence and policy-forming units of the Egyptian Army. Every man in this set-up was at the time on the "wanted" list of the Allied commanders, and subject to automatic arrest, had he been caught within the territory of occupied Germany.

Later, they were joined by a considerable body of military experts and seasoned "top sergeants" who had survived the collapse of the Hitler regime. Among these were Lt. Gen. Wilhelm Fahrmbacher, a corps commander in the Nazi Army who had been held for a time by the French as a war criminal, but was released and soon became Gen. Naguib's leading military advisor. Fahrmbacher took along as his deputy Major Gen. Oscar Munzel, well-known in officer circles of the Third Reich, and they were later joined by Gerhard Mertins, who assumed the duty of educating the Egyptians in the techniques of parachute jumping and air attack.

Not long afterward, these military specialists were followed by Dr. Albert Degener—well known to New Yorkers as the pre-war Director of the German-American Board of Trade, one of the most prolific sources of pro-Nazi agitation in America before his presence was officially labeled undesirable by the State Department. Herr Degener's function in Egypt was the same as that which he had once performed in New York: to organize a German-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce.

The extent of his support at home can be gleaned from the frequency with which the German weekly news magazines feature articles on German-Egyptian trade developments.

The extent of this German penetration into Egyptian affairs has since grown alarmingly. As John Gunther puts it in his highly respected book, INSIDE AFRICA, *"Bonn is acutely interested in Cairo and vice versa. About 600 German technicians are employed by the Egyptian Government working on several levels—military, engineering, railroads and the like. 'Nasser could never have made his coup without his German advisors,' I heard it said. Probably this is an over-statement but German technical skill has been helpful to the Junta in several conspicuous areas."*

As Gunther also points out, a German naval specialist is reported at work on Egyptian naval affairs and a German tank officer is engaged in mechanizing the armed forces. 300 German firms were represented at a recent trade fair in Cairo and a flourishing German-language newspaper has developed in that city. Meanwhile, German universities have set up special arrangements to facilitate the exchange of students from the Middle East.

On October 26, 1955, the West German news magazine DER SPIEGEL, carried a story about the role which a former economic assistant of Hitler played in the arms deal between Egypt and the Communist bloc.

This former Nazi, Dr. Wilhelm Voss, once held a leading position in Hitler's war economy as president of the Skoda Works, a huge armament combine taken over by the Germans after they grabbed Czechoslovakia in 1939.

Evidently, this former Nazi was coached for his role in Egypt by the Bonn Government. DER SPIEGEL reports:

"Dr. Wilhelm Voss, once a prominent leader in the war economy of the Third Reich, started his career in Egypt with the urgent recommendation of the German Federal Government in February 1951. He was appointed in Cairo by General Naguib as head of the Central Planning Board and as such was the chief advisor to the War Ministry in Egypt. Under his command were employed more than 50 German military and armament experts."

The importance of Dr. Voss' role in Egypt is underscored by the fact that the relation of this former Nazi to the Bonn Foreign Office and other Bonn agencies was so intimate ective that in 1954 the German Ambassador in Cairo, Dr. nther Pawelke, also a former Nazi, resigned from his post protest.

According to DER SPIEGEL, Dr. Voss kept intimate con- ts not only with Adenauer's chief diplomatic aides, Dr. ankenhorn and Professor Hallstein, but also with the highest icers in the Blank office, the Bonn War Ministry. These lations were evidently a constant irritation to Ambassador welke, because they meant that certain high circles in the nn Government were closer to the Egyptian advisor, Dr. ss, than to the official Bonn advisor in Cairo.

The report in DER SPIEGEL also reveals the background the recent arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia. cording to this account, the former Nazi and ex-president the Skoda Works, Dr. Voss, *"initiated the big armament al with the Czechoslovak agents Prantel, Nobinec and strum, who operated under the facade of being refugees t who in reality are Communist agents."*

The foregoing report sheds considerable light on the or- nizers and secret wire-pullers of the present unrest in the ar and Middle East.

Again, as once under Hitler, the German industrialists and ilitarists proceed with their conspiracies according to a ll-known pattern. They sow unrest where it is to Germany's vantage to fish in troubled waters. DER SPIEGEL is not very far from the truth when it comments that *"Adenauer's leading diplomats have laid themselves open to the charge that they must share to a considerable extent in the tactical victory gained by Bolsheviks in the Near and Middle East."*

ROBBING SMITH FOR SCHMIDT

> **"Congress now has before it several proposals the effect of which would be to shift from the shoulders of German taxpayers to the shoulders of American taxpayers the burden of compensating Germans for their assets seized in the United States during the war. From the German point of view, this would obviously be an admirable shift. From the American point of view, it seems to us to be neither sensible nor just. It would rob Mr. Smith to pay Mr. Schmidt.**
>
> **"The most offensive of these giveaways, sponsored by Senator Dirksen, would turn back all the German assets seized here, including those belonging to giant corporations and international cartels; the value of these has increased since the war to an estimated $450 million. The least offensive of the giveaway schemes, supported by the State Department and the Justice Department, would compensate only the individual owners of vested property —and these only up to $10,000 each. The principal argument for the partial giveaway seems to be that it will avert the total giveaway desired by Senator Dirksen. We think there is no warrant whatever for either . . .**
>
> **"The assets in question were private in appearance much more than in fact. They were rigidly controlled by the Nazi government and used by that government for the advancement of German objectives . . ."**
>
> **(Editorial, The Washington Post, 7-15-55)**

German penetration in the Near East is by no means confined to Egypt. The former Wehrmacht Major Gunther Elmar von Hardenberg has long made his headquarters at Beirut in Syria where he heads an "open" organization known as the Association for Christian War Refugees and a secret group called the German Aid Committee for the Near East. When John Roy Carlson visited Beirut in 1950, von Hardenberg said to him: *"Whenever a new German comes to Beirut I screen him personally, then register him with the Beirut police as a friend of the Arab cause." "There are already many Germans working with the Syrians as trainers and technicians,"* von Hardenberg added.

In Damascus, an Arabic group which Hitler youth leader Baldur von Schirach had helped form, was still operating, and was the source of "Boycott U. S. A." posters appearing in Arab shops.

In the same region, Dashnag leaders (the Dashnags were an Armenian Fascist movement allied with the Axis) also continue to exert great influence, moving under the old misleading cry that they are "fighting Communism," while in reality they are bending their primary efforts against the Western cause in the Middle East.

The infiltration of Syria has been repeatedly described by foreign correspondents. The Syrian Government early called in a German military mission, after it was defeated by the Israeli armies. NEWSWEEK reported that *"the first to appear in Damascus was a former Gestapo Colonel named Rapp. He revamped Syrian Military Intelligence and is credited with a leading role in Syria's first military coup, when a group of army officers under Colonel Husni Zayim took over the government."* Later, a once high-ranking intelligence officer in Hitler's army, General Stutterheim, was installed in

> **". . . Right after the Geneva conference ended, Adenauer, from his own summit, told how grateful he was that the Western powers honored their obligations to West Germany during the talks.**
>
> **"Use of the term, 'obligations,' is an interesting one. Perhaps it was a slip of the tongue, a subconscious reference. But it stands as the overall concept of the Federal Republic's attitude towards the Western powers.**
>
> **"We are under obligation, the thinking goes, to advance the cause of West Germany above and beyond all other measures of European policy. If we don't, the corollary follows, there may be other roads to which West Germany can turn. Draw your own conclusions. After all, Adenauer goes to Khrushchev and the rest of Soviet collective leadership.**
>
> **"The curious aspect of 'obligation' does not seem to infer on the West German side any substantive obligation to us . . ."**
>
> **(Seymour Freidin, N. Y. Post, 8-2-55)**

a top Syrian army post, assisted by another influential ex-German, Colonel Kuebel.

An important article (*"Berlin-Baghdad" Again*) appearing in the January, 1953, issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, gives many further details on this phase of German Middle-East penetration.

At the other end of the Mediterranean, a similar situation continues. The leading Hamburg independent daily, DIE WELT, on October 26, 1955, printed a dispatch concerning preparations for the inauguration of a monument at Tobruk, in Libya, commemorating the dead of Hitler's Africa Corps. Said this report: "The West German Government will be represented by the German charge d'affaires in Tripoli . . . The association of the members of the former German Africa Corps have announced group trips for this occasion and have chartered a steamship and special planes."

From another source comes a report that when former members of the Africa Corps met in Heidelberg, with the widow of former Field Marshal Rommel as guest of honor, she was greeted by the old Nazi marching song, "Panzer Rollen in Afrika." (Tanks Rolling in Africa.)

Reciprocating such interests, Arab tobacco companies have been taking full-page advertisements in German news magazines, featuring the portrait of a desert chieftain with rifle in hand, a replica of a cigarette package and the caption: "A Testimony of Friendship."

Most of the German press has been discreetly silent concerning these affairs—but in Italy the journalistic organs of the M. S. I. (a powerful neo-fascist movement advocating return to the corporate-state ideal of Mussolini) have had no such inhibitions and some of their comments—even after making allowance for the source—are of striking significance.

On September 6, 1955, IL SECOLO D'ITALIA (a strong supporter of M. S. I.) carried an elaborate illustrated account of the reception in its office of eight editors of the Egyptian newspaper chain *Dar El Goumhourya* (publishers of 7 newspapers in Arabic, French and English). The article, adorned with a 4-column photograph of the visiting editors, declares that "Our Egyptian colleagues found in the editorial rooms of IL SECOLO the climate of opinion closest to their views." An adjoining headline declaimed: "Israel Has Violated the Truce with Egypt."

The director of IL SECOLO has just published a book lauding Mussolini.

On July 17, 1955, ASSO DI BASTONI (the recognized voice of the M. S. I. movement) published a long article lauding the Middle East exploits of the Krupp dynasty, with especial praise for Alfred Krupp, the man who served a war criminal's sentence after trial at Nuremberg.

"Alfred Krupp is today the sparkplug of the fantastic German renaissance. He is in close touch with the surviving leaders of the Reich and has placed his agents in all parts of the globe." the article begins. There follows an outline of Krupp's friendship with "heads of government" in the Middle East and elsewhere, and the comment that *"the influence of Krupp is particularly important in Pakistan in view of the existence of a group of intelligent Pakistani who were formerly members of the Wehrmacht."*

"The gigantic power of revived German industry," adds ASSO DI BASTONI, "extends over the whole world." "Krupp has defeated all the other corporations and is constructing on the Bosphorus a 1600 meter bridge. He has concluded advantageous contracts," the article continues, "with Syria and with the National Government of Egypt."

"The Germans achieved a decisive victory in Saudi-Arabia," says the same article, "when German electric firms obtained contracts for the construction of modern power plants, and in Egypt when the German-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce secured a concession under which German engineers will supervise the tremendous Nile dam project."

"Following up the fine work of Krupp and other perseverant German industrialists," says ASSO, *"the influence and prestige of Germany is enormous throughout the Arab world where Otto Skorzeny and other ex-officials of the S. S. supervise the instruction and education of armies and Dr. Hjalmar Schacht is financial advisor."* In Iran, Gen. Zahedi (arrested by the English as a collaborationist in 1941) is praised as a factor of great power, and it is pointed out that the mother of "beautiful Soraya" (wife of the Shah) was German. Then continue details of German political and economic penetration in Iran, the Sudan, Lebanon, etc.

"Everywhere the men of Krupp are present and active," says ASSO DI BASTONI, and adds that thanks to this, Egypt today benefits from a German advance of 8,750,000,000 lira. "These colossal figures" of indebtedness are to be "settled by supplies of raw materials," adds this article.

In short, behind the scenes in the Middle East are to be found everywhere the pervasive tentacles of old-line German influence, bolstered up (whether for political or economic reasons does not matter) by the modernized industrialism typified by Krupp, and strengthened by the continual comings and goings of powerful figures such as the "financial wizard" Dr. Hjalmar Schacht.

Underlying all this, are numerous indigenous forces for violence, typified by the hot-heads of the green-shirted Young Moslem League and the fanatic Fadayan Islam (Crusaders of Islam), one of whose agents last week nearly succeeded in an

> **"The blunt fact is that the divisions and weaknesses from which the Western Powers are now suffering in Europe all derive from one fatal illusion.**
>
> **"That illusion was the belief that we should strengthen ourselves by making West Germany a sovereign State, rearming it and bringing it into N. A. T. O. . . .**
>
> **"Indeed, those of us who have opposed German rearmament for the last five years did so because we foresaw that it would weaken the political unity of the West without adding to its military strength.**
>
> **"After five years of talk about German rearmament, there are still no German divisions in N. A. T. O., and France and Germany are more deeply divided than ever.**
>
> **"The Saar referendum is a danger signal, which no responsible statesman can disregard . . ."**
>
> **(Richard Crossman, M.P., London Daily Mirror, 10-26-55**

tempt to assassinate Premier Hassein Ala of Iran. Another gent of the same terrorist body was more successful four ears ago, when he destroyed the life of Premier Ali Razmara, ne of Iran's ablest post-war leaders.

When the United Nations voted the partition of Palestine establish the new State of Israel, it was hoped that an ele- ent of Western democratic stability might be injected into is swirling conflict of forces. Failure of the great powers to ursue a firm course in support of the newly established state, owever, left the way open for a kind of "simmering war" continue, under conditions which could boil up into a orld-wide conflict without warning.

The exodus to the Middle East of so many important mili- ry and economic figures from the Third Reich, added to rab intransigence and extremism, has contributed much to revent the effective exercise of influence by the Western lies in efforts to bring about peaceful settlements.

As a result, we find Premier Nasser of Egypt declaring at "*Israel is an artificial state which must disappear*" (May 3, 1954, as quoted in the Greek newspaper KATHERIENI); d not long ago, the NEW YORK TIMES quoted King ud of Saudi-Arabia as declaring: "*Israel is like a cancer to e human body and the only way of remedy is to uproot it.*"

So violently anti-Jewish have been some of the speeches ade in the U. S. by the Syrian Ambassador, Farid Zeined- ne, that responsible organizations have been led to ask for s recall. Scarcely less inflammatory have been speeches by ohammed Jamali, chairman of the Iraqi delegation to the N. The friendly State of Israel thus finds itself being nounced on American platforms as a "bastard State," and yal United States citizens of Jewish persuasion find them- lves being falsely accused of "dual loyalty," in terms remi- scent of pre-war Nazi propaganda.

"*Whoever thinks of making peace with the enemy* (*Israel*) *gns the death warrant of all the Arab nations,*" Jamali once id. And a Syrian President, General Shisekly, was quoted Cairo papers to effect that "*The Middle East is not large ough for both Jews and Arabs.*" (What the Arabs intend do with their vast empty spaces, and their millions of oil llars, he didn't add.) Mohammed Naguib himself said not long ago: "*The only solution is Israel's disappearance.*"

An important background factor in building up this Arab ransigence has been the influence of the former Grand ufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini.

The Grand Mufti was one of Hitler's major henchmen and was a principal influence in determining the policy of wish extermination which Hitler pursued, and especially in king that policy the unbelievably inhuman thing it was in Balkans and Middle East. The Grand Mufti attempted to ganize a Moslem revolt against the British in Iraq at the y outset of the war, and when defeated, was brought to ntinental Europe by Hitler, where at various places he ganized a school for the training of Moslem infiltrators in- ctrinated to spread Nazi ideologies; helped to set up the od-thirsty Moslem Legions in Yugoslavia; and finally, just the War was coming to an end, directed the "Gross-Mufti reau" not far from Hitler's headquarters, from which he s engaged (along with Goebbels, Goering, Vidkun Quis- g and the Nazi puppet of Iraq) in organizing a "World nference on the Jewish Problem." The plans for this "conference" collapsed only because the Allied Armies got to Berlin before Al-Husseini and his cohorts could get their delegates there.

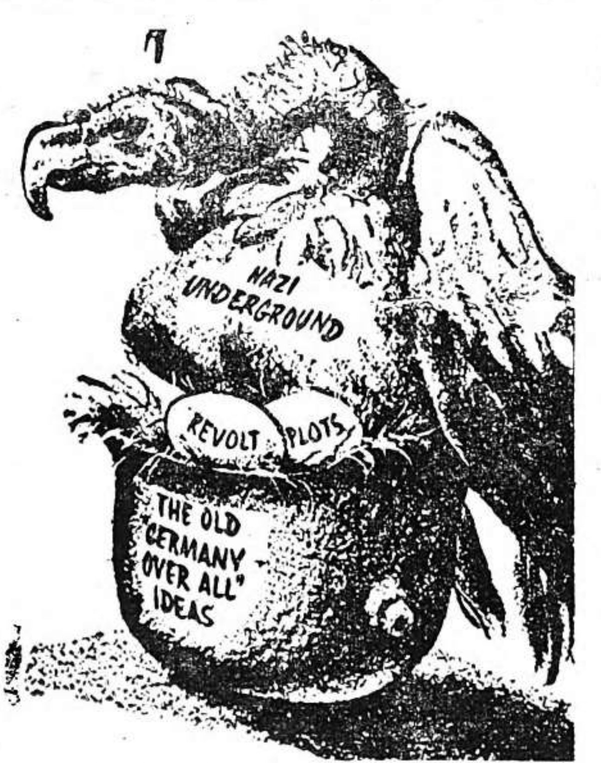
The S. S. Hauptsturmfuerer Dieter von Wisliczeny later declared in a War Crimes Affidavit based on his intimate knowledge of internal Nazi affairs that the Grand Mufti played "an important role" in constantly "inciting" the Nazi powers to more violent measures in their policy of Jewish extermination, particularly in Southeastern Europe.

A study of material emanating from behind Arab boundaries today indicates that much of the basic propaganda line of the anti-Jewish agitation now being pursued by Arab League states has come down unchanged from the days of the Grand Mufti's evil liaison with Hitler.

For example, Antoine Albina, a leading tourist agent (of Syrian extraction) with headquarters in Arab Jerusalem, is currently engaged in bombarding his countrymen—as well as visitors to that part of the world—with multilingual propaganda bearing the imprint of the "World Truth League." The name, significantly enough, is a rough translation of the "Fichte-Bund" once masterminded by Dr. Goebbels.

We need not quote examples of Albina's output at length. It is sufficient to say that Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith, the most notorious of our domestic hate mongers, finds Albina's publications sufficiently inflammatory to be worthy of reprinting in his anti-Jewish monthly, THE CROSS AND THE FLAG —and like-minded hate mongers in England, and even in far-away South Africa, also find Albina's material useful in fanning the flames of bias and bigotry, in those areas.

This exchange of hate propaganda also works in the other



"HATCHING NEW NAZIS"
(*Lewis in The Milwaukee Journal*)

direction. We pause to cite but one instance. When an American West Coast agitator named Frank Britton (who a few years ago tried to stir up a boycott against Jewish-owned businesses in Los Angeles) got out a 102-page book misleadingly entitled BEHIND COMMUNISM a prominent Arabic press agency, with offices in Cairo, Baghdad and Beirut, promptly re-issued it in an Arabic version and started circulating it all over the Middle East. Britton's opus, needless to say, had little or nothing to do with the real facts about Communism, but was merely a book-length diatribe against Jews and Judaism, elaborating upon the old canard that "Judaism and Communism are irretrievably bound together."

A dozen pages could be devoted to further examples of the same type of agitation, designed to incite even the most lethargic to violence and guaranteed to help forestall all efforts at peaceful settlements. As a Minister in one Arab cabinet put it the other day: *"No member of my government would even dare to talk about peace with Israel."*

Of course, the problem of the refugees is being exploited to the utmost by the Arab governments, so that the refugees have become as much a political tool as a relief problem. Relocation funds made available through U. N. agencies have been in large part rejected by the Arab States, who obviously would prefer to keep the refugees confined to their camps, and use them for purposes of political exploitation.

So obvious is this purpose, that Egypt and other Arab countries have actually been collecting customs duties on shipments of relief materials intended for the help of the "refugee victims." A casual inspection of the lurid propaganda leaflets issued by the Arabs in this connection confirms the same conclusion.

So arrogant has this attitude become that the highly responsible Reuters Agency reported on December 1, 1955, that the seven Arab League countries have actually issued a circular addressed to Dutch firms trading in the Middle East, demanding detailed information on their business with Israel and their employment of Jews in their home cities. This astounding circular originated with the "Economical Siege on Israel Office" in Damascus. *"The Arab countries,"* said the circular, *"are in a state of war with Israel and for this reason are making an economic siege of that country."*

Meanwhile, the East-West controversy added fuel to the fire. Soviet policy, which has on repeated occasions included the persecution of Jews and Zionists (a fact which makes propaganda like the Britton book mentioned above appear particularly ridiculous to the thoughtful reader), now seems to have entered a pro-Arab phase. According to the current Communist line, as reflected in the New York DAILY WORKER (Nov. 16, 1955), Israel is now regarded as "a province in Wall Street's Middle Eastern economic empire." Where this sort of thing may lead to, when coupled with an alarming increase of indigenous anti-Americanism in cities like Cairo, is anybody's guess.

Granting that the Americans, British and French would like to see the Arabs accede to a permanent and peaceful settlement recognizing the just claims of Israel, the Soviets have been playing whichever side of the fence suited their position at a particular time. Currently they seem to have set out to help arm the 45 million Moslems. Should this policy be long continued, the results could be frightening indeed. Add a supply of Russian rifles and jet planes to inflammatory propaganda of the sort outlined above, mix in the aggressive intentions of the Arabs, and you have the makings of a conflagration that could very readily lead to World War III.

A STAIN ON JUSTICE

"The Brooklyn Veterans of Foreign Wars today demanded that Edwin August Plitt be removed as the U. S. member of the International War Crimes Review Board because he voted to release Nazi war criminal Sepp Dietrich.

"Dietrich, convicted of the Malmedy Forest murder of American war prisoners during World War II, was released from prison . . .

"Robert F. Bonagura, Kings County VFW commander, said 'every American should be up in arms' . . ."

(The N. Y. Post, 12-1-55)

Note:
A letter on this subject was sent by the Society to leading newspapers. We reprint below the text as it appeared in the St. Louis Post Dispatch, 11-10-55:

The recent release from a United States prison of the German war criminal, Sepp Dierich, one of Hitler's most trusted SS generals, is shocking news. Dietrich was sentenced to life imprisonment because of his over-all responsibility in the cold-blooded murder of American G. I.s taken prisoner during the Battle of the Bulge.

Altogether between 600 and 700 G. I.s and Belgian civilians were slain in a series of acts of terrorism that came to be known as the Malmedy Massacre.

Dietrich's bloodthirstiness was known throughout Europe. It is difficult to see how the release of this killer will strengthen the United States' efforts to restore respect for law and decency in human affairs. The release of Dietrich has outraged European public opinion and will certainly create a fertile field for all sorts of anti-American propaganda.

In the last analysis, the freeing of Dietrich can only damage America's moral prestige, a factor so frequently mentioned by Secretary Dulles as essential to the successful conduct of our foreign relations.

The Allied officials who recommended the release of Dietrich have grossly misrepresented the views of the American people. They have not kept faith with the millions of American G. I.s, living or dead, who fought the Nazis in defense of American freedom.

President Eisenhower should dismiss these individuals from Government service because they have shown themselves unfit to uphold the sense of justice of the American people.

Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.

ALBERT SIMARD, Secretary,
ISIDORE LIPSCHUTZ, Treasurer,

Fabulous Krupp

"Krupps is going to die. It is going to die now. It is in the process of dying . . . My instructions are to disintegrate this concern and Krupp is going to cease to exist.

"There's a lot of politics behind Krupps and we want to show everybody that we are carrying out our agreements . . .

"The classic mistake which was made here after World War I is not going to be repeated this time."

(E. L. Douglas Fowles, British Controller of the Krupp properties, 8-28-46)

Krupp, the name which made all Europe tremble during two world wars, Saturday night set people dancing at a fabulous ball.

Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, sole heir to Germany's greatest industrial empire, gave the ball for 640 guests at his home, the monumental Villa Huegel in Essen.

The party, described by the family as a "small affair," employed the services of small armies of waiters, scores of pretty "Krupp girls" in uniform, three orchestras, a fleet of limousines and a special train which brought 150 diplomats from Bonn.

The 48-year-old Krupp and his German wife Vera, a former film actress he married in 1952, received their guests in the immense paneled hall of the villa, hung with priceless Flemish tapestries.

Frau Krupp wore a cocktail-length brocade dress of many shades of brown, gray and green, heavily embroidered with sequins and brilliants. Diamond pendants the size of marbles adorned her ears.

The party, which broke up early just after midnight, was the first social appearance of the famous German munitions-maker since his release from Landsberg prison in Bavaria early in 1951. Then, he had served only three years of a 12-year sentence imposed by the allied war crimes tribunal at Nuremberg in 1948 for employing slave labor in his arms factories during the war.

Before the ball a party of diplomats was taken around some of the Krupp factories at Essen and Rheinhausen. The tour took in the Rheinhausen steel works, the 1,000,000,000-mark (about $232,400,000) plant which Krupp has promised the Allies to sell, with all his coal mines before 1958.

Others of the party came in a special first-class train from Bonn to the private Krupp statio nat Essen being plied liberally with champagne, cocktails, snacks and cigars on the way by "Krupp girls" from the magnate's guest establishment.

Each was also given a silver-plated lighter marked discreetly with three intertwining circles—the trade mark of the firm an ashtray and a bottle of brandy.

(Reuters, 11-27-55)

★

ALLIES?

"Upon the initiative of Master Sergeant Clipper, nine sergeants of the British Army decided to petition for their release from the service. The underlying reason for their request was rather unusual. They stated that they had no inclination for serving in an army which might some day find itself fighting shoulder to shoulder with Germans.

"When the regimental colonel requested them to withdraw their petition the master sergeant and his comrades replied that they had spent the last months of the war in Germany and that they could not agree to accept the Germans as allies'."

(Deutsche Volkszeitung, 9-17-55)

★

SCHOOL DAYS

"At the end of World War II most of the German schools abroad were closed down . . . However, during the last few years the number of German schools in foreign countries expanded considerably and they were able to consolidate their positions. Now, there are German schools again in almost all European countries with the exception of the Iron Curtain countries including China . . .

"If we look at the five continents, we can all be proud of (the existence of) approximately 300 German schools abroad . . ."

(California Staats-Zeitung, 11-18-55)

★

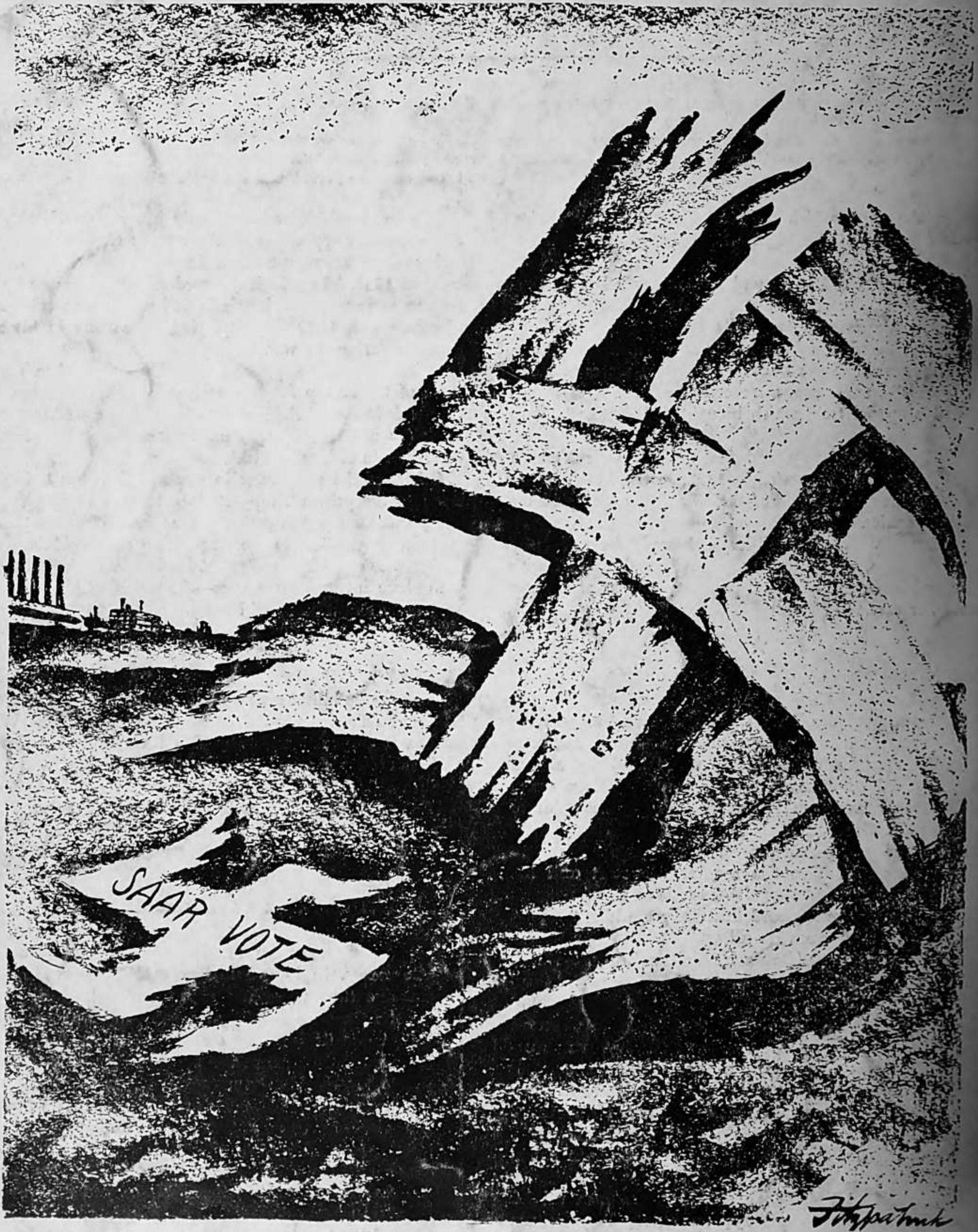
NAZI STATISTICS

"The Nazis killed a mere 365,000 Jews in Europe and not six million, it was claimed this week by the Wiesbaden neo-fascist monthly 'Die Europaeische Nationale' in an article bearing the title 'The Lie of the Six Million Killed Jews.'

"Edited and published by the notorious neo-nazi organizer Karl Hein Priester, the publication arrived at the 365,000 figure through a juggling of facts."

(WNS, 8-26-55)

> **"That East Germany, too, is rearming is not at all discomfiting to the militarists of West Germany. In long-range terms, the more extensive the immediate rearming on both sides of the German dividing line, the more powerful will be the army that one day, they hope, will emerge from a united Germany. And in immediate terms, the Bonn militarists can count on increased help from Washington to counteract developments in Pankow. According to a Bonn spokesman, the Federal Republic's contribution to rearmament will not exceed nine billion marks. This is only a fraction of what the new Wehrmacht will cost. Bonn is relying on the American taxpayer to pay most of the rest."**
>
> **(The Nation, 10-8-55)**


SAAR VOTE
Fitzpatrick

CHIP OFF THE OLD BLOCK?

(*Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch*)

No. 48
SUMMER ISSUE
1956

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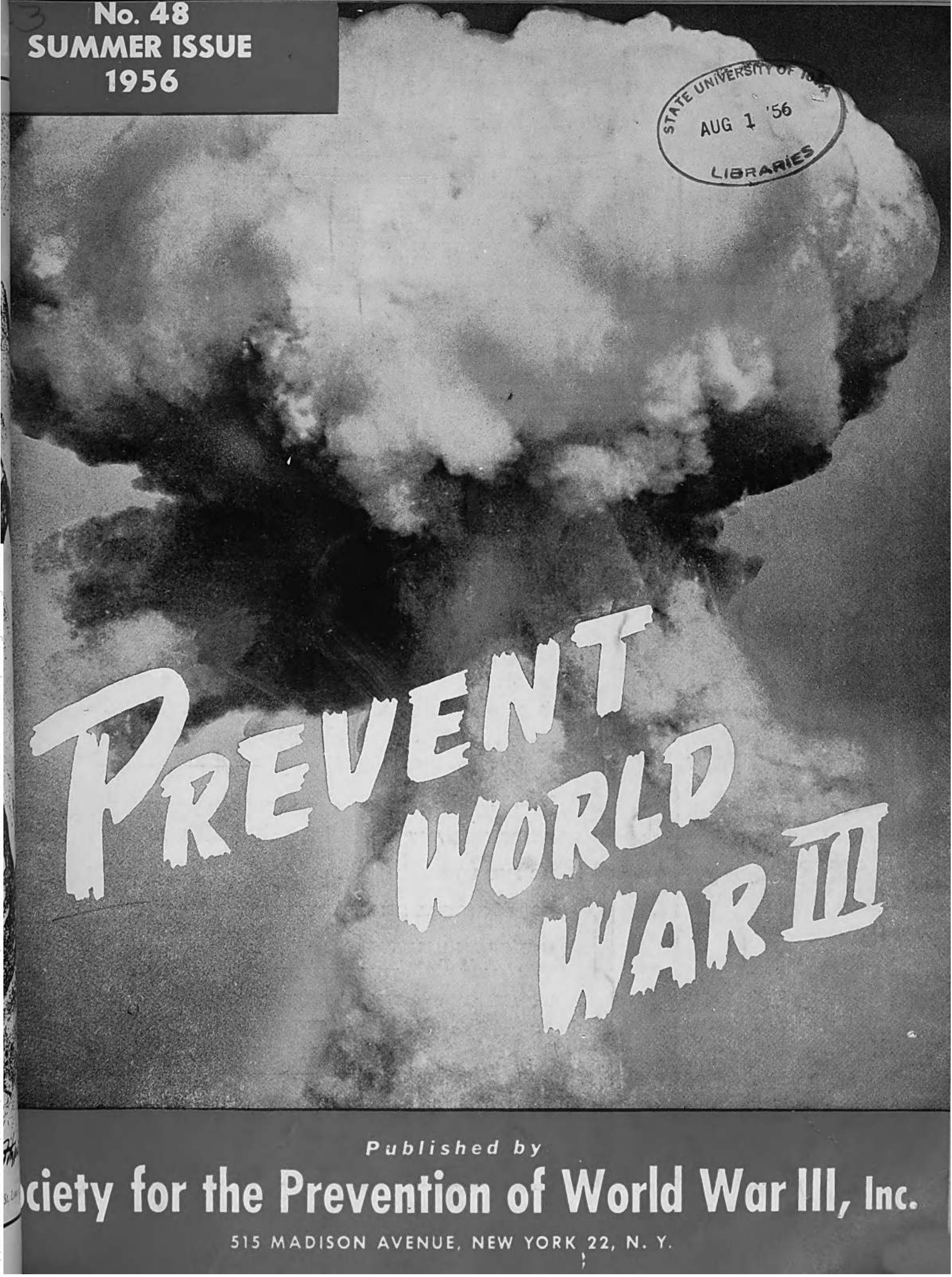

PREVENT WORLD WAR III

Published by
ciety for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985
No. 48 Summer Issue, 1956

"A Colony of Spiders"

Why have our policy makers consistently discouraged a thorough re-examination of US policy toward Germany? This question appears with increased frequency in letters addressed to the Society.

We can think of a number of explanations for this standpat attitude, but there is one which seems to stand out above the others. It reminds us of the two lads who were fighting each other furiously. One of the youngsters exhibited fancy footwork while the other boy moved only one foot—the other firmly fixed to the ground. As a result, the immobile boy was receiving a sound thrashing from his opponent who was able to move freely in all directions. A bystander called to the unfortunate youth, "Say, why don't you move your other foot?" The reply, n the midst of a shower of blows, was prompt: 'I can't, my foot is on the quarter we are fighting for!"

Applied to the "high politics" of the German problem, it means that a flexible and fresh approach has been blocked by a "vested interest." The late Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, described t as a "colony of black-widow spiders" which *"has been busily weaving webs intended to cost the United States and its allies the fruits of the crushing defeat of Germany. They would restore to those who made Hitler possible the industries of the Ruhr, without which he would not have ventured to commit his depredations against the democratic nations of Europe. Conspicuous among them are members of the Cabinet, congressmen, dipolmats and soldiers, as well as bankers and industrialists who have been ommuting between Wall Street and Washington. n short, American military and civilian officials who are supposed to be solving problems in Germany, preparatory to the State Department assuming jurisdiction and control that, so far, it has timorously evaded, have been rendering yeoman service to Wall Street financiers and German cartelists, preparatory to World War III"* (The New Republic, 5-2-49).

Having served under two Presidents, Mr. Ickes was able to observe the maneuvers of this cabal at close hand. Other former government officials have confirmed his charges. For example, Josiah E. DuBois, Jr., former Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, and assigned to many important governmental tasks dealing with the postwar treatment of Germany, wrote: *"As early as September 1944, while our GIs were still being killed by the Nazi war machine, there was circulated within the United States Government, at a high level, a memorandum contending, in effect, that as soon as the war was over we should rebuild German power as quickly as possible."*

The hopes and plans of this "vested interest" were outlined by Mr. Allen Dulles at a meeting of the American Bankers Association in 1946: *"For us it is essential to participate in a leading capacity in the rebuilding of German economy in order to stabilize the economic situation in the United States through control of the German economy and to assure American firms suitable profits."*

Even before Mr. Dulles spoke, the "vested interest" had gained control of many strategic positions connected with the formulation and implementation of American policy in Germany. It was a "bipartisan" operation involving such prominent personalities as W. Averell Harriman of the banking firm Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.; James Forrestal and William Draper of the banking house of Dillon, Read and Co.; John J. McCloy, the present Chairman of the Board of the Chase Manhattan Bank; John Foster Dulles, then head of the law firm Sullivan & Cromwell; and former Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall.

The "bipartisan" character of the operation was firmly sealed when Herbert Hoover was invited by President Truman to report his views on what America should do for Germany. The Hoover mission had the blessings of the "vested interest" which had close ties with Germany's cartel clique. In a sense Mr. Hoover's conclusions had been foreshadowed by Walter Rohland of the German steel trust when he wrote to one of his colleagues on June 15, 1945, that a "good bridge" had been formed with "mutual friends" in the US and in Britain.

Mr. Hoover's findings received strong support from W. Averell Harriman. In 1947, Mr. Harriman submitted a report to the President which had as one of its basic premises the idea that the recovery of Western Europe was dependent on the economic resurgence of Germany: *"A rapid increase in the Ruhr's coal, steel, and machinery output would aid the reconstruction of industries in neighboring countries, and lower the general cost of the European recovery program more than any other factor."* This passage from the report was quoted in a recent article by Dr. Friedrich Middelhauve, Minister of Economics and Transport for the German State of North Rhine Westphalia ("Commerce in Germany," 4-1-56). Dr. Middelhauve declares that the Harriman report "went far to relieve the hopelessness" of the Ruhr barons.

The spade work of the Hoovers and Harrimans paved the way for the billions of dollars poured into Germany. Propaganda-wise this was publicized as the sure road to the rehabilitation of Western Europe. In reality, it afforded Germany the opportunity to evade the consequences of her crimes and to regain a dominant position in Western Europe. The net result was to commit the American people to a program which was diametrically opposed to the principles for which the war was fought. Yet, the people were not consulted. They were confronted with a fait accompli, executed by a clique of non-elected officials who served the "vested interest." It was a profitable operation for the group described by Secretary Ickes and their cartel friends in Germany, but it tied American policy hand and foot. A gradual transformation occurred and more and more Germany's requirements conditioned Allied policy. The tail began to wag the dog.

The consequences are now apparent to all except to him whose "foot is on the quarter." Weighed down by the German albatross, we have lost the initiative in Europe. The great reservoir of friendship and good will which was ours at the end of the war, has been squandered. Step by step, our Germany policy has produced all of the elements preparatory to a rapproachment between Soviet Russia and the Germans. Truly we are on the "brink" and this has been admitted by outstanding experts on Russo-German relations. Thus, the noted British political commentator, Edward Crankshaw, discussing the dangers of a Russo-German deal, concludes: *"While bearing in mind that it takes two to make a Russo-German pact, it is clear that the West will soon be compelled to reconsider its German policy in the light of hard facts"* (London Observer, 5-6-56).

These "hard facts" have not budged our policy makers. They prefer the policy of inertia because it profits the "vested interest" even though it is undermining the US position in Europe.

That the United States possesses the brain power and imagination to develop policies which would be truly expressive of the National Interest is beyond doubt. What is necessary is to release that brain power and imagination from the bondage of the "colony of spiders" which has paralyzed our ability to cope with the German problem and the menacing spectre of a Soviet-German deal.

THE ADENAUER CULT

"West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was effusively welcomed to Washington by John Foster Dulles.

"The Secretary of State headed the official welcoming delegation at the National Airport. He told Dr. Adenauer that there were some things he did that were more duty than joy, 'but to welcome you is unadulterated joy.'

" 'You bring a wisdom that comes from experience, and an idealism that partakes of youth,' he said. 'You are building a new Germany and a new Europe and what we hope will be a new world.' "

(N. Y. Times, 6-12-56)

". . . What can the United States do? The power to unify Germany rests exclusively in Soviet hands . . .

"So Dr. Adenauer's fear that there already exists a tacit settlement based on the division of Germany is to some extent justified by the situation itself . . .

"But the real answer to that question lies not in the United States but in West Germany. Insofar as it can, the United States will continue to work for German unity in freedom, and it would be a rash man who would say that can never come about. If the German people, however, refuse to be patient and insist instead on dangerous short-cuts, then there is no way to help them . . ."

(Wall Street Journal, 6-13-56)

Editorials

POLITICAL CHAMELEONS

During the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to Britain a little boy, aged 5, approached Bulganin and asked, "Are you Father Christmas?" Bulganin shook his head in the negative. Whether it was Bulganin's goatee which prompted the lad to put the question, is not of direct concern to us. Yet, with or without the beard, the team of Bulganin-Krushchev has given good cause for people to believe that Santa Claus may not be a myth, after all.

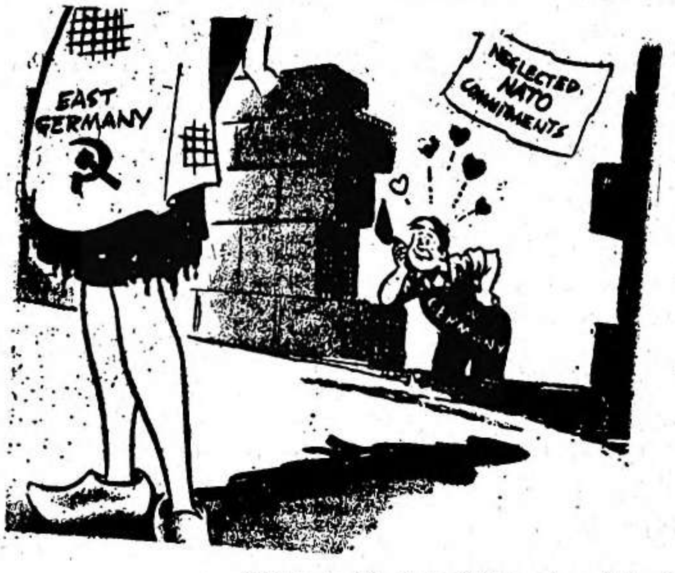
Wherever they go, B & K have only kind words and smiling faces. Regardless of the ulterior motives involved, the diplomacy seems to say "something for everyone." It is a lavish kind of gesture and seems to apply to all peoples—even those who in recent times were regarded as their mortal enemies.

Ten years ago leading Russian propagandists were denouncing the Germans in the most violent uncompromising language. Ilya Ehrenburg, one of their most prolific propagandists, wrote: *"Some people think that beaten Germans are less harmful. They are mistaken. Germans remain true to themselves . . . The Germans have not changed much. It is senseless to hope to bring them to reason, to shame them, and then to reform them."* On another occasion, Mr. Ehrenburg said: *"That is the most terrible thing about the atrocities of the Germans: they slaughtered millions of fine people for nothing at all. And among the millions of Germans there was not to be found a handful of men of science to cry 'halt'."*

The theme that the German people, as a whole, were responsible for Hitler's aggressions and the crimes resulting from them, was constantly emphasized by the Soviets. The well known writer and war correspondent Alexei Tolstoy declared: *"We will never believe that Germany was deceived and fooled by a gang of Nazis; that she did not want it, poor thing, but was dragged into a predatory war."* In less dramatic terms one of Russia's leading jurists, Prof. A. Trainin, wrote: *"Who must shoulder the responsibility for war crimes? The answer is perfectly clear, the German State and the German people must certainly bear, and will bear the political and material consequences of Hitlerite aggression and the Hitlerite system of militarized banditry"* (Information Bulletin of the Soviet Union, 6-30-45).

However, in this year of 1956, the "something for everyone" diplomacy has changed the Soviet tune. In the Soviet publication New Times (1-12-56) we read an account of a visit by Russian educators to the East zone of Germany. The writer of this piece describes in rapturous language what great "progress" has been achieved in "democratizing" German youth. He tells the story of a Western journalist asking some children at a school in Berlin if they did not want to take revenge on those who had defeated Germany. The children replied: *"The war was not caused by the German people, it was launched and lost by the Nazis . . ."* The writer confessed that this answer "deeply impressed" him. It left him with the conviction that democracy in Germany "is growing in strength and self-awareness." The writer did not bother to tell his readers that the children's reply is the favorite alibi of Germans, whether they be concealed Hitlerites or professed democrats. Why should this threadbare excuse carry more weight just because it is mouthed by those who are indoctrinated with Communist ideology? Ten years ago this reply would have been denounced by Soviet propagandists—today it is an indication that the so-called German Democratic Republic "is pulsating with life."

The cynicism displayed by Soviet leaders with regard to Germany's war crimes was illustrated last year when Adenauer paid homage to the Kremlin. In his very first public statement the Chancellor pleaded for the return of those Germans who were still in Russian prison camps. The press reported that Bulganin replied with great indignation that there were no longer any German prisoners of war in Russia; the only Germans held were war criminals. These criminals, Bulganin stated, *"must be kept in confinement."* They are people *"who have lost all human vision. They are guilty of violence, arson, murder of women, children and old people."* The Russian people, Bulganin shouted, will "never forget" the crimes perpetrated by these "murderers." A few months later, these very same "murderers" were on their way back to Germany. In December 1955 a contingent of these "murderers," returning from a Russian prison camp, raised their right hands and publicly swore "by our dead and the dead of the Soviet Union and by the children who



(*Palmer in The Springfield Leader and Press*)
"SUFFERING FROM LOVE"

will one day pass judgment on us, we swear that we have not murdered, that we have not raped, that we have not burned and we have not pillaged. If we brought misery and suffering to that land (the Soviet Union) we did so under the law of war and mindful of our soldier's oath" (N. Y. Times, 12-14-55). The Times reported that German officials were disturbed lest this public demonstration offend the Soviets. Actually, the Germans had no cause for fear because the "something for everyone" diplomacy is so generous in concept and execution that even the memories of the Russian war dead can be sacrificed, if necessary. The Germans as well as the Russians would call this Realpolitik.

The attitude toward the revival of German militarism is another example of the new diplomacy. Last year the satellite government in the Soviet zone announced a program for the reconstruction of Potsdam, the hallowed shrine of Prussian militarism. Communist spokesmen attributed the destruction of Potsdam "to unnecessary United States air raids" (N. Y. Times, 2-7-55). The East German government's newspaper, the Tägliche Rundschau, devoted a number of editorials which recalled the days when Prussia and Russia were friends. The Germans were reminded how Prussian generals, like Clausewitz, Scharnhorst and Yorck cooperated with Russian military leaders. The Times dispatch noted that the Russians and the German Communist regime hope to build up a firm alliance through the reawakening of the Prussian pro-Russian spirit. In this connection it is now reported that the East German regime intends to restore the State of Prussia which had been abolished at the end of World War II because it was deemed to be the sinister symbol of German militarism. The Communists hope that the revival of the State of Prussia will have a favorable propaganda effect "especially in rightist circles" in Western Germany (Bulletin on German Questions, 3-1-56).

Soviet publications are devoting a lot of space these days to the past "glories" of Russo-German friendship. The Soviet magazine "International Affairs" (August 1955) carried a detailed article extolling the virtues of Rapallo. Rapallo, of course, refers to the treaty between Russia and Germany in 1922 which formed the basis of close military, political and economic collaboration between the Soviet Government and the Weimar Republic. The German General Staff and leading industrialists gave this treaty special support. The writer of this article points out that by 1921 German political leaders began to veer toward friendship with Communist Russia. Thus, the signing of the Rapallo Treaty, according to this writer, *"bore witness to the existence within Germany's ruling classes of forces with a realistic approach to the solution of foreign policy programs."* He recalls how the Rapallo Treaty strengthened the ties between Germany and the Soviet Union. He quotes one German writer who alleged that it was through the aid of Soviet orders "that the German engineering and electrical industries were able to keep going during the crisis years of 1930-1933." The article constantly refers to the "imperialist" pressures of the Western powers against Germany which the Germans were able to offset, thanks to the Rapallo Treaty.

According to the writer in "International Affairs" it would appear that no matter how hard the Western powers tried to turn the Germans away from the Rapallo Treaty, *"interest in the strengthening of relations with the USSR mounted . . . among Germany's ruling classes."* He cannot conceal his pleasure over the former ties between the bigwigs in German industry and the Soviets. To underline his point he quotes a passage from the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung which, he tells the reader, was the "voice of the German monopolies." The Deutsche Allgemeine urged the Germans to maintain close cooperation with the USSR and oppose the attempts of the Western powers to "incite" Germany against Russia. In concluding this study, the writer refers to the famous statement by Stalin who said that the peoples of Germany and Russia have *"the greatest potentialities in Europe for carrying out great acts of world importance."*

The October 1955 issue of "International Affairs" carries a leading editorial entitled "The Soviet Union and Germany." Here again, many paragraphs are devoted to the "wonderful" future which lies ahead for friendship between Germany and Russia. *"The Soviet Union and Germany,"* the editorial states, *"are the biggest industrial countries in Europe with high economic potentials. It naturally follows that good relations between the German and Soviet peoples are the firm guaranty of universal peace in Europe and throughout the world."*

In line with the theme that the German people were also victims of the Nazis, the editorial characterizes the Red Army as their "liberator." The editorial further states that the Soviet Union was always in favor of a strong Germany. The Soviet Government opposed those who spread "hatred" against the German people and in this connection the editorial roundly denounces Lord Vansittart, the English diplomat who warned the west of the German danger. Only the Soviet Union, the editorial tells us, fought against the dismemberment of Germany, and it is only the Soviet Union which can solve "the problem of finding markets for West German industrial products." This point, the editorial declares with

". . . Future German foreign-policy decisions will not depend on whether the Adenauer Cabinet remains in power or is replaced by a government based on the budding SPD-FDP alliance. Germany's course will hinge on the relative military and overall strength of the various powers and, to quite some extent, on the record of Soviet performance in the years to come . . ."

(By Otto Kirchheimer, The New Leader, 4-16-56)

confidence, is bound to interest West German industrialists.

The February 1956 issue of "International Affairs" discusses the value of the Eastern markets for the industrial war lords of the Ruhr. The Industriekurier which, according to the Soviet publication, expresses the opinions of the big German industrials and exporters, is bitterly opposed to Allied trade policy vis-à-vis the Soviet bloc. The complaints of the Industriekurier are generally aired and the Soviet publication is happy to be able to report that German publications are also agitating for a "new approach." Summing up these developments, International Affairs dangles the bait: *"West German business circles cannot help noticing that the G. D. R. (German Communist regime) is very successful in trade with the countries of the democratic camp, while the trade balance of the G. F. R. (German Federal Republic) clearly shows the disadvantages of the one-sided Bonn policy for the country's economy."*

A rather clear cut example of the 180 degree switch in Soviet policy toward Germany may be seen in two articles written by a Russian professor A. Yerusalimsky. Writing in the New Times (9-19-53), the professor warned the peoples of Europe of the German danger. *"Furthermore,"* he wrote, *"history has shown that it is not Germany, but her neighbors that need guarantees of security, they having been the victims of German aggression twice in the course of a half century . . . It is upon Germany that the maintenance of peace in Europe mostly depends; for this she has only to renounce her suicidal policy of stirring up wars and armed conflicts."* Writing for the New Times about two years later (1-26-56) Prof. Yerusalimsky weeps over the "hard" peace which the Allies planned for Germany. The professor cries that it was the Morgenthau Plan, "sponsored by influential American monopolists" which tried to destroy Germany, but thanks to the Soviet Union this insidious plot of American "imperialists" was unmasked and rendered harmless.

The new Russian propaganda line shows that nothing will be left to chance insofar as relations with Germany are concerned. The Soviets do not intend to be one inch behind the Western powers in the scramble for the hand of the former enemy. We can free a Sepp Dietrich; they too can release German war criminals. We can build up a German army led by former members of Hitler's General Staff; they are doing likewise. Indeed, there seems to be no end to this spectacle. In the process of bidding higher and higher, the moral principles for which millions gave their lives are cast into the shadows. The Bismarckian idea that moral principle is no substitute for brute force and political expediency, seems to have gripped the minds of many statesmen who, only a short while ago, exhorted their peoples to destroy every vestige of German militarism.

HITLER'S ECHO

A favorite "pastime" of the Nazis was the annual Nuremberg rally—scene of Hitler's hysterical harangues. With Teutonic fervor the cry for "blood" would echo through the ranks of the faithful as the Führer shook his fist at the world. It was a moment when the Nazi brass was able to whip up a frenzied hatred which spread fear and terror throughout Europe. Our thoughts return to that spectacle as we read about the annual celebrations of the German expellee groups. These rallies have provided the platform for those unregenerate elements who talk about Germany's "rights" in the same tones of terror as their Nazi forebears. It is also an occasion for the more respectable elements among the Germans to let their hair down, so to speak.

The most recent of these get-togethers was held in May of this year and the top leaders of the German Government participated enthusiastically. Chancellor Adenauer sent a message of greetings. He expressed the hope that the expellees would soon be able "to resume their historic task." Von Brentano, Bonn's Foreign Minister, declared that the Germans would never give up their "lost" territories. Theodor Oberlaender, Federal Minister for Refugees (a former Nazi), noted with great satisfaction that the agitation of the expellees was a great "service" to Europe. Even the leader of the Social Democrats, Erich Ollenhauer, put in his two cents by sending a message of greeting to the Sudeten Germans: He assured them that the Social-Democratic party would support their cause to the end. The Federal Minister for All German Affairs, Jacob Kaiser, promised the Sudetens that the German Government would never "abandon" their rights. Speaking about German "rights," it was the same Herr Kaiser who once said: *"No real Europe can be formed until the German bloc is reconstituted. I remind you that this bloc includes, in addition to Germany, Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar of course, and Alsace-Lorraine. When I think of the Strasbourg Cathedral, my heart hurts."*

"General von Manteuffel, former commander of German forces, present head of the Steel Helmets, is taking every precaution in the world to explain that he never, but never, was a Nazi. Notwithstanding, Hitler himself had given him the insignia of the National Socialist party. This was an unfortunate misunderstanding, explains the former war leader. 'I was invited by Hitler to assist in the distribution of decorations. At the end of the ceremony, Hitler handed me a little case. I believed it to contain a pair of cuff links. Later on I discovered that it was the party insignia. *It was too late to refuse . . .*'

"The honorable general made a slight mistake. He meant to say: 'It was too early to refuse' . . . He could not foresee how it would all end!"

(Liberation, Paris, 5-5-56)

The voice of Pan-Germanism with its chauvinistic sneers has not been stilled despite the Nazi defeat. Of course, the respectable leaders try to mislead world public opinion by pretending that the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudetenland and from other areas was merely the result of arbitrary decisions by the Allied powers. Apparently, they hope that memories are so short that we no longer recall the Fifth Column work of the Sudetens and other German minority groups which paved the way for Nazi conquests (see Prevent World War III, No. 47, "Pan-Germanism Rides Again," page 39).

In this connection, the same respectable Germans gloss over the fact that the leadership of these expellee groups is infested with pro-Nazi elements. For example, the leader of the Sudeten Germans, Lodgman von Auen, was a notorious Nazi collaborator and was arrested for war crimes. However, under mysterious circumstances he escaped punishment and now is a celebrated figure in Germany. Indeed, the President of the Bonn Government, Theodor Heuss, awarded von Auen the Great Service Cross of the Federal Republic on the occasion of his 75th birthday. It is interesting to recall that it was Herr Heuss who sent the infamous wire to the war criminal von Neurath, acclaiming his martyrdom, the same von Neurath who was found guilty in the persecution of the Czechs under Hitler. Thus, while the so-called respectable leaders, such as Heuss, pose as tried and true friends of democracy, they take advantage of every opportunity to give aid and comfort to the Pan-German ravings of the expellees.

The aims and objectives of the expellees may be couched in anti-Communist slogans, but behind this façade they strive tirelessly to carry out the dream of a Pan-German Europe. They pretend to be friends of the Western Allies but they smear Radio Free Europe; they pretend to be democratic, but they associate and make common cause with other fascistic elements; they pretend to be against the present satellite setup in Eastern Europe but they dream of the day when the Poles and the Czechs and other peoples of Eastern Europe will be satellites of a Fourth Reich.

These expellee groups are endeavoring in every possible way to exploit the cold war to achieve their nefarious goal. They are trying to whip up American public opinion. In this connection mention must be made of their public relations expert in the US, Dr. Richard Sallet. His background was referred to briefly in the issue of Prevent World War III mentioned above. Additional facts show that at one time he was Goebbels' representative in the Germany Embassy in Washington and subsequently an official in Ribbentrop's Foreign Office. Among his tasks was to coordinate pro-Nazi activities in the United States. The aim of this work was to drum up anti-Semitism, to disunite the American people and to create animosity between the USA and her most reliable allies. In this work he had the assistance of a top Nazi agent, Stallforth, who took advantage of his privileges as an American citizen. It may be that it was under Sallet's direction that the German Embassy in Washington recently circulated a map and an accompanying letter among Members of Congress and newspaper editors designed to justify the Pan-German activities of the expellee groups.

It is noteworthy that while the expellees try to curry favor with the USA, they smear Western Allied leaders. Winston Churchill received a taste of this medicine when he visited Germany in May. The violent attacks launched against Churchill made it necessary for the authorities to adopt rigid security precautions so as to protect Churchill's life. One of the leaflets circulated by these expellee gangs, when Churchill spoke at Aachen, read: "Citizens of Aachen! Avoid the ceremony at the market place tomorrow! Keep your windows shut! Don't wave flags! Come instead to the protest demonstration at the war memorial."

This type of agitation is just a foretaste of what is in store for the Allies should the German expellee groups really break loose. All sincere democrats who are just as opposed to Communism as they are to neo-Nazism and Pan-Germanism, should take heed of this development which is a definite threat to security and peace.

"Chancellor Adenauer . . . returned to Germany apparently under the impression that the whole free world desires the reunification of Germany . . . The fact is that there are large segments of the free world . . . that don't really care . . .

"While West Germany was working up oratorical steam on the Day of Unity yesterday, the French were also making speeches. It was the anniversary of the Battle of Verdun. Verdun, President Coty insisted there, was proof that France was not as decadent as people think."

(Theodore Kaghan, N. Y. Post, 6-18-56)

"The only thing except direct attack which might cause Russia to go to war, says General MacArthur, is this: a threat of a reunited Germany once more geared up to its full war potential. He thinks Russia is afraid of a Germany in arms, and predicts:

" 'If we use Germany as a military threat against Russia it will probably precipitate the third World War.'

"In his view, Russia will never permit Germany's reunification unless Germany is neutralized."

(U. S. News & World Report, 4-6-56)

Scapegoat Tactics

The weekly magazine U. S. News & World Report (4-6-56) published an interview with French Prime Minister Guy Mollet which made headline news. Though Mollet was asked to comment on some of the most delicate world problems, his replies were forthright and devoid of platitudes and ambiguities. Of course, Mr. Mollet could have taken the easy way out by flattering the State Department's handling of these vital issues. Perhaps this would have made him a hero in the eyes of our policy makers but, fortunately, Mr. Mollet did not permit himself this luxury, and it is doubtful whether the American people would have benefited by it.

Fawning was never the hallmark of a sincere and reliable ally. In his constructive criticisms Mr. Mollet proved again that the French people are faithful to the common interests of the Western Democracies. Nevertheless, the French Prime Minister has been subjected to a barrage of accusations and innuendoes of a most vicious type. There is no doubt that this storm would not have been so violent, had it not been for the fact that Mollet questioned the soundness of American policy with regard to Germany. His well reasoned criticisms represented one of the rare public occasions when a prominent Allied statesman has taken issue with the "Germany First" policy.

Mr. Mollet declared that the German problem was basically a problem of European security. Thus, he implied that, when the peoples of Europe were assured of their security against the possible resurgence of an aggressive Germany, the German problem would lend itself to a practical solution.

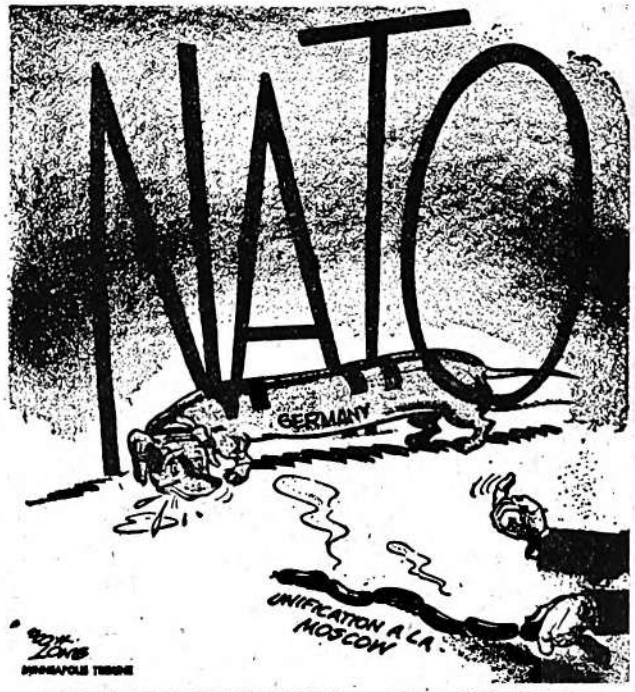
Mollet did not speak for the French alone. He represented the views of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Europe who have suffered time and again under the heel of the German jackboot. Indeed, the French Prime Minister was merely reaffirming what had been the original policy of the United States at the end of World War II. It is true that American policy has been reversed, but this does not detract from the validity of the principle enunciated by Mr. Mollet.

In a subsequent issue (4-13-56), the U. S. News & World Report carried a selected number of statements supposedly representing public opinion in Europe on the Mollet interview. While many of these carefully selected reactions from abroad were adverse, they were not unanimous. Nevertheless, the U. S. News & World Report captioned its "findings" with these words: "French Premier divides Allies, pleases Russians." The bias displayed in this misleading headline, is not an unusual phenomenon insofar as a large sector of the American press is concerned. Generally speaking, it is a rare thing to read criticisms of the Germans in the American press. On the contrary, ever since the end of the war there has been a steady increase of omissions in the press concerning the real state of affairs in Germany. It is always the French or the British who are accused of sabotaging Western unity and of dealing with the Russians behind the back of the United States. Such charges are seldom made against the Germans and yet, the record of German dealings with Moscow goes back as far as 1945.

It was in 1945 that Marshal Zhukov appointed Count Rudolf Nadolny to the post of special advisor on German questions. Nadolny was an expert on Russian affairs and was Hitler's Ambassador to Moscow. Through his tireless efforts following the end of hostilities, Nadolny brought together a group of ultra-conservative German businessmen and diplomats who sought to find ways and means of promoting rapprochement with the Russians.

Nadolny's circle of friends included such prominent personalities as Fritz von Prittwitz, former German Envoy to Washington, Dr. Hermann Puender, banker Hermann Abs, Dr. Andreas Hermes, former Minister of Agriculture, Prof. Ludwig Erhard, now Minister of Economics in the Bonn cabinet, all close personal friends of Dr. Adenauer and influential co-leaders in the Christian Democratic Union.

The secret Russo-German negotiations, sponsored by Nadolny and his group, were exposed in the European press. Mr. Walter Lippmann devoted an entire column to this development (3-15-49). It is also known that at one of the conferences held by the Nadolny circle, the present Foreign Minister of the Bonn Government, Heinrich von Brentano, warned: *"It must be our duty to overcome the deep antagonism of the Russians by eliminating all reasons for distrust against Germany."* In this connection he stated that "Germany must not become a satellite of a Western coalition" (Der Spiegel, 6-13-51). The growing activities of this influential group obliged Chancellor Adenauer to call for discretion. *"We must move very cautiously,"* he said. *"We ought not to give the impression either in Germany or in the United*



TEMPTATION STRONG... AND GETTING STRONGER

States, that we shall collaborate in any way with the Russians" (New York Times, 8-17-49).

Chancellor Adenauer's remarks did not dampen the enthusiasm of Nadolny and his friends in high places, and the secret dealings with Moscow continued. Thus, in August, 1952, a "hush-hush" meeting took place between top leaders of the German business community and associates of Anastas Mikoyan, the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister. It is noteworthy that this conference, held in Copenhagen, took place only three months after the general peace contract with Bonn had been drawn up. *"The conference was called at West German initiative with the knowledge of the West German Government, presumably Chancellor Adenauer himself"* (Christian Science Monitor, 4-17-54).

In the early part of 1954 additional efforts were made by influential Germans to come to some sort of bilateral arrangement with the Russians. The person who was directly associated with this move, was Karl Georg Pfleiderer, a leader of the Free Democratic Party which was part of the Adenauer coalition. A former career diplomat who served in Soviet Russia before World War II, Pfleiderer urged the prompt establishment of diplomatic relations with Moscow. He also favored a kind of East-West "non-aggression pact," similar to that which the Soviets had proposed at the Berlin Conference in February, 1954. According to Marquis Childs, Pfleiderer was said *"to have close ties with the powerful Rhineland industrialists who want to expand their sales in both, Russia and China"* (9-17-54). Added significance may be given to Pfleiderer's views since he was the foreign affairs expert for the Free Democratic Party whose leadership has long advocated separate negotiations with the Russians. The record shows that Pfleiderer had talks with the Soviet High Commissioner and other Russian officials in the Eastern Zone and it is also a matter of record that Dr. Adenauer secretly encouraged Pfleiderer to visit Moscow and Peiping. However, when Pfleiderer's activities became public knowledge, Adenauer denied that he was in any way responsible.

The fear lest Bonn's hand be exposed prematurely, has impelled German politicians to use all kinds of devious methods in their approach to the Russians. They have even sought to employ intermediary third parties to cloak their designs. When Vice-Chancellor Bluecher arrived in India in January of this year, a delegation from East Germany had also turned up. It is not known whether Herr Bluecher had direct contacts with his East German brethren in New Delhi, but Herr Bluecher told Nehru that "the Federal Republic would in no way consider it an interference into its domestic affairs if India would perform the service, by its good offices, of trying to increase Russian understanding of the difficult German situation" (The Bulletin, a weekly issued by the Bonn Government, 1-26-56).

Incidently, it should be pointed out that Herr Pfleiderer negotiated with Nehru in the Austrian town of Fuschl in the preceding year. The German press reported that the Pfleiderer-Nehru talks preceded secret conversations between Adenauer and Pfleiderer by just a few hours. One press report had the following to say about this bizarre affair: "Of course, a spokesman for the Bonn Government was asked what was going on here? He was prepared with an adequate answer—and was met with bursts of laughter. According to the government spokesman, the important expert on Eastern affairs Pfleiderer met with Nehru, possibly the most active politician in the world today, to report on the economic structure of Baden-Württemberg." Thus, it was on this highly important subject that Nehru came all the way from India!

To return to Bluecher: Herr Bluecher has been quite active in this very sensitive field of Russo-German negotiations. His attitude on how to deal with the Soviets was revealed by the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (8-12-55), i.e., prior to his trip to India. This newspaper reported that Bluecher had already discussed the possibility of a "revision of the Paris Treaties" (release of West Germany from NATO). Bluecher also let it be known that Bonn was prepared to negotiate with the Communist Government in Eastern Germany in order to facilitate reunification. According to Marquis Childs (7-30-54), Bleucher was determined that Germany must deal with the Russians. Childs reported that Bluecher envisaged a policy of co-existence with the Soviets whereby German reunification would come about in return for a guarantee that the West "would respect the present status of Poland and Czechoslovakia."

The Pfleiderer and Bluecher plans to break up NATO as part of a deal with Moscow, seem to have carried great weight with the Bonn Government. Thus, the London Times (5-8-55) reported that the former Ribbentrop diplomat Herr von Herwarth, the present Ambassador to Britain, was expected *to propose the exclusion of Germany from NATO in return for Russian agreement to unification, free elections in her Eastern and South-Eastern European satellites and the abandonment of the projected 'Eastern NATO.'"*

Another important German leader, Martin Euler, was also an advocate of a direct approach to Moscow at the expense of NATO. The Swiss newspaper Journal de Genève (11-26-55) reported that Euler *"wants the Bonn Republic to quit NATO, to arm itself by its own means and, having recaptured freedom supported by force, undertake a démarche towards Moscow."* It is true that both Bluecher and Euler have split with the present leadership of the Free Democratic Party, but whether this represents a change of heart with regard to their attitude toward NATO and the need to negotiate with Russians remains to be seen.

As regards Bluecher, it is noteworthy that his right-hand man is a former SS Captain and ex-Ribbentrop diplomat, Dr. G. A. Sonnenhol. Two years ago, the noted British correspondent Sefton Delmer wrote a sensational article for the London Daily Express wherein he revealed the contents of a memorandum on German policy prepared by Dr. Sonnenhol. The main point of the memorandum was the insistence that the cold war between East and West must be kept going by the Germans so that they could play off one bloc against the other, reunify Germany, and reassert and increase the power of the Fatherland. The Sonnenhol memorandum observed that tensions between the victors of 1945 had already been exploited with such success that Germany was becoming sufficiently strong to abandon a policy of absolute reliance on the West and blind obedience to its orders. Sonnenhal boasted that Germany's war potential had become so great that a policy of subservience to the West "is no longer permissible." Stressing the thesis that the cold war had been a windfall to the Germans, the memorandum stated: *"Fears in the West* *of a German-Soviet understanding coupled with the intransigence shown by the Russians at the Berlin Conference, give a strong negotiating position to the government which it can and must exploit."* Needless to say, the Sonnenhol "line" has been followed faithfully.

Of course, under the shrewd leadership of Chancellor Adenauer the Germans are always careful not to move in a spectacular way until the proper alibi is found. It will be recalled that, when Adenauer returned from Moscow after having agreed to diplomatic relations with the Soviets, one of his justifications for this turnabout on his part was that the Allies had encouraged the spirit of co-existence at the Geneva Conference. Having established diplomatic relations with the Russians, the Bonn Government was now prepared for the next step but this, too, required a good alibi. Up to the Mollet interview, this was lacking. Even so, the press service of Chancellor Adenauer's party reported that if negotiations at Geneva were not satisfactory to Bonn, bilateral discussions with the Soviet Union on German reunification would be initiated through diplomatic channels (N. Y. Times, 7-22-55). Apparently, the results of the Geneva Conference did not provide sufficient grounds for a Bonn-Moscow deal. On the other hand, the Mollet interview was regarded by the Germans as a godsend.

Shortly after Mollet had expressed his views, von Brentano announced that Bonn would make a direct approach to the Russians. He implied, as did other German officials, that Mollet's remarks amounted to a doublecross, thereby justifying negotiations with the Russians. In this connection, von Brentano warned the West in a tone reminiscent of the best traditions of arrogant German diplomacy: *"We do not say we forbid you to make a disarmament agreement that ignores the German question. We warn you not to do so"* (A. P., 4-13-56).

So the Germans feigned shock over Mollet's statements and spoke as though they would have never thought of going directly to Moscow, had they not been "betrayed" by the French. However, contrary to the general run of press reports intimating that Mollet's statements were the cause of Bonn's decision, von Brentano himself admitted that the Bonn Government had been dickering with Moscow for some time. He told reporters: *"We (the Bonn Government) may be said to be in a phase of continuing initiative although we cannot give periodic explanations which could prejudice the chances of success of our policies"* (Manchester Guardian, 4-19-56).

There is additional evidence to show that von Brentano was ndulging in sanctimonious double talk when he implied that he French were warming up to the Russians. Just two months before the Mollet interview, the U. S. News & World Report published a statement by von Brentano wherein he declared hat it was *"possible and even probable that the new Soviet Ambassador in Bonn will broach the question of reunification"* (2-10-56). Von Brentano indicated that similar talks would go on between the Soviet Government and the newly appointed German Ambassador. He emphasized that diplomatic elations with Russia had been established "as a means of urthering the solution of the question of reunification." Did he U. S. News & World Report rush into print with a bold ace headline reading "German Foreign Minister divides llies, pleases Russians"? Of course, it did not. Indeed, von Brentano's sensational admission went hardly noticed by the press with the notable exception of the Communist Daily Worker which gloated over the Brentano statement and featured it prominently.

In denouncing Mollet as subscribing to views held by the Soviet Union on German reunification, the Bonn Government stated that it had *"repeatedly declared that without reunification and the establishment of a security system satisfactory to all countries, it would not be possible to negotiate on disarmament with any hope of success."* However, if Mollet has deviated from the straight and narrow path, so did Chancellor Adenauer. As late as June, 1955, Adenauer told the United Press that the United States and Soviet Russia should try to reach an agreement on a program for controlled disarmament. The U. P. reported that Adenauer believed such an agreement on disarmament "would pave the way for a settlement of other problems, like security and Germany." Adenauer's view that disarmament and a general security system would pave the way for the settlement of the German problem was also reported in the New York Times (6-13-55). In a speech delivered before the Geneva Conference took place, Adenauer repeated his view that the "primary and decisive issue" at the Conference must be the question of disarmament. He declared: "By earnestly and resolutely tackling this task, the reunification of Germany in peace and freedom will also be achieved in due course" (The Bulletin, 6-2-55). This speech was praised in an editorial in the next issue of the Bulletin. Adenauer was hailed as a "realist" when he made his "strong bid for disarmament and collective security." The editorial concluded that through the settlement of these problems German reunification would be facilitated.

We have dwelt at length on "L'Affaire Mollet" because it is imperative, from the standpoint of U. S. security, to safeguard the bonds of friendship between France and our country. Only the most inveterate enemies of both, France and the U. S. A., could profit from the suspicions and deliberate distortions which have beclouded the far-sighted views of Mr. Mollet on disarmament, security and German reunification. The moth-eaten picture of France in the role of a cunning villain while the Germans appear as the loyal and betrayed party, is a favorite device of German propaganda. It would seem that two world wars should have immunized us from such deceit.

"So far, the German industrialists have been too busy to bother with politics, though they spent immense sums on election propaganda for the right-wing parties—and paid insurance to the Communist party, too, in the years before NATO blocked the Soviet advance.

"Meanwhile, they are dazzled by the vision of new markets in the Middle East and Asia; their enthusiasm for an Asian Marshall Plan springs strictly from the expectation of profit.

"This materialistic approach to world problems is not confined to the industrialists—it is general in all classes.

". . . But the bad side of German materialism is a cynical selfishness in both domestic and foreign policy—an absolute refusal to make sacrifices for the common good . . ."

(Denis Healey, New Leader, 5-28-56)

Dr. Wilhelm Haas — Ambassador Extraordinary

In defense of his decision to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, Chancellor Adenauer declared that Germany could not ignore the fact that Russia was one of the world's leading powers. By the same token, it would have been hardly in keeping with the Chancellor's sizing up of the Soviets, had he failed to appoint an individual with stature commensurate with the responsibilities and tasks awaiting the German ambassador to Moscow. Indeed, the Russians, aware of the importance of the new relationship with Bonn, lost no time in appointing one of their top diplomats to the German post. The Russian Ambassador Zorin not only held a high position in the Soviet Foreign Office, but was one of the key manipulators behind the scenes in Czechoslovakia when the Communists took over in 1948.

Renazifying the Foreign Office

Though Bonn's Ambassador to Moscow, Dr. Wilhelm Hass, may not have earned as colorful a reputation as his Russion counterpart, he is by no means a mediocrity. On the contrary, Dr. Haas has had extensive training and experience. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that he is not a well-known figure outside of certain circles in Germany. In deed, the only time the outside world received some special news of his actual existence prior to his latest appointment, was during his sojourn as Chief of the Administrative and Personnel Division of the Bonn Foreign Office.

It was way back in 1950 that Dr. Haas admitted publicly that 14 out of 31 senior members of the "new" German Foreign Office were former Nazis. Dr. Haas told reporters that he saw no objection to the appointment of former Ribbentrip diplomats. He contended that the German Foreign Service could not be rebuilt on an efficient basis without the reemployment of these Hitlerites. Haas did a thorough job in renazifying the Bonn Foreign Office. One of Germany's noted radio commentators, Helmut Hammerschmidt, reported that there were "more Nazis now than the Foreign Ministry had even under Hitler" (A.P. 3-17-52).

Those who protested this scandalous situation, found out very soon that Chancellor Adenauer supported Haas to the hilt. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dr. Haas selected Foreign Office personnel with the help of the personal advice of another Ribbentrop diplomat, Hans Schroeder. It is a fact that Herr Schroeder had been a Nazi party member since 1933 and was also the Landesgruppenleiter of the Nazi regime abroad. The rapidity of Schoeder's rise as Deputy Director of the Personnel Division in the Nazi Foreign Office may be partially explained by the fact that he had very close ties with Rudolf Hess, Hitler's Deputy.

Following Haas' performance in staffing the "new" Foreign Office, Chancellor Adenauer rewarded him with the German Ambassadorship to Turkey. In this capacity, he helped to increase Germany's economic and political influence in that strategic area and in other parts of the Middle East. The German newspapers have praised him highly for his successes in establishing fruitful contracts for the Germans. Thus, his stay in Turkey which lasted for almost three years, proved his ability and paved the way for his still more important assignment in Moscow.

The Beginning of a Career

Like all German diplomats Herr Haas received careful training from the very beginning of his career. It was this special treatment which placed the German Diplomatic Corps and its operations in an elite category immune to the vicissitudes of domestic politics. This has produced a consistency in German foreign policy, regardless of the party in power, which remains intact to the present day.

We are told that Haas entered the diplomatic service in 1922 as a native of the city of Bremen. As a young attaché Haas made the rounds of many of the important foreign chancellories. Besides a tour of duty in Paris and in Addis Ababa, Haas was stationed in the Far East, notably Peking, Shanghai and Tokyo. The Bonn Government's official "Bulletin" (1-5-56) boasts that in Haas "Germany has an acute observer in the Eastern hemisphere." During his first years in the Foreign Office, Haas experienced the signing of the Rapallo Treaty which marked the beginning of postwar cooperation, military and economic, between Russia and Germany. At one time Haas was Secretary of the German Delegation to the League of Nations. He held this post until Germany withdrew from the League. It is stated that following Germany's withdrawal "Ribbentrop did not want to do without Dr. Haas and he appointed him for a period of 3 years (1934-1937) as a trade attaché to the German Embassy in Tokyo (Neue Volkszeitung, 1-7-56).

The "Bulletin" alleges that Haas had to resign from the Foreign Office in 1937 because of his wife's non-Aryan background. Offhand this would appear to imply that Haas was persona non grata with the Nazis. We shall subsequently see that this is far from the truth, but suffice it to say at this point that he was chosen "liaison officer" for I. G. Farben in Peking. While serving in this post to which he was recommended by the I. G. Farben war criminal Max Ilgner, Haas continued to receive his State pension from the Hitler Government, in foreign exchange no less. Haas remained in this position to the end of the war.

I. G. Farben's Record

That Farben performed invaluable services on behalf of the Nazis in their drive to conquer the world, is a matter of record. A study of the documents which were disclosed at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, indicates that the aims of the Farben empire and those of the Hitler Government were so interrelated as to make it difficult to separate one from the other. Even before the rise of Hitler, Farben was regarded as the "crown jewel" of the Weimar Republic. Stresemann called it his "trump card." On another occasion he said, "Without Farben no foreign policy was possible."

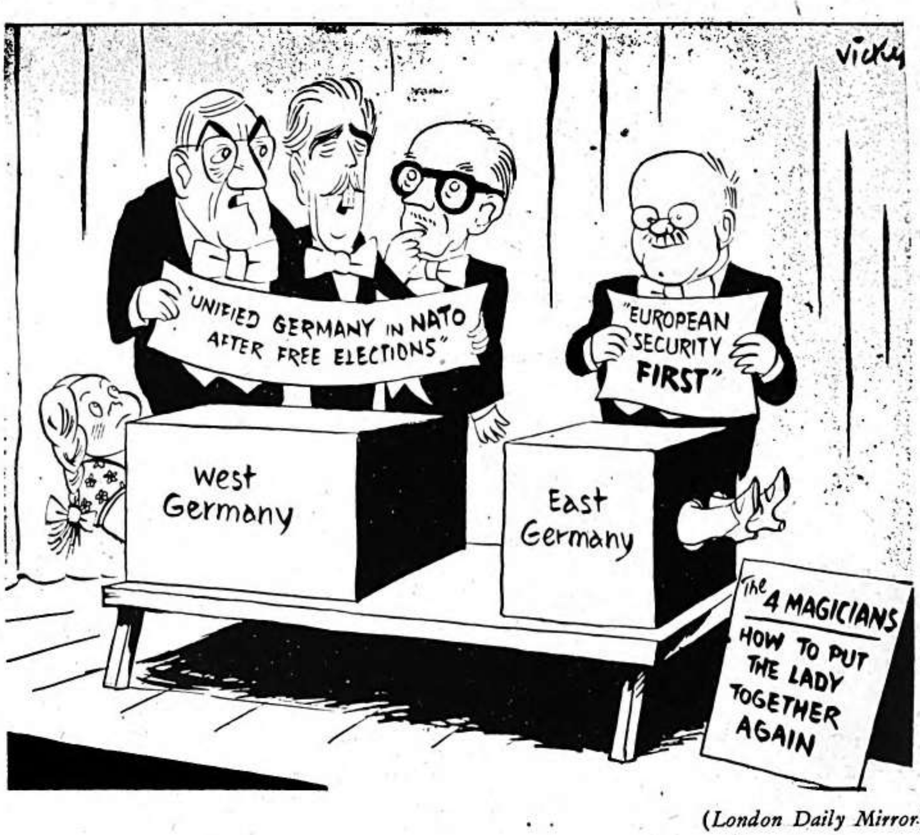
Farben's tie-up with the Nazis was described in detail by one of IG's top officials, Georg von Schnitzler, who was a member of the Board of Directors from 1925-1945 and the head of its important Commercial Committee. In an affidavit dated 3-18-47, von Schnitzler admitted that *"the development of IG during the last* 12 *years cannot be separated from the government's foreign policy."* In this same affidavit he confessed: *"Thus in acting as it had done, the IG contracted a great responsibility and constituted a* *stantial and (in the chemical domain) decisive help to Hitler's foreign policy, which led to war and to the ruin of Germany. Thus I must conclude that IG is largely responsible for Hitler's policy."* As regards Farben's connection with Hitler's armed forces von Schnitzler said: *"Hand in hand with this, the relations between IG and the Wehrmacht became more and more intimate and a continuous union between IG officials on the one side and the Wehrmacht representatives on the other side was the consequence of it."* Needless to say, this relationship was very satisfactory to Farben and not only for patriotic reasons. Von Schnitzler tells us: *"Practically the whole augmentation in the turnover of IG from a little over 1 billion marks to 3 billions in 1943 is a 100 percent result of the rearmament and the war policy of the German Government."*

The cooperation between the German General Staff and IG Farben made it necessary to establish an organization that would work on a continuous basis for the development of Germany's war potential. This was achieved in 1935 when IG set up Vermittlungsstelle W in the Berlin office of Farben. The head of this office, Dr. Karl Krauch, described the function of Vermittlungsstelle W as an organization which was to provide *"the establishment of military economy for a systematic cooperation within the IG and particularly for a centralized treatment of questions of military policy and military technics."* Another of the Farben war criminals, Hans Kugler, put it more plainly when he said: *"The foremost purpose of the Nazi government and IG and all other industrialists was to keep the Wehrmacht all powerful vis-à-vis all other countries, including the USA."*

The Espionage Network

The N.W.7 office of Farben in Berlin was also headquarters of the world wide intelligence operations conducted by another key Farben official, Dr. Max Ilgner. His outfit turned out to be indispensable to Germany's preparations for the planning and waging of aggressive war. The Wehrmacht enjoyed particular close relations with this spy organization. Von Schnitzler revealed that after a conference with Wehrmacht intelligence officials in 1936, Ilgner promised to send them *"copies of his reports from abroad. In 1937, the Berlin NW 7 office first took the initiative in preparing bombing surveys and then interested the Wehrmacht in them"* (The Devil's Chemists by Josiah E. DuBois, page 325). Thus, Farben merged its resources with the Wehrmacht for espionage and military purposes. A conference between Farben officials and representatives of the military intelligence staff of the German High Command took place on May 2, 1941, to develop this cooperation still further. In opening the conference Major Bloch, representing the Counter Intelligence Division of the General Staff, conveyed the thanks of Admiral Canaris, Hitler's Chief of Intelligence, for Farben's *valuable cooperation and support shown so far in the field of foreign intelligence service in regard to questions of economy and war economy."* In reply, Farben officials assured Major Bloch of their unqualified cooperation. Further assurances were given that all reports from Farben representatives abroad which dealt with matters of concern to the General Staff, would be forwarded to it.

According to the investigations of the Senate Subcommittee, otherwise known as the Kilgore Committee, it was ascertained that the personnel under Ilgner "were working full time for the Wehrmacht" although they were ostensibly paid by Farben. This leads us to one of the key instruments necessary for the proper functioning of the Farben spy network. In 1937, the decisive year for the remilitarization of Germany and the preparation for aggressive war, the so-called Verbindungsmänner or "liaison officers" were appointed by Ilgner. It was in that year that Dr. Haas joined Farben. These so-called Verbindungsmänner cooperated with the Nazis in foreign countries in every possible way. In this connection the Commercial Committee which had overall charge of Farben's personnel abroad, stipulated in September 1937: "Under no circumstance should anybody be assigned to IG Farben agencies abroad who is not a member of the German Labor Front and whose positive attitude to the new era has not been established beyond any doubt. Gentlemen who are sent abroad should be made to realize that it is their special duty to represent National Socialist Germany. They are particularly


Vicky
"UNIFIED GERMANY IN NATO AFTER FREE ELECTIONS"
"EUROPEAN SECURITY FIRST"
West Germany
East Germany
THE 4 MAGICIANS HOW TO PUT THE LADY TOGETHER AGAIN

(*London Daily Mirror.*)

"THERE IS NO CAUSE FOR ALARM! OF COURSE WE KNOW HOW TO DO IT — WE'VE BEEN DOING IT FOR YEARS AND YEARS . . ."

reminded that as soon as they arrive they are to contact the local or regional group of Germans abroad and are expected to attend regularly their meetings as well as those of the Labor Front."

Again we repeat that this was the year that the present German ambassador to Moscow was appointed as "liaison officer" of the I. G. Farben. The Farben official who was responsible for the coordination of the Verbindungsmänner's activities was Herr Waibel. He was most anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Auslandsorganization, the organization of the Nazi party abroad. It was he who worked out the agreement with the Nazis that all personnel representing Farben in other countries, would cooperate one hundred percent with Nazi organizations including the "German Labor Front." As a result of his responsibilities, Herr Waibel was the recipient of reports prepared by Dr. Haas from China which had little to do with Farben's business problems as such but were of definite concern to the German High Command. "Through the instrumentality of its leading agent abroad, the 'Verbindungsmaenner,' one of whom was located in every major country of the world, Farben received frequent intelligence reports pertaining to economic, political, and military matters. So invaluable were these Vebindungsmaenner that in most cases they were absorbed into the OKW/Abwehr (Military Intelligence Division of the Wehrmacht) and into Nazi Party organizations. In addition, Farben placed on its payroll members of the 'OKW/Abwehr.' Reports received from abroad or compiled by Farben were given to the Wehrwirtschaftstab (Military Economics Staff) of General Thomas, the OKW/Abwehr, and the Auslandsorganisation. These reports were received, analyzed, compiled, and forwarded to the Vorstand and to the various interested agencies of the Third Reich through Farben's Berlin organization known as the 'Berlin N.W.7' office. The Berlin N.W.7 office also prepared special reports and maps for the Wehrmacht identifying and locating strategic factories in countries about to become the victims of German aggression. These maps and reports were used by the Luftwaffe in selecting their bombing targets." (Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Vol. VII, page 33).

"Bureau Ehrhardt"

To cite a concrete example of how this vast espionage ring operated, we refer to the so-called "Bureau Ehrhardt," the German High Command's wartime intelligence organization in China and in neighboring countries of Asia. The head was Lt. Col. Ludwig Ehrhardt, chief of the Nazi intelligence service in the Orient. Ehrhardt had a very adventurous background having headed the German fifth column in the Balkans before he was sent to China to coordinate the intelligence activities of the German Armed Forces in that country. Ehrhardt was a close and trusted friend of the Fuehrer. "Bureau Ehrhardt" consisted of a number of shady characters including some Japanese who spied on Allied activities in the Far East and reported their findings to the German High Command. Ehrhardt's outfit had established offices in Shanghai, Canton, and Peking.

Information was gathered which led to the sinking of a number of American ships including at least one aircraft carrier, and heavy losses in the early phases of the Okinawa and other Pacific campaigns. The spy ring *"authorities reported, was cloaked by German commercial firms in China and was aided by the German Embassy"* (U. P. 4-15-46). The same press dispatch noted that those who worked for Bureau Ehrhardt were *"all members of a Nazi sponsored werewolf organization that carried on war against the United States and China long after the Reich had surrendered."* One of the agents, Wolfgang Schenke, is now the editor of a press service in Hamburg entitled "Realpolitik." He also contemplates the setting up of a so-called neutralist weekly which will be named "Neue Politik." Schenke has a long record of spying for the German High Command in the guise of a German newspaper correspondent. The Soviet publication "International Affairs" (February 1956) called Herr Schenke "the prominent West German Orientalist" and quoted approvingly his views on Asian "neutralism."

Von Puttkamer and Dr. Haas

Another interesting figure of "Bureau Ehrhardt" was Baron Jesco von Puttkamer. In many ways Puttkamer was even more important than Col. Ehrhardt. At one time he was Chief of the German Information Bureau in New York where he performed vital propaganda services for the Nazis. Prior to the war, he was public relations chief for IG Farben. Consequently, the Farben people were well aware of his professional talents and they took full advantage of them. This came about when the German counter-intelligence asked Farben to provide a more efficient spy setup for the German High Command in foreign countries. In a letter dated April 3, 1940, Farben's von Schnitzler wrote to the representative of the German counter-intelligence at IG, that he had recently discussed with Major Bloch, representing Admiral Canaris, "whether and to what extent the OKW (German High Command) wants to use the services of the Association for Sales Promotion which is under the management of Messrs. Kunzler and von Puttkamer." He said that this company was "particularly well suited for the intended camouflaging maneuvers. . . ." The German counter-intelligence welcomed von Schnitzler's suggestion and von Puttkamer was put to work.

On January 26, 1941, von Puttkamer wrote to v. Schnitzler from the German Embassy in Shanghai which itself was a nest of Nazi spies and propagandists. He expressed the hope that v. Schnitzler was satisfied with his work and mentioned that he had the pleasure of meeting "a good number of gentlemen from your company (Farben), among them Mr. Gadow and Mr. von Behring. . . ."

Besides his spy activities v. Puttkamer directed much of the antisemitic propaganda in Japan and in China during the war. It was v. Puttkamer who had posters plastered all over Japanese occupied China showing a wounded Chinese mother (with the rest of the family maimed and dead) in the ruins of their home bombed by an American plane. The poster carried these words "Who did this to you?" Just as he incited hate against "non-Aryans," so this propagandist provoked the Chinese against the Americans. Indeed, it was reported that v. Puttkamer's vicious lies were responsible for lynching of American pilots who had been seized after bombing Japanese concentrations in Hankow.

The Ehrhardt gang was found guilty by the American Tribunal, but apparently the punishment exacted against a number of these spies did not fit their crimes. Von Puttkamer himself received 30 years at hard labor but it was a very peculiar "hard labor"—he was appointed prison librarian. How v. Puttkamer got away with it is not exactly known, but this much was made public, viz, that the present Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, wrote a letter to then Secretary of State Marshall in behalf of v. Puttkamer. Secretary Dulles' letter, dated October 11, 1946, written on the letterhead of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, said: *"As Chairman of this Commission I have received two communications dealing with the trial of Germans at Shanghai as war criminals. I have no basis for the independent judgment as to the facts reported. But it is my deep concern which I am sure the State Department shares, that in these matters justice rather than vengeance should be done. I am, respectfully, John Foster Dulles."*

How does Haas fit into the story? In the first place, he worked on the closest terms with von Puttkamer. It has even been charged that it was Haas who may have been the Farben man in China who supplied von Puttkamer with the necessary funds for his activities. Allied officials who tried to interrogate von Puttkamer after his return to Germany were prevented from doing so—another indication that von Puttkamer had some very influential friends. The fact that von Puttkamer was in close touch with Mr. Gadow, a bigwig in the Farben organization in China, is also of relevance because Mr. Gadow was Haas' boss and Mr. Gadow, too, was one of the few men who was on intimate terms with Admiral Canaris, Chief of the German counter-intelligence. It has been stated that Gadow himself must have been an important member of the Canaris organization in view of his intimacy with the chief. In this connection it has also been pointed out that Haas was very friendly with Richard Sorge, the German who was Russia's top spy in Japan during the war. Prior to the war and even before the Nazis took over, both Sorge and Haas belonged to the circle connected with the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. Von Puttkamer belonged to the same group.

From the foregoing it is difficult to believe that Haas was obliged to resign from the German Foreign Office because of his wife's "non-Aryan" background. More plausible is the interpretation that his "forced resignation" was just a cover up for his tranfer from the German Foreign Office to the German counter-intelligence under the guise of liaison officer for Farben.

"Displaced Person"

The defeat of Germany created problems for the Farben people and other agents of German big business in China. However, with the help of top Chinese leaders, some of them succeeded in remaining in China, ostensibly as "employees of German firms taken over by the Chinese. This little trick enabled Farben representatives to develop reorganization plans so that IG's interests would remain intact.

These German agents pretended to be friends of the Chinese insisting that Germany's only enemies were "Britain, the United States and Russia." A correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, writing from Shanghai 3-22-46, analyzed the propaganda line and reported that the Germans were saying to the Chinese, "We are still your friends and when Russia and the United States fight, we will be able to help you." In this connection, the same reporter mentioned that among the bigshot Nazis *"who still have pipelines to Chinese Government officials, are Martin Fischer, former Consul General of Shanghai, and Karl Gadow"* of Farben. We shall have more to say about Fischer but it appears that by 1946 Herr Gadow decided to leave China.

The New York Post correspondent, writing from Shanghai (4-9-47), revealed that Gadow and one of his henchmen had *"peacefully left China for Germany on a repatriation ship."* He also disclosed that *"Dr. Wilhelm Haas, well known Nazi collaborator who was a DEFAG (Farben) advisor throughout the war, sailed for Switzerland as a 'displaced person'."* The category "displaced person" served to enable persons like Haas to escape Allied control. According to the China Weekly Review (6-7-47), Gadow was said to have *"carried with him blueprints for the reorganization of the IG trust into a streamlined world cartel with most operating bases outside Germany in neutral countries."* This same weekly noted that shortly after Gadow had left in the summer of 1946, Dr. Haas, IG's "liaison officer" in North China, sailed for Switzerland. While the Farben agents who remained in China, worked to protect IG's interests in that country, their colleagues scurried back to Europe to protect Farben's world wide interests.

A similar report concerning the strange doings of Gadow and Haas was released by King Features Syndicate (7-27-47). Their correspondent in China, James R. Young, confirmed earlier reports that Farben agents were reorganizing its assets in China in defiance of Allied interests. He stated, *"The IG Farben industry group . . . are planning to make Shanghai their headquarters, a part of the Nazi postwar plan to create a new world wide cartel with headquarters in China and branches in neutral or friendly countries. The gang includes . . . Karl Gadow, a Farben executive and Dr. Wilhelm Haas, who specializes in North China affairs."*

German Interests in China

At this point it is important to note that Germany had considerable interests in the Far East before the advent of Hitler. It was in 1871 that merchants of Bremen, Haas' home town, demanded that in negotiating peace with France, Germany should insist upon the cession of French Far Eastern and Pacific possessions. Bismarck sympathized with the merchants of Bremen but had to forego the opportunity to grab these areas because he felt that Germany was not yet in the position to embark on an ambitious colonial expansion. Nevertheless, German commercial interests began to grow in China so that by 1914, on the eve of World War I, total German investments in China were approximately 1 billion marks. The steady growth was interrupted by the outbreak of war but following the end of hostilities German financial and economic interests revived their activities with the enthusiastic support of the Chinese Government.

Alongside of these economic ties there developed military cooperation. This phase of German-Chinese relations was initiated by Col. Walter Bauer, one of General von Ludendorff's chief assistants and a friend of Adolf Hitler. The Bauer mission to China marked the beginning of an era of secret industrial diplomacy aimed at securing for Germany preferential advantages in the Chinese market. It was supported by the same enocomic interests which were bent on gaining supreme influence in the domestic policy of Germany. The Bauer mission turned out to be an embarrassment to the Weimar Government when certain Chinese leaders revealed that great quantities of war material were being shipped to China in violation of the Versailles Treaty. The Weimar Government sought to absolve itself of responsibility, but that is an old story for the Weimar politicians. Pretending that the left hand did not know what the right hand was doing was a way for the German Government to avoid an Allied probe. How much credence can be placed on these denials of complicity can be seen from the fact that the Weimar Government cooperated secretly with the German General Staff as far back as 1919.

When Bauer died in 1929, his post in China was assumed by Col. Hans Kriebel, one of the first members of the Nazi Party. Kriebel was subsequently appointed by Ribbentrop to take over the Personnel Division of Hitler's Foreign Office. It was Kriebel, regarded as "an old China hand" who appointed Hans Schroeder as his deputy. As mentioned in the earlier part of this article, Schroeder was a good friend of Dr. Haas and gave him invaluable assistance in setting up the Bonn Foreign Office.

Needless to say, the chemical industry of China received special attention in the German Government's relations with China. Thus, when the Germans signed a commercial treaty with Japan in 1927, it turned out that the agreement offered great opportunities to Farben in the Chinese markets.

In the 1930s German industrialists continued to press for a greater share in the markets of the Far East. The German Government's policy was carefully oriented along the lines spelled out by the China Studien Gesellschaft, a branch of the German National Manufacturers Association. Certain leaders in the Chinese Government facilitated these efforts and it was during this period that one of Germany's leading steel merchants, Otto Wolff (Cologne), established an office in Shanghai to secure railway orders from the Chinese Government. It was the same firm which played an important part in the arrangement of German sales to the Soviet Union. With such firms as Otto Wolff, Carlowitz & Co. representing Krupp, and financial institutions like the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, much was accomplished in the way of increasing German economic penetration in China. The close financial and economic ties between China and Germany are indicated by the friendly relations between H. H. Kung, a top financier for the Chinese Government, and Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's chief advisor. At a state banquet dinner given in honor of Mr. Kung in Berlin (1937), Herr Schacht spoke in glowing terms over the great future for Chinese-German relations: "Just as the political relations between Germany and China are based on friendship, so we can notice that our economic relations have been very pleasant and free of impediments. . . . Germany, being one of the world's great manufacturing nations, could help China along these lines by her advice and by her material resources. Please be assured that I shall do whatever I can to contribute to continuous Sino-German economic cooperation. . . ." In reply Dr. Kung assured his German friends that Herr Schacht's hopes were shared by the Chinese. "China considers Germany to be her closest friend, not only because of the cultural and intellectual bonds between Germany and China, but also because of the close economic relations between China and Germany. . . ."

Trading With Red China

As would be expected the Germans today are trying to regain the glories of yesterday. The markets of the Far East, particularly China, are an important factor in the calculations of German industrialists and the Bonn Government. Thus, even during the Korean war, when Communist China sought to destroy United Nations forces, Western Germany was carrying on a brisk trade with the Red regime. The N. Y. Herald Tribune (6-14-51) reported that the U. S. Government was alarmed over the flow of war supplies from Western Germany to Communist China. It was determined that during the first six months of the Korean war, legal West German trade with Red China increased 27-fold. It was also discovered that illegal trade amounted to at least 8 million. Significantly, German shipments of chemicals to China jumped from $233,000 for the first nine months of 1950 to $3,843,000 for the full year. U. S. officials were quoted as stating that there had been great improvement in limiting trade with Communist China by all nations "except West Germany." The Chicago Tribune (7-7-52) reported that West German businessmen had signed a trade agreement in East Berlin with Chinese trade representatives calling for the exchange of $37,500,000 in goods.

Thus, in spite of the alarms of the U. S. Government, Western Germany continued to develop its profitable trade with Red China. This agreement was followed by the organization of the so-called East Committee. The New York Times (12-19-52) reported that the top members of the committee included two leading Farben officials, W. A. Menne and Hermann J. Abs. One month later Hjalmar Schacht, speaking on the occasion of the opening of his new bank, declared that Germany would find more profit in trading with the East. *"Germany,"* he declared, *"should look to the Orient, especially China"* (N. Y. World Telegram and Sun, 1-15-53).

The support of the East Committee and the prodding of Schacht were most rewarding. Trade with the Soviet bloc including Communist China, increased 44 percent during the first nine months of 1953. Exports to China in that period were valued at over $23 million as compared to about $10 million during the same period in 1952. The following year, German industrialists voiced stronger demands for trading with the Soviet bloc. The New York Herald Tribune (3-21-54) reported that German industrialists regarded the market of Red China "as of special importance." A leading economic journal of the Ruhr "Handelsblatt" stated that many German businessmen viewed the Chinese mainland as "the greatest future market in the world." The New York Times (4-4-54) reported that the Chinese Communist Government was planning "to use the Transsiberian railroad to move machinery and precision instruments purchased in West Germany . . ." In this connection East Germany became a very convenient zone for German-Chinese negotiations. As reported by the Christian Science Monitor (4-17-54), *"West German spokesmen point with a certain pride to the fact that Communist China's only foreign trade representation in the Western world, the China Export-Import Cooperation Agency, is located in Berlin, Leipzigerstrasse* 12, *in the Soviet sector."*

Of course, the Germans tried to assuage the feelings of American officials. They put out propaganda to the effect that unless the West begins to trade heavily with Communist China, the Chinese will become more dependent on the Russians. A report to the Washington Post (7-24-54) notes that "the Chinese trade lobby in West Germany has perfected its arguments to the extent of claiming that the Germans want to help the worldwide fight against Communism by building up Peiping's industry. The United States, it is said, is just hampering this laudable objective." Apparently this was said with a straight face.

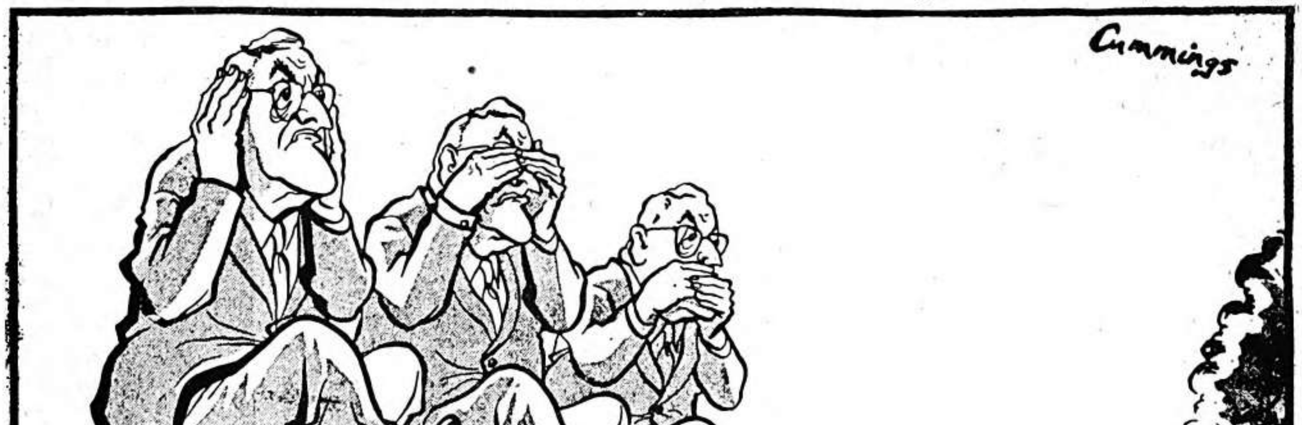
In June, 1954, when the Allies met with the Soviet Union and China on the Indo-China question, German representatives popped up. Among those who "vacationed" in Switzerland at this time, was Martin Fischer, referred to earlier in this article. In the years before the war, Herr Fischer worked out of the German Embassy in China and was well acquainted with Gadow, von Puttkamer and Dr. Haas. Herr Fischer, however, was not the only German who happened to be in Switzerland. Some of Germany's leading businessmen turned up and had talks with the Chinese Vice Minister for Foreign Trade. Included in this delegation was a representative of the East Asia Union of Hamburg as well as a spokesman for Farben. The New York Herald Tribune reported (6-4-54) that this group came *"with the knowledge of the Adenauer Government . . ."*

It is interesting to note that much of this agitation for trade with China and other countries of the Soviet bloc has been particularly strong in Hamburg and Bremen. These cities are Germany's leading ports which in the past have enjoyed a lucrative trade with the Far East. Bremen has made much progress in reconstructing its port. The Christian Science Monitor (1-23-56) points out that Bremen *"is watching the East West conflict keenly hoping for the opening of the iron curtain borders since this would restore transit trade, once one of the mainstays of the German port."* In anticipation of realizing this fond hope, two of Germany's largest shipping companies have established a joint shipping company to serve Red China. The well known Social Democrat and President of the Bremen Senate Wilhelm Kaisen joined the growing clamor for the revival of trade with the Far East. He expressed his support to a cheering group of 700 West German businessmen at the annual dinner of the East Asia Union. As reported by the New York Herald Tribune (3-14-55), the implication of Kaisen's remarks was that *"the West Germans should become the Peking Government's best commercial friends in the West."*

It so happened that Herr Haas, following his return to Germany from Switzerland, served as Chief of the Presidential Chancellory in the town of Bremen. In that position Haas "became a close coworker of the President of the Senate, Kaisen" (Neue Volkszeitung, 1-7-56).

More recently it was reported that West Germany had increased its trade with Communist China from about $58 million in 1954 to $72 million in 1955. This development was endorsed by Walter Hallstein, Adenauer's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in an address to the East Asia Union in Hamburg. Of course, the above figures do not tell the whole story because no one (except the Germans) knows the exact value of West German exports to China. There is no doubt that a portion of West German exports to that country has been camouflaged as coming from East Germany or other countries. The growing protests over restrictions limiting trade with Red China, are reflected in many articles appearing in the German newspapers. There is a great deal of resentment over the fact that some of this trade has to go through "third countries." The Germans feel that they will not reap the full profit until they are able to trade directly with China and this is precisely what they hope to achieve.

None other than Otto Wolff representing the Wolff concern which enjoyed such lush profits in trading with China and the Soviet Union in the past, has publicly attacked U. S. policy. Wolff himself is head of the Russian branch of the East Committee. However, in his denunciation of the United States, he laid particular stress on the need to resume large scale trade with Red China. His criticism, it was noted, followed *"exactly a month after the Adenauer regime in effect endorsed the persistent effort of*



(London Daily Express)

methods of his late Führer. Another article in the Sudeten Bulletin (October 1955) by Albert K. Simon warns the Czechoslovakian people that they can no longer depend upon the Western Powers for protection against the Germans. He further declares that the Czechs must recognize Germany's "rights" in Czechoslovakia.

These are but a sampling of the kind of speeches and articles which are found in the Sudeten Bulletin. They are frank in their hatred of the Czechoslovakian people and equally blunt in the belief that the Czechs as well as all other European nations had better recognize Germany's superior position in Europe—or else!

The "Echos"

As mentioned above, this chauvinistic propaganda extolling the idea of Deutschland über Alles, has been circulating in the United States. The most persistent purveyors of this line are pro-German journalists and important sections of the German language press. The German language paper Nord Amerika is notorious in this respect. Among its contributing writers is Austin J. App. Professor of a college in Texas, he has been exposed in previous issues of this magazine as an apologist for German war criminals. On September 1, 1955, he devoted an entire column to the "injustices" suffered by the Sudeten Germans and accused former President Truman of playing a major role in the expulsion of the Sudetens from Czechoslovakia. *"By his (President Truman's) signature,"* App writes, *"the American Government became co-responsible for the greatest crime in history . . ."* In a subsequent column devoted to this subject (10-27-55), Professor App delivers an ultimatum to the West. The West, he warns, must turn over all territories claimed by the Germans or *"the Germans will have to undertake to end the 'unnatural' quarterings and amputations themselves."* Only by acceding to Germany's demands, Mr. App declares, will the world be allowed to live in peace. Concluding his war-like fulminations, App echoes the Pan-German slogan *"justice requires a Germany united from the Maas to the Memel and the Etch to the Belt, as the old song says."*

Another influential exponent of this hate campaign against Germany's neighbors is the Steuben Society which has already been exposed as a Pan-German outfit. In a telegram (published in the Steuben News, August-September 1955), addressed to the Sudeten rally at Nuremberg mentioned above, the National Council of the Steuben Society affirmed its loyalty to the Sudeten cause. The Council expressed the belief that in the not too distant future the cause would "win out over the infamy of 1945." The "infamy" is not identified. Could it be Germany's defeat? The same telegram discusses in racist terms the "Slav versus Teuton" struggle and hints that the proud Teutons will once again become overlords of Eastern Europe. In the same way as Mr. App denounced the Allied Powers, the Council of the Steuben Society tells their German brethren, "It is to the eternal shame of the Western Powers that they gave their approval to this rape" (Steuben News, August-September 1955).

It is interesting to note that the Steuben Society's slanders against the Western Allies and its Pan-German propaganda does not deter Pentagon officials from appearing as guests at rallies sponsored by this organization.

The "Legal" Approach

Though threats and racist propaganda are a constant feature in the publications of the Sudetens, they try at times to embellish their Hitler-like tirades with arguments that appear to be respectable. In the September 1955 issue of the Sudeten Bulletin such a piece appeared under the heading "Were the Sudeten Germans Disloyal?" The author is anonymous but he is supposed to be "a well

". . . This change in the vocal trends of German public opinion was accompanied by a softening process of newspaper articles about 'Life in Soviet Russia' . . . 'The Russian bear won't eat you,' was the gist of the wishful reports. 'Russia only wants security and protection from the threat of American encirclement. The Americans are the real danger. Look what they did in Yalta. It is they, not the Russians, who ought by right to help us to be reunited.' . . .

"These fantastic notions, disguised as Realpolitik, helped to bring 'reunification' to the forefront as a major psychological and political matter, and it united former Nazis, German nationalists, advocates of a Bismarckian Eastern Re-insurance policy and of a modern Rapallo, intellectuals, industrialists, Socialists and Communists. It was significant of this modern version of German nationalism that, its fighting spirit having expired, it should forge an alliance with pacifism and neutralism . . ."

(Roland Hill, The Tablet-London, 9-3-55)

SUCKERS AGAIN?

"Russia's obdurate scuttling of the Big Four conference is already being countered with a far-reaching plan to speed the rearming of West Germany.

"A major feature of this counter measure is a $2,000,000,000 bond issue to be sold to the public in both the U. S. and Germany . . .

"In addition to these bonds the U. S. would contribute another $3,000,000,000 in direct loans and military aid of various kinds . . .

"The Pentagon report stresses that Bonn expects the U. S. to bear a large portion of the rearmament costs.

"On that the report states significantly: 'The Adenauer government, taking into account only strictly military expenditures, estimates the total for the three-year period at about $15,000,-000,000, less than half of which it expects to be paid by the German taxpayer.'

"The summary questions the view of Bonn officials about Germany's inability to pay for rearming. It is pointedly contended this is both underestimated and less than what other NATO countries are providing . . ."

(Robert S. Allen, N. Y. Post, 11-16-55)

known scholar of international law, eminently versed in Czechoslovak affairs." His dissertation turns out to be a pseudo-scholarly brief which is supposed to prove that the Sudeten Germans were loyal to Czechoslovakia up to the beginning of World War II. Their only crime, according to this authority, is that they endeavored to obtain "national self-determination without bloodshed." The writer does not hesitate to invoke the ideals of the American Revolution to support the Sudetens' cause but as the saying goes, even the devil can quote Scripture.

One who is not conversant with the state of affairs in Czechoslovakia on the eve of the Munich Pact, may be ensnared by the facile arguments of this "savant" on international law. He devotes many words to legal concepts but he studiously avoids the essence of the question.

Loyalty versus disloyalty to tyranny or the right of a people to self-determination are basically irrelevant to the Sudeten question. In reality that question which brought on the Munich Pact followed by World War II, was manufactured to serve as a smoke screen for Hitler's strategy to conquer Europe and then the world. Talk about self-determination was merely sand to be thrown into the eyes of those people who saw events from far away and mistook the fifth column work of the Sudeten Germans on behalf of the German General Staff for a democratic revolution comparable to our own Revolution of 1776.

It is fortunate for the cause of democracy that the Allies were able to secure German documentation which exposes the real motives behind the Nazi grab of the Sudetenland. This documentation is available to the public and much of it will be found in the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials documents, excerpts of which we quote below:

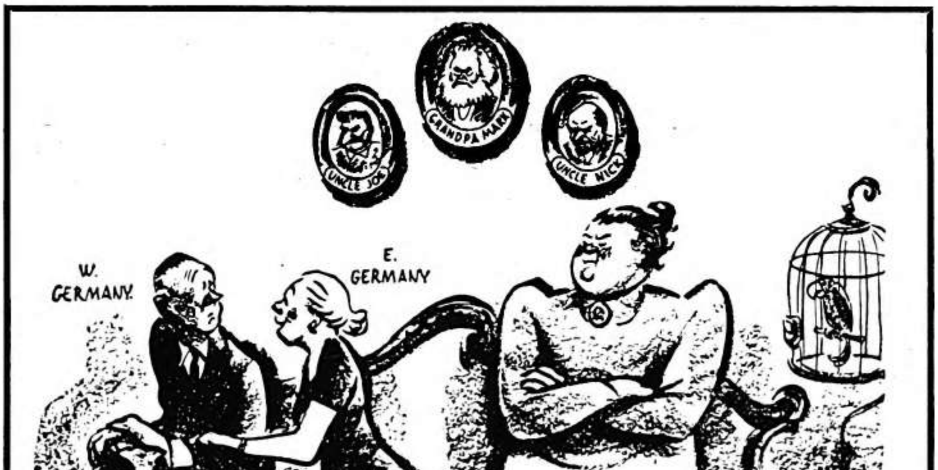
The Record

On November 5, 1937, Hitler delivered a lecture to his leading generals and political henchmen. The notes of this super-secret conference reveal Hitler's strategy and ultimate aims. They were faithfully recorded by Oberst Hossbach. The Führer outlined his plans for the seizure of all Europe. According to the Nuremberg documents the implementation of this program would "shorten Germany's frontiers . . . increase its industrial and food reserves . . . and . . . place it in a position both industrially and strategically, from which the Nazis could launch a more ambitious and more devastating campaign of aggression" (Vol. I, p. 515). Toward accomplishing this objective, the subjugation of Czechoslovakia was a "must."

Generals Keitel and Jodl (both hanged at Nuremberg for war crimes) initialed a memorandum dated June 18, 1938, wherein it was stated that in fighting a war against the West it was necessary to start "with the destruction of Czechoslovakia" (Vol. III, p. 326). On November 23, 1939, Hitler told his supreme military commanders that the conquering of Austria was a precondition for the seizure of Czechoslovakia and then Poland. Hitler declared that the successful accomplishment of this strategy would enable the Germans to concentrate their full might on the western front. "For the first time," the Führer boasted, "in 67 years, it must be made clear that we do not have a two front war to wage." He was confident that his recent pact with Russia would simplify Germany's military problems. Of course, the Germans eventually would attend to the Russians but, he said, "we can oppose Russia only when we are free in the West" (Vol. III, pp. 573, 575).

The direction of Hitler's main blow following the defeat of Czechoslovakia and Poland was described by Fritz Wiedemann, Hitler's Adjutant, in a sworn affidavit at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. Wiedemann described a conference between Hitler and the German General Staff on May 28, 1938. Hitler stated, "It is my unshakable will that Czechoslovakia will be wiped off the map . . ." He declared that the Germans would "first tackle the situation in the East, then I will give you 3-4 years time and then we will settle the situation in the West." Wiedemann admitted in his affidavit that the so-called situation in the West "was meant to be the war against England and France" (Vol. I, p. 521).

Czechoslovakia including the Sudeten territory were regarded as having enormous economic and strategic value. The top secret minutes of a conference with Goering in the Air Ministry, held on October 14, 1938—just two weeks after the occupation of the Sudetenland—reported: "The Sudetenland has to be exploited with all the means. General Field Marshal Goering counts upon a complete industrial assimilation of Slovakia. Czechia and Slovakia would become German dominions. Everything possible must



"After we get married, mother could come to live with us"
(*Lewis in the Milwaukee Journal*)

be taken out. The Oder-Danube Canal has to be speeded up. Searches for oil and ore have to be conducted in Slovakia, notably by State Secretary Keppler" (Vol. I, p. 580).

The minutes of another top secret meeting between Goering and leaders of the German High Command (7-27-39) read as follows: "In a rather long statement the Field Marshal explained that the incorporation of Bohemia and Moravia into the German economy had taken place, among other reasons, to increase the German war potential by exploitation of the industry there . . ." (Vol. I, p. 581).

Strategic Real Estate

As will be noted, these top secret meetings do not reveal any concern for the "oppressed" Sudetens. Indeed, like the rest of Czechoslovakia, the Sudetenland was regarded as an important piece of real estate from the point of view of increasing Germany's war potential. The leaders of the Sudeten Germans were aware of their real job. This was admitted by Konrad Henlein, the Nazi chieftain in the Sudetenland. For years the Henlein organization had operated as an agent of the German Government. When the Nazis came to power in Germany, they took over the control of Henlein's party in Czechoslovakia. A secret memorandum from the files of the German Foreign Office dated Berlin, August 19, 1938, discussed the subsidies granted to the Sudeten German party by the German Foreign Office "regularly since 1935 . . ." (Vol. I, p. 549). The Sudeten Germans under Henlein's guidance, pretended that they were free from foreign dictation, but Henlein dispensed with those pretenses in a speech in Vienna, March 4, 1941, in which he said: "In order to protect ourselves against Czech interference, we were compelled to lie and to deny our allegiance to the National Socialist cause. We should have preferred advocating National Socialism openly. However, it is doubtful whether in doing so, we would have been able to perform the task of destroying Czechoslovakia" (Vol. III, p. 659).

The task of the Sudetens was to undermine the democratic system of Cechoslovakia through propaganda, murder, terrorism, espionage and anti-Semitism. In this connection, Jan Papanek, a former Czech diplomat and staunch anti-Communist, quoted Herr Henlein as follows: "In the course of a few years the Sudeten Germans have succeeded in endangering the inner stability of Czechoslovakia so fundamentally and causing such confusion in internal affairs that she was ripe for liquidation. All this was only possible because all the Sudeten Germans had become National Socialists . . . In spite of all that we, the Sudeten Germans, have accomplished by our own efforts we could never have achieved our aim without the intervention of the Fuehrer. His ideas inspired us, his strength held us up, his Germany gave us faith in victory. May history some day pronounce her verdict. The Sudeten Germans have faithfully and willingly done their duty" (Letters to the New York Times, 12-22-45).

It has been said that not all of the Sudeten Germans were willing tools and agents of the Nazi government. This may be true but the overwhelming majority were either actively involved or gave tacit consent to the Nazi plan for the destruction of the democratic institutions of Czechoslovakia. As early as 1935, 65 per cent of the Sudeten Germans had voted for the Nazis although at that time they knew full well what Hitler aimed to do. No one can truthfully state that the Sudeten Germans were compelled to vote that way. Of course, when Hitler's triumph was imminent in 1938, the Sudeten vote for the Henlein party rose to 92 per cent.

Those who allege that Hitler was only interested in saving the "oppressed" Germans in Czechoslovakia ignore Hitler's own statements and program. On March 15, 1939, Hitler admitted that it was his intention "to incorporate Czechoslovakia into the German Reich" (Vol. I, p. 574). To justify this act Hitler signed a declaration on March 16, 1939, alleging that "the Bohemian-Moravian countries belonged for a millenium to the living space of the German people" (Vol. I, p. 577).

The Munich agreement was not regarded by Hitler as the final act in the liberation of his "oppressed" Sudetens. On the contrary, Hitler viewed the cession of the Sudetenland as but the prelude "for the liquidation of the remainder of Czechoslovakia" (Vol. I, p. 560).

A Stepping Stone

Czechoslovakia was a stepping stone on Hitler's road to the conquest of Poland and points West. Munich confirmed Hitler's belief that the West was hopelessly decadent. "Our enemies are little worms," he confided to the German General Staff, "I saw them in Munich (Vol. III, p. 585).

We can go on citing German documents attesting to the fact that the Sudeten question had been deliberately cooked up by the Germans to camouflage their plans for the conquest of Europe. These documents are available to all Americans who want the truth. Needless to say, the propaganda of the Sudeten Germans today does not merely try to rewrite history, it hopes to suppress it.

Attacking the Democratic Cause

There is still another aspect to the current Sudeten movement which bears watching. It is the attitude of the Sudetens to non-German democrats. Currently, the Sudetens are attacking democratic exile groups of the eastern European countries. Their reason is partially obscure but essentially it stems from the fact that the Sudetens oppose any solution in eastern Europe except one that would guarantee Germany's hegemony. It is for this reason that the Sudeten propaganda machine has launched a violent campaign against Radio Free Europe. Their leader von Auen charges that Radio Free Europe is "non-constructive and nurtured on completely obsolete ideas." What bothers the Sudeten Germans is simply that Radio Free Europe refuses to propagate Pan-Germanism and insists on encouraging those forces that would bring about an independent democratic Czechoslovakia. Time and again the Sudetens returned to the theme that Radio Free Europe and the democratic exile groups supporting it, are "tools of the Communists."

It is significant that leading circles in the Bonn Government including Chancellor Adenauer are trying to liquidate Radio Free Europe. In this connection. West German authorities recently halted the sending of balloons with Bible tracts over the iron curtain countries. This program, according to the U. S. church group which sponsors it, was halted by German authorities on the grounds that the U. S. had secretly made an agreement in Geneva (July 1955) to ban this project. The State Department has denied the existence of any such agreement.

It is also a well known fact that the commissars of the Kremlin have bitterly tacked Radio Free Europe and the baloon sending program. Soviet Foreign inister Molotov told Adenauer to corect this intolerable situation when the hancellor visited Moscow. David Nichol, orrespondent for the St. Louis Post Disatch, reported on September 14, 1955, at there are Germans who "would welome the Soviet complaint for halting e crusade for freedom's balloon launchg." He continued, "these and the broadasts of Radio Free Europe to the satellite eoples, Germans say, unnecessarily comlicate their future relationship with their entral European neighbors." The Gerans are aware that headlong opposition o this program would create suspicions. Hence, they revert to their familiar tactic f smearing Radio Free Europe as "Comunist infiltrated" in order to make their opposition more acceptable in the eyes of Americans.

Counterfeit

The fight against Radio Free Europe is not the first time that Moscow and Bonn have seen eye to eye. Yet, the Sudeten Germans continue to publicize themselves as the most zealous anti-Bolshevist crusaders. The fact is that their anti-Bolshevism is counterfeit. It is a cover-up for their Pan-German activities which are not directed solely against the East by any means. Indeed, it would appear from the lessons of recent history that the Pan-German drive may find a more attractive outlet in the West.

The frightening part of this situation is the silence of the Western Allies. Surely, they cannot believe that the Sudeten Germans represent democracy's hope in Europe. Surely, they cannot believe that by remaining silent they are discouraging the growth of Pan-Germanism. On the contrary, failure to act and to condemn these sinister elements opens the flood gates to those forces which hope to realize the dreams of Bismarck, the Kaiser and Hitler.

Let our statesmen ponder the words of a leading member of Chancellor Adenauer's Cabinet, Jacob Kaiser, the German Minister for Unification: "No real Europe can be formed until the German bloc is reconstituted. I remind you that this bloc includes, in addition to Germany, Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar of course, and Alsace-Lorraine. When I think of the Strasbourg Cathedral, my heart hurts."

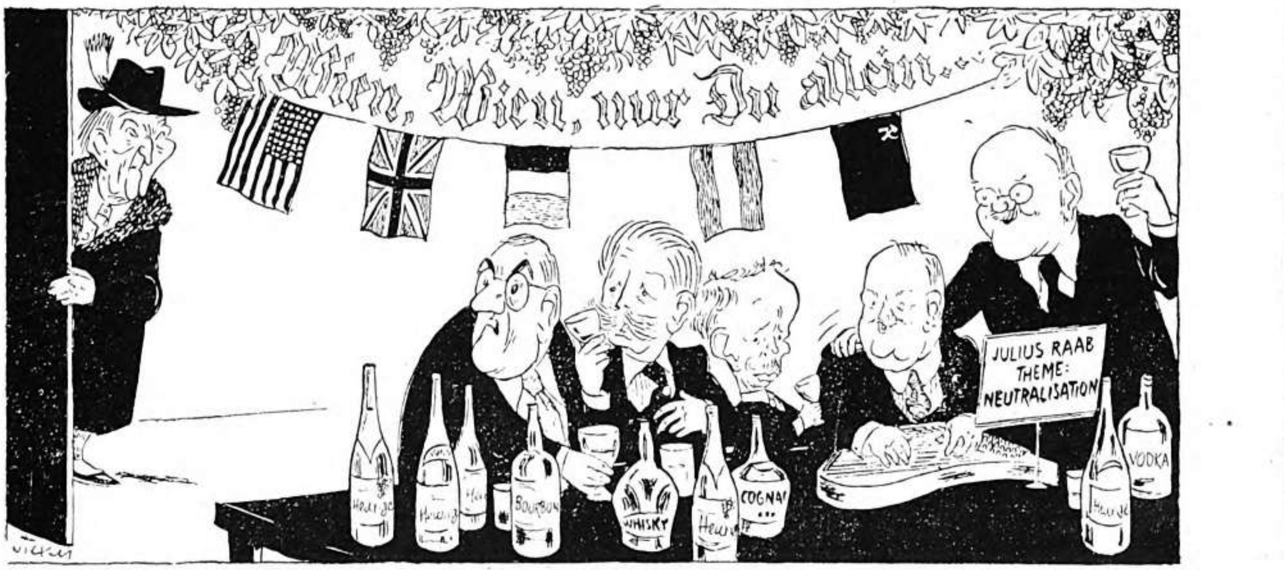
"If the West Germans could keep the Western Powers bound to strict support of their maximum demands — reunification only with the right for all Germany to enter Nato and no recognition of two German States, failing reunification—they could make any agreement between the West and Moscow and Germany impossible, and keep the gulf between the great Poweres open. If, at the same time, they have their own wire to Moscow, they could hope, at a suitable opportunity, to make their own deal with Moscow at the expense of the West.

"Does the new Soviet-East German Treaty exclude such a deal? One wonders . . ."

(The New Statesman and Nation, 10-1-55)

". . . While they will not express it publicly, since publicly they are committed to reunification, there are many British who take an extremely dim view of the prospect for Germany. One is told in London that American policy has been naive to the point of folly in pushing German recovery so fast and in giving the Germans everything they wanted, and then something more. Seen from this dour perspective, Adenauer is scarcely more than a front man for a group of clever schemers prepared to sell to the highest bidder. If the price is right, Adenauer will make a deal when he goes to Moscow in September and leave the West, and particularly America holding a very empty bag . . ."

(Marquis W. Childs, St. Louis Post Dispatch, 7-31-55)


Wien, Wien, nur Du allein...
JULIUS RAAB THEME: NEUTRALISATION
Heurige
BOURBON
WHISKY
COGNAC
VODKA
VICKY

THE SIXTH MAN

(Vicky, Courtesy New Statesman and Nation)

Middle East Caldron

By JAMES H. SHELDON

The Middle East is a place where troubles start. It has been such a place ever since dim ages before the Trojan War —because the area lies at the strategic crossroads between Europe, Asia and Africa.

For the same reason that Caesar and Napoleon campaigned around the Nile, so did the Kaiser and his henchmen talk about the "Drive to the East" and concentrate their energies on such projects as the Berlin-to-Baghdad Railroad.

Germany's old-line geo-politicians, and likewise the Nazis of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich, gave top priority to building up their influence in the Middle East—and German industrialists and diplomats of today follow the same line, albeit with different labels attached.

The United States has long been at pains to develop a policy which would achieve the near-impossible objective of reconciling opposing forces there—and when the Russians needed a new political line this year, they found the opportunity ready-made in their offer of arms to Egypt and other Arab states.

One important reason for continued tension in the Middle East can be found in the entrenched position which the Nazi regime so vigorously built for itself there—a position which has been given continued support by post-war German developments.

Back in 1945-6 an entire group of some 17 Nazi army and S. S. (Himmler's dreaded Elite Guard) men were smuggled out of Germany, in spite of the Allied occupation, into Egypt. False passports and like subterfuges were involved. Included were two top men from "Milamt Six" (the secret intelligence section of the S. S., which had been organized by Walter Schellenberg under the direction of the notorious Ernst Kaltenbrunner).

Others were former high ranking experts from the Abwehr (German Army Counter-Intelligence) department formerly under Lt. Gen. Erwin Lahousen. (This was the Abwehr section concerned with "foreign countries, penetration and sabotage"). Still others came from the S. D. (a Gestapo intelligence group operating within the S. S. Corps) and at least two of these early migrants to Egypt had served with the notorious Einsatzkommandos ("Special Service Detachments") —the S. S. extermination units operating in Eastern Europe.

This group of Nazi experts soon became accepted as an all-powerful cadre in Egypt, and proceeded to organize the intelligence and policy-forming units of the Egyptian Army. Every man in this set-up was at the time on the "wanted" list of the Allied commanders, and subject to automatic arrest, had he been caught within the territory of occupied Germany.

Later, they were joined by a considerable body of military experts and seasoned "top sergeants" who had survived the collapse of the Hitler regime. Among these were Lt. Gen. Wilhelm Fahrmbacher, a corps commander in the Nazi Army who had been held for a time by the French as a war criminal, but was released and soon became Gen. Naguib's leading military advisor. Fahrmbacher took along as his deputy Major Gen. Oscar Munzel, well-known in officer circles of the Third Reich, and they were later joined by Gerhard Mertins, who assumed the duty of educating the Egyptians in the techniques of parachute jumping and air attack.

Not long afterward, these military specialists were followed by Dr. Albert Degener—well known to New Yorkers as the pre-war Director of the German-American Board of Trade, one of the most prolific sources of pro-Nazi agitation in America before his presence was officially labeled undesirable by the State Department. Herr Degener's function in Egypt was the same as that which he had once performed in New York: to organize a German-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce.

The extent of his support at home can be gleaned from the frequency with which the German weekly news magazines feature articles on German-Egyptian trade developments.

The extent of this German penetration into Egyptian affairs has since grown alarmingly. As John Gunther puts it in his highly respected book, INSIDE AFRICA, *"Bonn is acutely interested in Cairo and vice versa. About 600 German technicians are employed by the Egyptian Government working on several levels—military, engineering, railroads and the like. 'Nasser could never have made his coup without his German advisors,' I heard it said. Probably this is an overstatement but German technical skill has been helpful to the Junta in several conspicuous areas."*

As Gunther also points out, a German naval specialist is reported at work on Egyptian naval affairs and a German tank officer is engaged in mechanizing the armed forces. 300 German firms were represented at a recent trade fair in Cairo and a flourishing German-language newspaper has developed in that city. Meanwhile, German universities have set up special arrangements to facilitate the exchange of students from the Middle East.

On October 26, 1955, the West German news magazine, DER SPIEGEL, carried a story about the role which a former economic assistant of Hitler played in the arms deal between Egypt and the Communist bloc.

This former Nazi, Dr. Wilhelm Voss, once held a leading position in Hitler's war economy as president of the Skoda Works, a huge armament combine taken over by the Germans after they grabbed Czechoslovakia in 1939.

Evidently, this former Nazi was coached for his role in Egypt by the Bonn Government. DER SPIEGEL reports:

"Dr. Wilhelm Voss, once a prominent leader in the war economy of the Third Reich, started his career in Egypt with the urgent recommendation of the German Federal Government in February 1951. He was appointed in Cairo by General Naguib as head of the Central Planning Board and as such was the chief advisor to the War Ministry in Egypt. Under his command were employed more than 50 German military and armament experts."

The importance of Dr. Voss' role in Egypt is underscored by the fact that the relation of this former Nazi to the Bonn Foreign Office and other Bonn agencies was so intimate and ective that in 1954 the German Ambassador in Cairo, Dr. ınther Pawelke, also a former Nazi, resigned from his post protest.

According to DER SPIEGEL, Dr. Voss kept intimate con- ts not only with Adenauer's chief diplomatic aides, Dr. ankenhorn and Professor Hallstein, but also with the highest icers in the Blank office, the Bonn War Ministry. These lations were evidently a constant irritation to Ambassador .welke, because they meant that certain high circles in the ɔnn Government were closer to the Egyptian advisor, Dr. ɔss, than to the official Bonn advisor in Cairo.

The report in DER SPIEGEL also reveals the background the recent arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia. ccording to this account, the former Nazi and ex-president the Skoda Works, Dr. Voss, *"initiated the big armament al with the Czechoslovak agents Prantel, Nobinec and ostrum, who operated under the facade of being refugees it who in reality are Communist agents."*

The foregoing report sheds considerable light on the or- nizers and secret wire-pullers of the present unrest in the ear and Middle East.

Again, as once under Hitler, the German industrialists and ilitarists proceed with their conspiracies according to a ell-known pattern. They sow unrest where it is to Germany's lvantage to fish in troubled waters. DER SPIEGEL is not very far from the truth when it comments that *"Adenauer's leading diplomats have laid themselves open to the charge that they must share to a considerable extent in the tactical victory gained by Bolsheviks in the Near and Middle East."*

ROBBING SMITH FOR SCHMIDT

"Congress now has before it several proposals the effect of which would be to shift from the shoulders of German taxpayers to the shoulders of American taxpayers the burden of compensating Germans for their assets seized in the United States during the war. From the German point of view, this would obviously be an admirable shift. From the American point of view, it seems to us to be neither sensible nor just. It would rob Mr. Smith to pay Mr. Schmidt.

"The most offensive of these giveaways, sponsored by Senator Dirksen, would turn back all the German assets seized here, including those belonging to giant corporations and international cartels; the value of these has increased since the war to an estimated $450 million. The least offensive of the giveaway schemes, supported by the State Department and the Justice Department, would compensate only the individual owners of vested property —and these only up to $10,000 each. The principal argument for the partial giveaway seems to be that it will avert the total giveaway desired by Senator Dirksen. We think there is no warrant whatever for either . . .

"The assets in question were private in appearance much more than in fact. They were rigidly controlled by the Nazi government and used by that government for the advancement of German objectives . . ."

(Editorial, The Washington Post, 7-15-55)

German penetration in the Near East is by no means confined to Egypt. The former Wehrmacht Major Gunther Elmar von Hardenberg has long made his headquarters at Beirut in Syria where he heads an "open" organization known as the Association for Christian War Refugees and a secret group called the German Aid Committee for the Near East. When John Roy Carlson visited Beirut in 1950, von Hardenberg said to him: *"Whenever a new German comes to Beirut I screen him personally, then register him with the Beirut police as a friend of the Arab cause." "There are already many Germans working with the Syrians as trainers and technicians,"* von Hardenberg added.

In Damascus, an Arabic group which Hitler youth leader Baldur von Schirach had helped form, was still operating, and was the source of "Boycott U. S. A." posters appearing in Arab shops.

In the same region, Dashnag leaders (the Dashnags were an Armenian Fascist movement allied with the Axis) also continue to exert great influence, moving under the old misleading cry that they are "fighting Communism," while in reality they are bending their primary efforts against the Western cause in the Middle East.

The infiltration of Syria has been repeatedly described by foreign correspondents. The Syrian Government early called in a German military mission, after it was defeated by the Israeli armies. NEWSWEEK reported that *"the first to appear in Damascus was a former Gestapo Colonel named Rapp. He revamped Syrian Military Intelligence and is credited with a leading role in Syria's first military coup, when a group of army officers under Colonel Husni Zayim took over the government."* Later, a once high-ranking intelligence officer in Hitler's army, General Stutterheim, was installed in

". . . Right after the Geneva conference ended, Adenauer, from his own summit, told how grateful he was that the Western powers honored their obligations to West Germany during the talks.

"Use of the term, 'obligations,' is an interesting one. Perhaps it was a slip of the tongue, a subconscious reference. But it stands as the overall concept of the Federal Republic's attitude towards the Western powers.

"We are under obligation, the thinking goes, to advance the cause of West Germany above and beyond all other measures of European policy. If we don't, the corollary follows, there may be other roads to which West Germany can turn. Draw your own conclusions. After all, Adenauer goes to Khrushchev and the rest of Soviet collective leadership.

"The curious aspect of 'obligation' does not seem to infer on the West German side any substantive obligation to us . . ."

(Seymour Freidin, N. Y. Post, 8-2-55)

a top Syrian army post, assisted by another influential ex-German, Colonel Kriebel.

An important article (*"Berlin-Baghdad" Again*) appearing in the January, 1953, issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, gives many further details on this phase of German Middle-East penetration.

At the other end of the Mediterranean, a similar situation continues. The leading Hamburg independent daily, DIE WELT, on October 26, 1955, printed a dispatch concerning preparations for the inauguration of a monument at Tobruk, in Libya, commemorating the dead of Hitler's Africa Corps. Said this report: "The West German Government will be represented by the German charge d'affaires in Tripoli . . . The association of the members of the former German Africa Corps have announced group trips for this occasion and have chartered a steamship and special planes."

From another source comes a report that when former members of the Africa Corps met in Heidelberg, with the widow of former Field Marshal Rommel as guest of honor, she was greeted by the old Nazi marching song, "Panzer Rollen in Afrika." (Tanks Rolling in Africa.)

Reciprocating such interests, Arab tobacco companies have been taking full-page advertisements in German news magazines, featuring the portrait of a desert chieftain with rifle in hand, a replica of a cigarette package and the caption: "A Testimony of Friendship."

Most of the German press has been discreetly silent concerning these affairs—but in Italy the journalistic organs of the M. S. I. (a powerful neo-fascist movement advocating return to the corporate-state ideal of Mussolini) have had no such inhibitions and some of their comments—even after making allowance for the source—are of striking significance.

On September 6, 1955, IL SECOLO D'ITALIA (a strong supporter of M. S. I.) carried an elaborate illustrated account of the reception in its office of eight editors of the Egyptian newspaper chain *Dar El Goumhourya* (publishers of 7 newspapers in Arabic, French and English). The article, adorned with a 4-column photograph of the visiting editors, declares that "Our Egyptian colleagues found in the editorial rooms of IL SECOLO the climate of opinion closest to their views." An adjoining headline declaimed: "Israel Has Violated the Truce with Egypt."

The director of IL SECOLO has just published a book lauding Mussolini.

On July 17, 1955, ASSO DI BASTONI (the recognized voice of the M. S. I. movement) published a long article lauding the Middle East exploits of the Krupp dynasty, with especial praise for Alfred Krupp, the man who served a war criminal's sentence after trial at Nuremberg.

"Alfred Krupp is today the sparkplug of the fantastic German renaissance. He is in close touch with the surviving leaders of the Reich and has placed his agents in all parts of the globe," the article begins. There follows an outline of Krupp's friendship with "heads of government" in the Middle East and elsewhere, and the comment that *"the influence of Krupp is particularly important in Pakistan in view of the existence of a group of intelligent Pakistani who were formerly members of the Wehrmacht."*

"The gigantic power of revived German industry," adds ASSO DI BASTONI, "extends over the whole world." "Krupp has defeated all the other corporations and is constructing on the Bosphorus a 1600 meter bridge. He has concluded advantageous contracts," the article continues, "with Syria and with the National Government of Egypt."

"The Germans achieved a decisive victory in Saudi-Arabia," says the same article, "when German electric firms obtained contracts for the construction of modern power plants, and in Egypt when the German-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce secured a concession under which German engineers will supervise the tremendous Nile dam project."

"Following up the fine work of Krupp and other perseverant German industrialists," says ASSO, *"the influence and prestige of Germany is enormous throughout the Arab world where Otto Skorzeny and other ex-officials of the S. S. supervise the instruction and education of armies and Dr. Hjalmar Schacht is financial advisor."* In Iran, Gen. Zahedi (arrested by the English as a collaborationist in 1941) is praised as a factor of great power, and it is pointed out that the mother of "beautiful Soraya" (wife of the Shah) was German. Then continue details of German political and economic penetration in Iran, the Sudan, Lebanon, etc.

"Everywhere the men of Krupp are present and active," says ASSO DI BASTONI, and adds that thanks to this, Egypt today benefits from a German advance of 8,750,000,000 lira. "These colossal figures" of indebtedness are to be "settled" by supplies of raw materials," adds this article.

In short, behind the scenes in the Middle East are to be found everywhere the pervasive tentacles of old-line German influence, bolstered up (whether for political or economic reasons does not matter) by the modernized industrialism typified by Krupp, and strengthened by the continual comings and goings of powerful figures such as the "financial wizard" Dr. Hjalmar Schacht.

Underlying all this, are numerous indigenous forces for violence, typified by the hot-heads of the green-shirted Young Moslem League and the fanatic Fadayan Islam (Crusaders of Islam), one of whose agents last week nearly succeeded in an

> **"The blunt fact is that the divisions and weaknesses from which the Western Powers are now suffering in Europe all derive from one fatal illusion.**
>
> **"That illusion was the belief that we should strengthen ourselves by making West Germany a sovereign State, rearming it and bringing it into N. A. T. O. . . .**
>
> **"Indeed, those of us who have opposed German rearmament for the last five years did so because we foresaw that it would weaken the political unity of the West without adding to its military strength.**
>
> **"After five years of talk about German rearmament, there are still no German divisions in N. A. T. O., and France and Germany are more deeply divided than ever.**
>
> **"The Saar referendum is a danger signal, which no responsible statesman can disregard . . ."**
>
> **(Richard Crossman, M.P., London Daily Mirror, 10-26-55)**

attempt to assassinate Premier Hassein Ala of Iran. Another agent of the same terrorist body was more successful four years ago, when he destroyed the life of Premier Ali Razmara, one of Iran's ablest post-war leaders.

When the United Nations voted the partition of Palestine to establish the new State of Israel, it was hoped that an element of Western democratic stability might be injected into this swirling conflict of forces. Failure of the great powers to pursue a firm course in support of the newly established state, however, left the way open for a kind of "simmering war" to continue, under conditions which could boil up into a world-wide conflict without warning.

The exodus to the Middle East of so many important military and economic figures from the Third Reich, added to Arab intransigence and extremism, has contributed much to prevent the effective exercise of influence by the Western Allies in efforts to bring about peaceful settlements.

As a result, we find Premier Nasser of Egypt declaring that *"Israel is an artificial state which must disappear"* (May 28, 1954, as quoted in the Greek newspaper KATHERIENI); and not long ago, the NEW YORK TIMES quoted King Saud of Saudi-Arabia as declaring: *"Israel is like a cancer to the human body and the only way of remedy is to uproot it."*

So violently anti-Jewish have been some of the speeches made in the U. S. by the Syrian Ambassador, Farid Zeineddine, that responsible organizations have been led to ask for his recall. Scarcely less inflammatory have been speeches by Mohammed Jamali, chairman of the Iraqi delegation to the U. N. The friendly State of Israel thus finds itself being denounced on American platforms as a "bastard State," and loyal United States citizens of Jewish persuasion find themselves being falsely accused of "dual loyalty," in terms reminiscent of pre-war Nazi propaganda.

"Whoever thinks of making peace with the enemy (*Israel*) *signs the death warrant of all the Arab nations,"* Jamali once said. And a Syrian President, General Shisekly, was quoted in Cairo papers to effect that *"The Middle East is not large enough for both Jews and Arabs."* (What the Arabs intend to do with their vast empty spaces, and their millions of oil dollars, he didn't add.) Mohammed Naguib himself said not so long ago: *"The only solution is Israel's disappearance."*

An important background factor in building up this Arab intransigence has been the influence of the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini.

The Grand Mufti was one of Hitler's major henchmen —and was a principal influence in determining the policy of Jewish extermination which Hitler pursued, and especially in making that policy the unbelievably inhuman thing it was in the Balkans and Middle East. The Grand Mufti attempted to organize a Moslem revolt against the British in Iraq at the very outset of the war, and when defeated, was brought to continental Europe by Hitler, where at various places he organized a school for the training of Moslem infiltrators indoctrinated to spread Nazi ideologies; helped to set up the blood-thirsty Moslem Legions in Yugoslavia; and finally, just as the War was coming to an end, directed the "Gross-Mufti Bureau" not far from Hitler's headquarters, from which he was engaged (along with Goebbels, Goering, Vidkun Quisling and the Nazi puppet of Iraq) in organizing a "World Conference on the Jewish Problem." The plans for this "conference" collapsed only because the Allied Armies got to Berlin before Al-Husseini and his cohorts could get their delegates there.

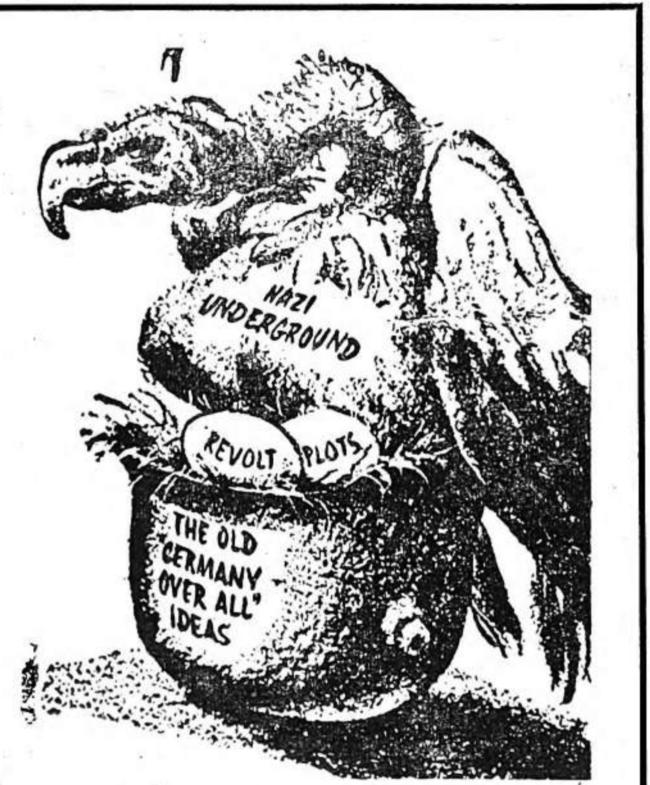
The S. S. Hauptsturmfuerer Dieter von Wisliczeny later declared in a War Crimes Affidavit based on his intimate knowledge of internal Nazi affairs that the Grand Mufti played "an important role" in constantly "inciting" the Nazi powers to more violent measures in their policy of Jewish extermination, particularly in Southeastern Europe.

A study of material emanating from behind Arab boundaries today indicates that much of the basic propaganda line of the anti-Jewish agitation now being pursued by Arab League states has come down unchanged from the days of the Grand Mufti's evil liaison with Hitler.

For example, Antoine Albina, a leading tourist agent (of Syrian extraction) with headquarters in Arab Jerusalem, is currently engaged in bombarding his countrymen—as well as visitors to that part of the world—with multilingual propaganda bearing the imprint of the "World Truth League." The name, significantly enough, is a rough translation of the "Fichte-Bund" once masterminded by Dr. Goebbels.

We need not quote examples of Albina's output at length. It is sufficient to say that Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith, the most notorious of our domestic hate mongers, finds Albina's publications sufficiently inflammatory to be worthy of reprinting in his anti-Jewish monthly, THE CROSS AND THE FLAG —and like-minded hate mongers in England, and even in far-away South Africa, also find Albina's material useful in fanning the flames of bias and bigotry, in those areas.

This exchange of hate propaganda also works in the other



"HATCHING NEW NAZIS"
(Lewis in The Milwaukee Journal)

direction. We pause to cite but one instance. When an American West Coast agitator named Frank Britton (who a few years ago tried to stir up a boycott against Jewish-owned businesses in Los Angeles) got out a 102-page book misleadingly entitled BEHIND COMMUNISM a prominent Arabic press agency, with offices in Cairo, Baghdad and Beirut, promptly re-issued it in an Arabic version and started circulating it all over the Middle East. Britton's opus, needless to say, had little or nothing to do with the real facts about Communism, but was merely a book-length diatribe against Jews and Judaism, elaborating upon the old canard that "Judaism and Communism are irretrievably bound together."

A dozen pages could be devoted to further examples of the same type of agitation, designed to incite even the most lethargic to violence and guaranteed to help forestall all efforts at peaceful settlements. As a Minister in one Arab cabinet put it the other day: *"No member of my government would even dare to talk about peace with Israel."*

Of course, the problem of the refugees is being exploited to the utmost by the Arab governments, so that the refugees have become as much a political tool as a relief problem. Relocation funds made available through U. N. agencies have been in large part rejected by the Arab States, who obviously would prefer to keep the refugees confined to their camps, and use them for purposes of political exploitation.

So obvious is this purpose, that Egypt and other Arab countries have actually been collecting customs duties on shipments of relief materials intended for the help of the "refugee victims." A casual inspection of the lurid propaganda leaflets issued by the Arabs in this connection confirms the same conclusion.

So arrogant has this attitude become that the highly responsible Reuters Agency reported on December 1, 1955, that the seven Arab League countries have actually issued a circular addressed to Dutch firms trading in the Middle East, demanding detailed information on their business with Israel and their employment of Jews in their home cities. This astounding circular originated with the "Economical Siege on Israel Office" in Damascus. *"The Arab countries,"* said the circular, *"are in a state of war with Israel and for this reason are making an economic siege of that country."*

Meanwhile, the East-West controversy added fuel to the fire.

Soviet policy, which has on repeated occasions included the persecution of Jews and Zionists (a fact which makes propaganda like the Britton book mentioned above appear particularly ridiculous to the thoughtful reader), now seems to have entered a pro-Arab phase. According to the current Communist line, as reflected in the New York DAILY WORKER (Nov. 16, 1955), Israel is now regarded as "a province in Wall Street's Middle Eastern economic empire." Where this sort of thing may lead to, when coupled with an alarming increase of indigenous anti-Americanism in cities like Cairo, is anybody's guess.

Granting that the Americans, British and French would like to see the Arabs accede to a permanent and peaceful settlement recognizing the just claims of Israel, the Soviets have been playing whichever side of the fence suited their position at a particular time. Currently they seem to have set out to help arm the 45 million Moslems. Should this policy be long continued, the results could be frightening indeed. Add a supply of Russian rifles and jet planes to inflammatory propaganda of the sort outlined above, mix in the aggressive intentions of the Arabs, and you have the makings of a conflagration that could very readily lead to World War III.

A STAIN ON JUSTICE

"The Brooklyn Veterans of Foreign Wars today demanded that Edwin August Plitt be removed as the U. S. member of the International War Crimes Review Board because he voted to release Nazi war criminal Sepp Dietrich.

"Dietrich, convicted of the Malmedy Forest murder of American war prisoners during World War II, was released from prison . . .

"Robert F. Bonagura, Kings County VFW commander, said 'every American should be up in arms' . . ."

(The N. Y. Post, 12-1-55)

Note:
A letter on this subject was sent by the Society to leading newspapers. We reprint below the text as it appeared in the St. Louis Post Dispatch, 11-10-55:

The recent release from a United States prison of the German war criminal, Sepp Dierich, one of Hitler's most trusted SS generals, is shocking news. Dietrich was sentenced to life imprisonment because of his over-all responsibility in the cold-blooded murder of American G. I.s taken prisoner during the Battle of the Bulge.

Altogether between 600 and 700 G. I.s and Belgian civilians were slain in a series of acts of terrorism that came to be known as the Malmedy Massacre.

Dietrich's bloodthirstiness was known throughout Europe. It is difficult to see how the release of this killer will strengthen the United States' efforts to restore respect for law and decency in human affairs. The release of Dietrich has outraged European public opinion and will certainly create a fertile field for all sorts of anti-American propaganda.

In the last analysis, the freeing of Dietrich can only damage America's moral prestige, a factor so frequently mentioned by Secretary Dulles as essential to the successful conduct of our foreign relations.

The Allied officials who recommended the release of Dietrich have grossly misrepresented the views of the American people. They have not kept faith with the millions of American G. I.s, living or dead, who fought the Nazis in defense of American freedom.

President Eisenhower should dismiss these individuals from Government service because they have shown themselves unfit to uphold the sense of justice of the American people.

Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.

ALBERT SIMARD, Secretary,
ISIDORE LIPSCHUTZ, Treasurer.

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Fabulous Krupp

> ***"Krupps is going to die. It is going to die now. It is in the process of dying . . . My instructions are to disintegrate this concern and Krupp is going to cease to exist.***
>
> ***"There's a lot of politics behind Krupps and we want to show everybody that we are carrying out our agreements . . .***
>
> ***"The classic mistake which was made here after World War I is not going to be repeated this time."***
>
> **(E. L. Douglas Fowles, British Controller of the Krupp properties, 8-28-46)**

Krupp, the name which made all Europe tremble during two world wars, Saturday night set people dancing at a fabulous ball.

Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, sole heir to Germany's greatest industrial empire, gave the ball for 640 guests at his home, the monumental Villa Huegel in Essen.

The party, described by the family as a "small affair," employed the services of small armies of waiters, scores of pretty "Krupp girls" in uniform, three orchestras, a fleet of limousines and a special train which brought 150 diplomats from Bonn.

The 48-year-old Krupp and his German wife Vera, a former film actress he married in 1952, received their guests in the immense paneled hall of the villa, hung with priceless Flemish tapestries.

Frau Krupp wore a cocktail-length brocade dress of many shades of brown, gray and green, heavily embroidered with sequins and brilliants. Diamond pendants the size of marbles adorned her ears.

The party, which broke up early just after midnight, was the first social appearance of the famous German munitions-maker since his release from Landsberg prison in Bavaria early in 1951. Then, he had served only three years of a 12-year sentence imposed by the allied war crimes tribunal at Nuremberg in 1948 for employing slave labor in his arms factories during the war.

Before the ball a party of diplomats was taken around some of the Krupp factories at Essen and Rheinhausen. The tour took in the Rheinhausen steel works, the 1,000,000,000-mark (about $232,400,000) plant which Krupp has promised the Allies to sell, with all his coal mines before 1958.

Others of the party came in a special first-class train from Bonn to the private Krupp statio nat Essen being plied liberally with champagne, cocktails, snacks and cigars on the way by "Krupp girls" from the magnate's guest establishment.

Each was also given a silver-plated lighter marked discreetly with three intertwining circles—the trade mark of the firm an ashtray and a bottle of brandy.

(Reuters, 11-27-55)

★

ALLIES?

"Upon the initiative of Master Sergeant Clipper, nine sergeants of the British Army decided to petition for their release from the service. The underlying reason for their request was rather unusual. They stated that they had no inclination for serving in an army which might some day find itself fighting shoulder to shoulder with Germans.

"When the regimental colonel requested them to withdraw their petition the master sergeant and his comrades replied that they had spent the last months of the war in Germany and that they could not agree to accept the Germans as allies'."

(Deutsche Volkszeitung, 9-17-55)

★

SCHOOL DAYS

"At the end of World War II most of the German schools abroad were closed down . . . However, during the last few years the number of German schools in foreign countries expanded considerably and they were able to consolidate their positions. Now, there are German schools again in almost all European countries with the exception of the Iron Curtain countries including China . . .

"If we look at the five continents, we can all be proud of (the existence of) approximately 300 German schools abroad . . ."

(California Staats-Zeitung, 11-18-55)

★

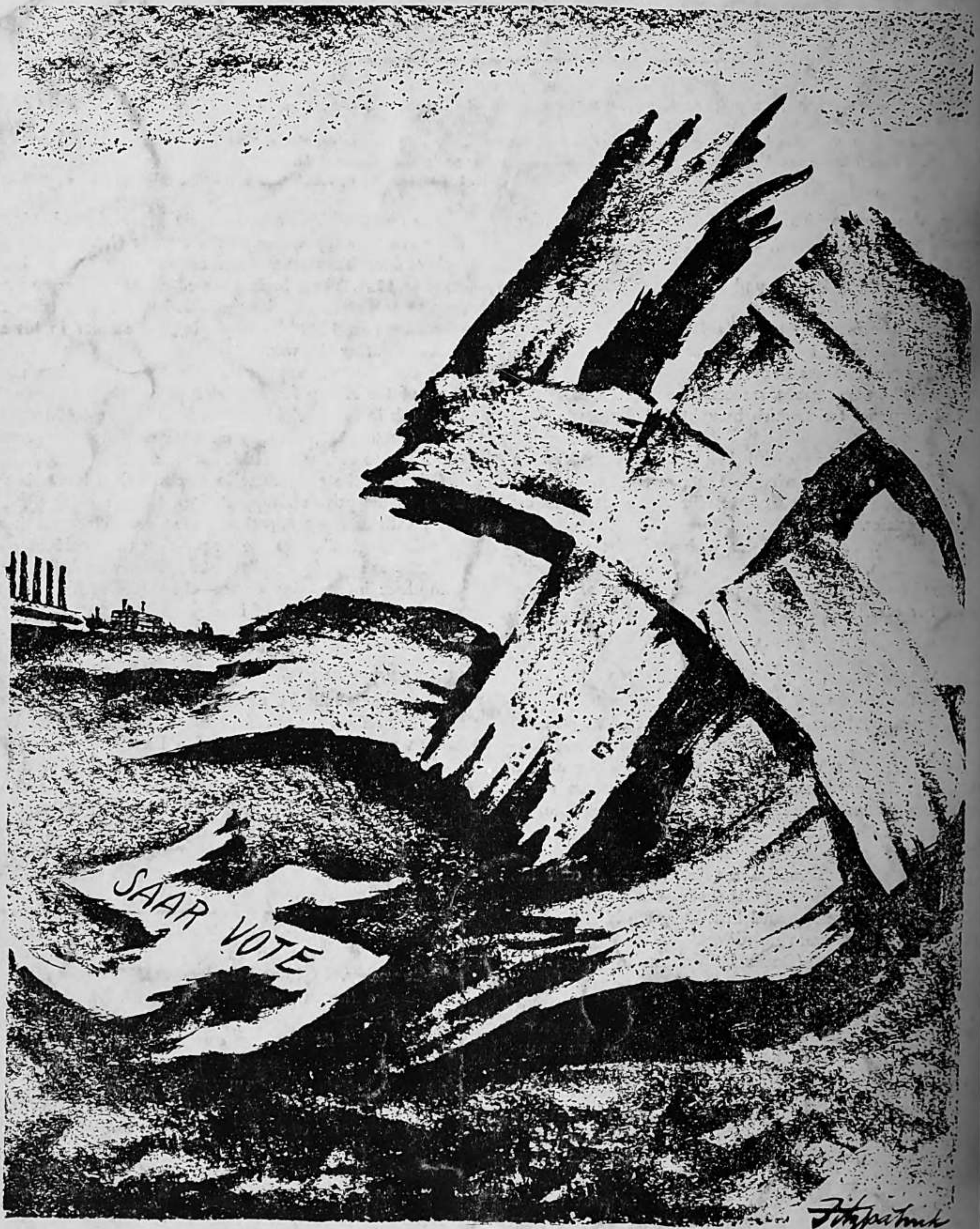
NAZI STATISTICS

"The Nazis killed a mere 365,000 Jews in Europe and not six million, it was claimed this week by the Wiesbaden neo-fascist monthly 'Die Europaeische Nationale' in an article bearing the title 'The Lie of the Six Million Killed Jews.'

"Edited and published by the notorious neo-nazi organizer Karl Hein Priester, the publication arrived at the 365,000 figure through a juggling of facts."

(WNS, 8-26-55)

> **"That East Germany, too, is rearming is not at all discomfiting to the militarists of West Germany. In long-range terms, the more extensive the immediate rearming on both sides of the German dividing line, the more powerful will be the army that one day, they hope, will emerge from a united Germany. And in immediate terms, the Bonn militarists can count on increased help from Washington to counteract developments in Pankow. According to a Bonn spokesman, the Federal Republic's contribution to rearmament will not exceed nine billion marks. This is only a fraction of what the new Wehrmacht will cost. Bonn is relying on the American taxpayer to pay most of the rest."**
>
> **(The Nation, 10-8-55)**


SAAR VOTE
Fitzpatrick

CHIP OFF THE OLD BLOCK?

(Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch)

No. 48
SUMMER ISSUE
1956

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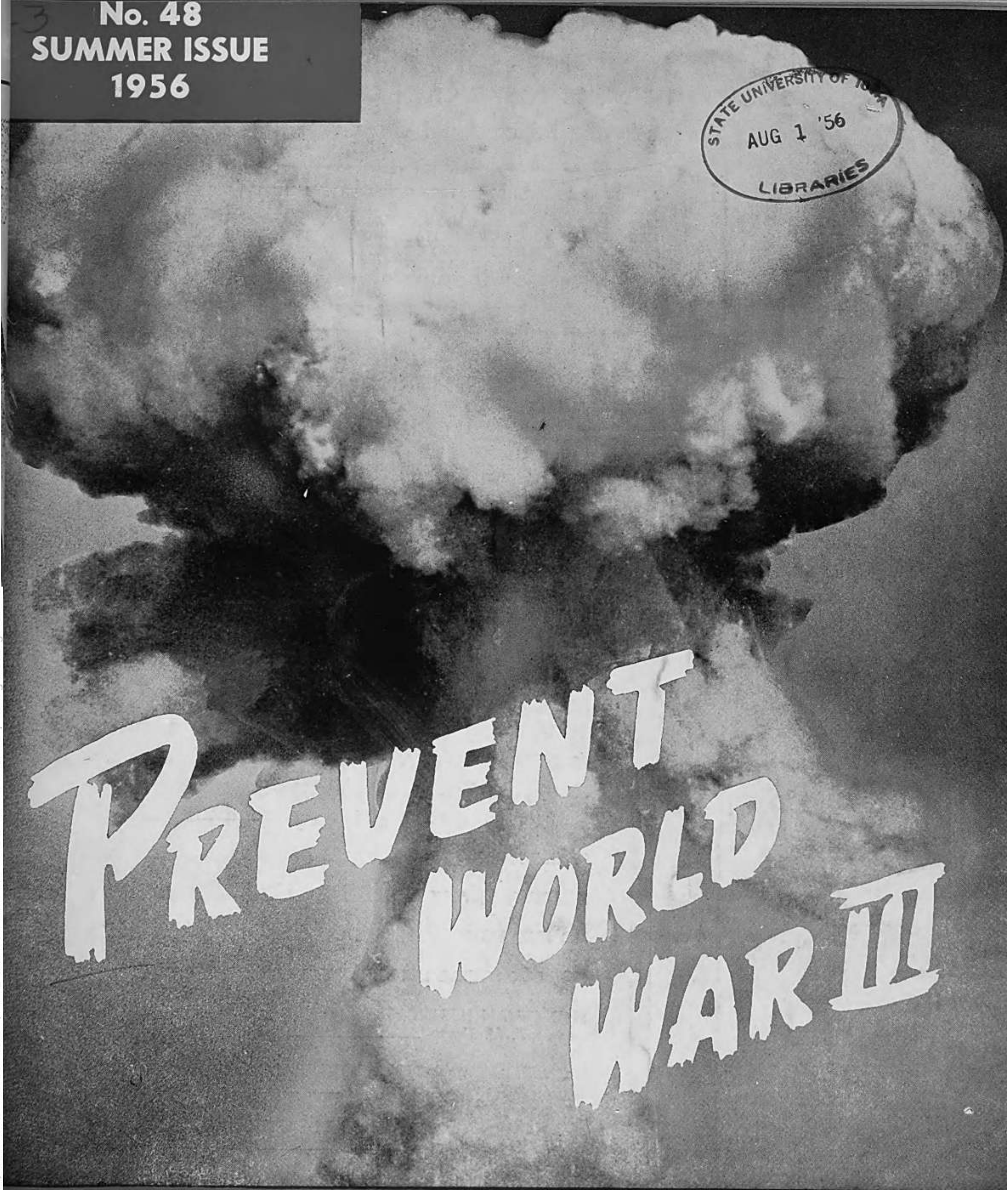

Published by
ociety for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Tel.: PLaza 3-4985

No. 48 Summer Issue, 1956

"A Colony of Spiders"

Why have our policy makers consistently discouraged a thorough re-examination of US policy toward Germany? This question appears with increased frequency in letters addressed to the Society.

We can think of a number of explanations for this standpat attitude, but there is one which seems to stand out above the others. It reminds us of the two lads who were fighting each other furiously. One of the youngsters exhibited fancy footwork while the other boy moved only one foot—the other firmly fixed to the ground. As a result, the immobile boy was receiving a sound thrashing from his opponent who was able to move freely in all directions. A bystander called to the unfortunate youth, "Say, why don't you move your other foot?" The reply, in the midst of a shower of blows, was prompt: "I can't, my foot is on the quarter we are fighting for!"

Applied to the "high politics" of the German problem, it means that a flexible and fresh approach has been blocked by a "vested interest." The late Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, described it as a "colony of black-widow spiders" which *"has been busily weaving webs intended to cost the United States and its allies the fruits of the crushing defeat of Germany. They would restore to those who made Hitler possible the industries of the Ruhr, without which he would not have ventured to commit his depredations against the democratic nations of Europe. Conspicuous among them are members of the Cabinet, congressmen, dipolmats and soldiers, as well as bankers and industrialists who have been commuting between Wall Street and Washington. In short, American military and civilian officials who are supposed to be solving problems in Germany, preparatory to the State Department assuming a jurisdiction and control that, so far, it has timorously evaded, have been rendering yeoman service to Wall Street financiers and German cartelists, preparatory to World War III"* (The New Republic, 5-2-49).

Having served under two Presidents, Mr. Ickes was able to observe the maneuvers of this cabal at close hand. Other former government officials have confirmed his charges. For example, Josiah E. DuBois, Jr., former Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, and assigned to many important governmental tasks dealing with the postwar treatment of Germany, wrote: *"As early as September 1944, while our GIs were still being killed by the Nazi war machine, there was circulated within the United States Government, at a high level, a memorandum contending, in effect, that as soon as the war was over we should rebuild German power as quickly as possible."*

The hopes and plans of this "vested interest" were outlined by Mr. Allen Dulles at a meeting of the American Bankers Association in 1946: *"For us it is essential to participate in a leading capacity in the rebuilding of German economy in order to stabilize the economic situation in the United States through control of the German economy and to assure American firms suitable profits."*

Even before Mr. Dulles spoke, the "vested interest" had gained control of many strategic positions connected with the formulation and implementation of American policy in Germany. It was a "bipartisan" operation involving such prominent personalities as W. Averell Harriman of the banking firm Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.; James Forrestal and William Draper of the banking house of Dillon, Read and Co.; John J. McCloy, the present Chairman of the Board of the Chase Manhattan Bank; John Foster Dulles, then head of the law firm Sullivan & Cromwell; and former Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall.

The "bipartisan" character of the operation was firmly sealed when Herbert Hoover was invited by President Truman to report his views on what America should do for Germany. The Hoover mission had the blessings of the "vested interest" which had close ties with Germany's cartel clique. In a sense Mr. Hoover's conclusions had been foreshadowed by Walter Rohland of the German steel trust when he wrote to one of his colleagues on June 15, 1945, that a "good bridge" had been formed with "mutual friends" in the US and in Britain.

Mr. Hoover's findings received strong support from W. Averell Harriman. In 1947, Mr. Harriman submitted a report to the President which had as one of its basic premises the idea that the recovery of Western Europe was dependent on the economic resurgence of Germany: *"A rapid increase in the Ruhr's coal, steel, and machinery output would aid the reconstruction of industries in neighboring countries, and lower the general cost of the European recovery program more than any other factor."* This passage from the report was quoted in a recent article by Dr. Friedrich Middelhauve, Minister of Economics and Transport for the German State of North Rhine Westphalia ("Commerce in Germany," 4-1-56). Dr. Middelhauve declares that the Harriman report "went far to relieve the hopelessness" of the Ruhr barons.

The spade work of the Hoovers and Harrimans paved the way for the billions of dollars poured into Germany. Propaganda-wise this was publicized as the sure road to the rehabilitation of Western Europe. In reality, it afforded Germany the opportunity to evade the consequences of her crimes and to regain a dominant position in Western Europe. The net result was to commit the American people to a program which was diametrically opposed to the principles for which the war was fought. Yet, the people were not consulted. They were confronted with a fait accompli, executed by a clique of non-elected officials who served the "vested interest." It was a profitable operation for the group described by Secretary Ickes and their cartel friends in Germany, but it tied American policy hand and foot. A gradual transformation occurred and more and more Germany's requirements conditioned Allied policy. The tail began to wag the dog.

The consequences are now apparent to all except to him whose "foot is on the quarter." Weighed down by the German albatross, we have lost the initiative in Europe. The great reservoir of friendship and good will which was ours at the end of the war, has been squandered. Step by step, our Germany policy has produced all of the elements preparatory to a rapproachment between Soviet Russia and the Germans. Truly we are on the "brink" and this has been admitted by outstanding experts on Russo-German relations. Thus, the noted British political commentator, Edward Crankshaw, discussing the dangers of a Russo-German deal, concludes: *"While bearing in mind that it takes two to make a Russo-German pact, it is clear that the West will soon be compelled to reconsider its German policy in the light of hard facts"* (London Observer, 5-6-56).

These "hard facts" have not budged our policy makers. They prefer the policy of inertia because it profits the "vested interest" even though it is undermining the US position in Europe.

That the United States possesses the brain power and imagination to develop policies which would be truly expressive of the National Interest is beyond doubt. What is necessary is to release that brain power and imagination from the bondage of the "colony of spiders" which has paralyzed our ability to cope with the German problem and the menacing spectre of a Soviet-German deal.

THE ADENAUER CULT

"West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was effusively welcomed to Washington by John Foster Dulles.

"The Secretary of State headed the official welcoming delegation at the National Airport. He told Dr. Adenauer that there were some things he did that were more duty than joy, 'but to welcome you is unadulterated joy.'

" 'You bring a wisdom that comes from experience, and an idealism that partakes of youth,' he said. 'You are building a new Germany and a new Europe and what we hope will be a new world.' "

(N. Y. Times, 6-12-56)

". . . What can the United States do? The power to unify Germany rests exclusively in Soviet hands . . .

"So Dr. Adenauer's fear that there already exists a tacit settlement based on the division of Germany is to some extent justified by the situation itself . . .

"But the real answer to that question lies not in the United States but in West Germany. Insofar as it can, the United States will continue to work for German unity in freedom, and it would be a rash man who would say that can never come about. If the German people, however, refuse to be patient and insist instead on dangerous short-cuts, then there is no way to help them . . ."

(Wall Street Journal, 6-13-56)

Editorials

POLITICAL CHAMELEONS

During the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to Britain a little boy, aged 5, approached Bulganin and asked, "Are you Father Christmas?" Bulganin shook his head in the negative. Whether it was Bulganin's goatee which prompted the lad to put the question, is not of direct concern to us. Yet, with or without the beard, the team of Bulganin-Krushchev has given good cause for people to believe that Santa Claus may not be a myth, after all.

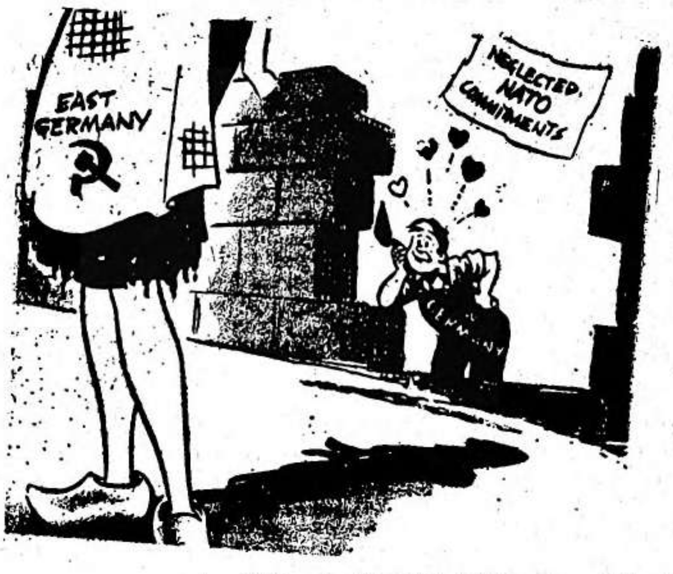
Wherever they go, B & K have only kind words and smiling faces. Regardless of the ulterior motives involved, the diplomacy seems to say "something for everyone." It is a lavish kind of gesture and seems to apply to all peoples—even those who in recent times were regarded as their mortal enemies.

Ten years ago leading Russian propagandists were denouncing the Germans in the most violent uncompromising language. Ilya Ehrenburg, one of their most prolific propagandists, wrote: *"Some people think that beaten Germans are less harmful. They are mistaken. Germans remain true to themselves . . . The Germans have not changed much. It is senseless to hope to bring them to reason, to shame them, and then to reform them."* On another occasion, Mr. Ehrenburg said: *"That is the most terrible thing about the atrocities of the Germans: they slaughtered millions of fine people for nothing at all. And among the millions of Germans there was not to be found a handful of men of science to cry 'halt'."*

The theme that the German people, as a whole, were responsible for Hitler's aggressions and the crimes resulting from them, was constantly emphasized by the Soviets. The well known writer and war correspondent Alexei Tolstoy declared: *"We will never believe that Germany was deceived and fooled by a gang of Nazis; that she did not want it, poor thing, but was dragged into a predatory war."* In less dramatic terms one of Russia's leading jurists, Prof. A. Trainin, wrote: *"Who must shoulder the responsibility for war crimes? The answer is perfectly clear, the German State and the German people must certainly bear, and will bear the political and material consequences of Hitlerite aggression and the Hitlerite system of militarized banditry"* (Information Bulletin of the Soviet Union, 6-30-45).

However, in this year of 1956, the "something for everyone" diplomacy has changed the Soviet tune. In the Soviet publication New Times (1-12-56) we read an account of a visit by Russian educators to the East zone of Germany. The writer of this piece describes in rapturous language what great "progress" has been achieved in "democratizing" German youth. He tells the story of a Western journalist asking some children at a school in Berlin if they did not want to take revenge on those who had defeated Germany. The children replied: *"The war was not caused by the German people, it was launched and lost by the Nazis . . ."* The writer confessed that this answer "deeply impressed" him. It left him with the conviction that democracy in Germany "is growing in strength and self-awareness." The writer did not bother to tell his readers that the children's reply is the favorite alibi of Germans, whether they be concealed Hitlerites or professed democrats. Why should this threadbare excuse carry more weight just because it is mouthed by those who are indoctrinated with Communist ideology? Ten years ago this reply would have been denounced by Soviet propagandists—today it is an indication that the so-called German Democratic Republic "is pulsating with life."

The cynicism displayed by Soviet leaders with regard to Germany's war crimes was illustrated last year when Adenauer paid homage to the Kremlin. In his very first public statement the Chancellor pleaded for the return of those Germans who were still in Russian prison camps. The press reported that Bulganin replied with great indignation that there were no longer any German prisoners of war in Russia; the only Germans held were war criminals. These criminals, Bulganin stated, *"must be kept in confinement."* They are people *"who have lost all human vision. They are guilty of violence, arson, murder of women, children and old people."* The Russian people, Bulganin shouted, will "never forget" the crimes perpetrated by these "murderers." A few months later, these very same "murderers" were on their way back to Germany. In December 1955 a contingent of these "murderers," returning from a Russian prison camp, raised their right hands and publicly swore "by our dead and the dead of the Soviet Union and by the children who



(*Palmer in The Springfield Leader and Press*)
"SUFFERING FROM LOVE"

will one day pass judgment on us, we swear that we have not murdered, that we have not raped, that we have not burned and we have not pillaged. If we brought misery and suffering to that land (the Soviet Union) we did so under the law of war and mindful of our soldier's oath" (N. Y. Times, 12-14-55). The Times reported that German officials were disturbed lest this public demonstration offend the Soviets. Actually, the Germans had no cause for fear because the "something for everyone" diplomacy is so generous in concept and execution that even the memories of the Russian war dead can be sacrificed, if necessary. The Germans as well as the Russians would call this Realpolitik.

The attitude toward the revival of German militarism is another example of the new diplomacy. Last year the satellite government in the Soviet zone announced a program for the reconstruction of Potsdam, the hallowed shrine of Prussian militarism. Communist spokesmen attributed the destruction of Potsdam "to unnecessary United States air raids" (N. Y. Times, 2-7-55). The East German government's newspaper, the Tägliche Rundschau, devoted a number of editorials which recalled the days when Prussia and Russia were friends. The Germans were reminded how Prussian generals, like Clausewitz, Scharnhorst and Yorck cooperated with Russian military leaders. The Times dispatch noted that the Russians and the German Communist regime hope to build up a firm alliance through the reawakening of the Prussian pro-Russian spirit. In this connection it is now reported that the East German regime intends to restore the State of Prussia which had been abolished at the end of World War II because it was deemed to be the sinister symbol of German militarism. The Communists hope that the revival of the State of Prussia will have a favorable propaganda effect "especially in rightist circles" in Western Germany (Bulletin on German Questions, 3-1-56).

Soviet publications are devoting a lot of space these days to the past "glories" of Russo-German friendship. The Soviet magazine "International Affairs" (August 1955) carried a detailed article extolling the virtues of Rapallo. Rapallo, of course, refers to the treaty between Russia and Germany in 1922 which formed the basis of close military, political and economic collaboration between the Soviet Government and the Weimar Republic. The German General Staff and leading industrialists gave this treaty special support. The writer of this article points out that by 1921 German political leaders began to veer toward friendship with Communist Russia. Thus, the signing of the Rapallo Treaty, according to this writer, *"bore witness to the existence within Germany's ruling classes of forces with a realistic approach to the solution of foreign policy programs."* He recalls how the Rapallo Treaty strengthened the ties between Germany and the Soviet Union. He quotes one German writer who alleged that it was through the aid of Soviet orders "that the German engineering and electrical industries were able to keep going during the crisis years of 1930-1933." The article constantly refers to the "imperialist" pressures of the Western powers against Germany which the Germans were able to offset, thanks to the Rapallo Treaty.

According to the writer in "International Affairs" it would appear that no matter how hard the Western powers tried to turn the Germans away from the Rapallo Treaty, *"interest in the strengthening of relations with the USSR mounted . . . among Germany's ruling classes."* He cannot conceal his pleasure over the former ties between the bigwigs in German industry and the Soviets. To underline his point he quotes a passage from the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung which, he tells the reader, was the "voice of the German monopolies." The Deutsche Allgemeine urged the Germans to maintain close cooperation with the USSR and oppose the attempts of the Western powers to "incite" Germany against Russia. In concluding this study, the writer refers to the famous statement by Stalin who said that the peoples of Germany and Russia have *"the greatest potentialities in Europe for carrying out great acts of world importance."*

The October 1955 issue of "International Affairs" carries a leading editorial entitled "The Soviet Union and Germany." Here again, many paragraphs are devoted to the "wonderful" future which lies ahead for friendship between Germany and Russia. *"The Soviet Union and Germany,"* the editorial states, *"are the biggest industrial countries in Europe with high economic potentials. It naturally follows that good relations between the German and Soviet peoples are the firm guaranty of universal peace in Europe and throughout the world."*

In line with the theme that the German people were also victims of the Nazis, the editorial characterizes the Red Army as their "liberator." The editorial further states that the Soviet Union was always in favor of a strong Germany. The Soviet Government opposed those who spread "hatred" against the German people and in this connection the editorial roundly denounces Lord Vansittart, the English diplomat who warned the west of the German danger. Only the Soviet Union, the editorial tells us, fought against the dismemberment of Germany, and it is only the Soviet Union which can solve "the problem of finding markets for West German industrial products." This point, the editorial declares with

> **". . . Future German foreign-policy decisions will not depend on whether the Adenauer Cabinet remains in power or is replaced by a government based on the budding SPD-FDP alliance. Germany's course will hinge on the relative military and overall strength of the various powers and, to quite some extent, on the record of Soviet performance in the years to come . . ."**
>
> **(By Otto Kirchheimer, The New Leader, 4-16-56)**

confidence, is bound to interest West German industrialists.

The February 1956 issue of "International Affairs" discusses the value of the Eastern markets for the industrial war lords of the Ruhr. The Industriekurier which, according to the Soviet publication, expresses the opinions of the big German industrials and exporters, is bitterly opposed to Allied trade policy vis-à-vis the Soviet bloc. The complaints of the Industriekurier are generally aired and the Soviet publication is happy to be able to report that German publications are also agitating for a "new approach." Summing up these developments, International Affairs dangles the bait: *"West German business circles cannot help noticing that the G. D. R. (German Communist regime) is very successful in trade with the countries of the democratic camp, while the trade balance of the G. F. R. (German Federal Republic) clearly shows the disadvantages of the one-sided Bonn policy for the country's economy."*

A rather clear cut example of the 180 degree switch in Soviet policy toward Germany may be seen in two articles written by a Russian professor A. Yerusalimsky. Writing in the New Times (9-19-53), the professor warned the peoples of Europe of the German danger. *"Furthermore,"* he wrote, *"history has shown that it is not Germany, but her neighbors that need guarantees of security, they having been the victims of German aggression twice in the course of a half century . . . It is upon Germany that the maintenance of peace in Europe mostly depends; for this she has only to renounce her suicidal policy of stirring up wars and armed conflicts."* Writing for the New Times about two years later (1-26-56) Prof. Yerusalimsky weeps over the "hard" peace which the Allies planned for Germany. The professor cries that it was the Morgenthau Plan, "sponsored by influential American monopolists" which tried to destroy Germany, but thanks to the Soviet Union this insidious plot of American "imperialists" was unmasked and rendered harmless.

The new Russian propaganda line shows that nothing will be left to chance insofar as relations with Germany are concerned. The Soviets do not intend to be one inch behind the Western powers in the scramble for the hand of the former enemy. We can free a Sepp Dietrich; they too can release German war criminals. We can build up a German army led by former members of Hitler's General Staff; they are doing likewise. Indeed, there seems to be no end to this spectacle. In the process of bidding higher and higher, the moral principles for which millions gave their lives are cast into the shadows. The Bismarckian idea that moral principle is no substitute for brute force and political expediency, seems to have gripped the minds of many statesmen who, only a short while ago, exhorted their peoples to destroy every vestige of German militarism.

HITLER'S ECHO

A favorite "pastime" of the Nazis was the annual Nuremberg rally—scene of Hitler's hysterical harangues. With Teutonic fervor the cry for "blood" would echo through the ranks of the faithful as the Führer shook his fist at the world. It was a moment when the Nazi brass was able to whip up a frenzied hatred which spread fear and terror throughout Europe. Our thoughts return to that spectacle as we read about the annual celebrations of the German expellee groups. These rallies have provided the platform for those unregenerate elements who talk about Germany's "rights" in the same tones of terror as their Nazi forebears. It is also an occasion for the more respectable elements among the Germans to let their hair down, so to speak.

The most recent of these get-togethers was held in May of this year and the top leaders of the German Government participated enthusiastically. Chancellor Adenauer sent a message of greetings. He expressed the hope that the expellees would soon be able "to resume their historic task." Von Brentano, Bonn's Foreign Minister, declared that the Germans would never give up their "lost" territories. Theodor Oberlaender, Federal Minister for Refugees (a former Nazi), noted with great satisfaction that the agitation of the expellees was a great "service" to Europe. Even the leader of the Social Democrats, Erich Ollenhauer, put in his two cents by sending a message of greeting to the Sudeten Germans: He assured them that the Social-Democratic party would support their cause to the end. The Federal Minister for All German Affairs, Jacob Kaiser, promised the Sudetens that the German Government would never "abandon" their rights. Speaking about German "rights," it was the same Herr Kaiser who once said: *"No real Europe can be formed until the German bloc is reconstituted. I remind you that this bloc includes, in addition to Germany, Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar of course, and Alsace-Lorraine. When I think of the Strasbourg Cathedral, my heart hurts."*

"General von Manteuffel, former commander of German forces, present head of the Steel Helmets, is taking every precaution in the world to explain that he never, but never, was a Nazi. Notwithstanding, Hitler himself had given him the insignia of the National Socialist party. This was an unfortunate misunderstanding, explains the former war leader. 'I was invited by Hitler to assist in the distribution of decorations. At the end of the ceremony, Hitler handed me a little case. I believed it to contain a pair of cuff links. Later on I discovered that it was the party insignia. *It was too late to refuse . . .'*

"The honorable general made a slight mistake. He meant to say: 'It was too early to refuse' . . . He could not foresee how it would all end!"

(Liberation, Paris, 5-5-56)

The voice of Pan-Germanism with its chauvinistic sneers has not been stilled despite the Nazi defeat. Of course, the respectable leaders try to mislead world public opinion by pretending that the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudetenland and from other areas was merely the result of arbitrary decisions by the Allied powers. Apparently, they hope that memories are so short that we no longer recall the Fifth Column work of the Sudetens and other German minority groups which paved the way for Nazi conquests (see Prevent World War III, No. 47, "Pan-Germanism Rides Again," page 39).

In this connection, the same respectable Germans gloss over the fact that the leadership of these expellee groups is infested with pro-Nazi elements. For example, the leader of the Sudeten Germans, Lodgman von Auen, was a notorious Nazi collaborator and was arrested for war crimes. However, under mysterious circumstances he escaped punishment and now is a celebrated figure in Germany. Indeed, the President of the Bonn Government, Theodor Heuss, awarded von Auen the Great Service Cross of the Federal Republic on the occasion of his 75th birthday. It is interesting to recall that it was Herr Heuss who sent the infamous wire to the war criminal von Neurath, acclaiming his martyrdom, the same von Neurath who was found guilty in the persecution of the Czechs under Hitler. Thus, while the so-called respectable leaders, such as Heuss, pose as tried and true friends of democracy, they take advantage of every opportunity to give aid and comfort to the Pan-German ravings of the expellees.

The aims and objectives of the expellees may be couched in anti-Communist slogans, but behind this façade they strive tirelessly to carry out the dream of a Pan-German Europe. They pretend to be friends of the Western Allies but they smear Radio Free Europe; they pretend to be democratic, but they associate and make common cause with other fascistic elements; they pretend to be against the present satellite setup in Eastern Europe but they dream of the day when the Poles and the Czechs and other peoples of Eastern Europe will be satellites of a Fourth Reich.

These expellee groups are endeavoring in every possible way to exploit the cold war to achieve their nefarious goal. They are trying to whip up American public opinion. In this connection mention must be made of their public relations expert in the US, Dr. Richard Sallet. His background was referred to briefly in the issue of Prevent World War III mentioned above. Additional facts show that at one time he was Goebbels' representative in the Germany Embassy in Washington and subsequently an official in Ribbentrop's Foreign Office. Among his tasks was to coordinate pro-Nazi activities in the United States. The aim of this work was to drum up anti-Semitism, to disunite the American people and to create animosity between the USA and her most reliable allies. In this work he had the assistance of a top Nazi agent, Stallforth, who took advantage of his privileges as an American citizen. It may be that it was under Sallet's direction that the German Embassy in Washington recently circulated a map and an accompanying letter among Members of Congress and newspaper editors designed to justify the Pan-German activities of the expellee groups.

It is noteworthy that while the expellees try to curry favor with the USA, they smear Western Allied leaders. Winston Churchill received a taste of this medicine when he visited Germany in May. The violent attacks launched against Churchill made it necessary for the authorities to adopt rigid security precautions so as to protect Churchill's life. One of the leaflets circulated by these expellee gangs, when Churchill spoke at Aachen, read: "Citizens of Aachen! Avoid the ceremony at the market place tomorrow! Keep your windows shut! Don't wave flags! Come instead to the protest demonstration at the war memorial."

This type of agitation is just a foretaste of what is in store for the Allies should the German expellee groups really break loose. All sincere democrats who are just as opposed to Communism as they are to neo-Nazism and Pan-Germanism, should take heed of this development which is a definite threat to security and peace.

"Chancellor Adenauer . . . returned to Germany apparently under the impression that the whole free world desires the reunification of Germany . . . The fact is that there are large segments of the free world . . . that don't really care . . .

"While West Germany was working up oratorical steam on the Day of Unity yesterday, the French were also making speeches. It was the anniversary of the Battle of Verdun. Verdun, President Coty insisted there, was proof that France was not as decadent as people think."

(Theodore Kaghan, N. Y. Post, 6-18-56)

"The only thing except direct attack which might cause Russia to go to war, says General MacArthur, is this: a threat of a reunited Germany once more geared up to its full war potential. He thinks Russia is afraid of a Germany in arms, and predicts:

" 'If we use Germany as a military threat against Russia it will probably precipitate the third World War.'

"In his view, Russia will never permit Germany's reunification unless Germany is neutralized."

(U. S. News & World Report, 4-6-56)

Scapegoat Tactics

The weekly magazine U. S. News & World Report (4-6-56) published an interview with French Prime Minister Guy Mollet which made headline news. Though Mollet was asked to comment on some of the most delicate world problems, his replies were forthright and devoid of platitudes and ambiguities. Of course, Mr. Mollet could have taken the easy way out by flattering the State Department's handling of these vital issues. Perhaps this would have made him a hero in the eyes of our policy makers but, fortunately, Mr. Mollet did not permit himself this luxury, and it is doubtful whether the American people would have benefited by it.

Fawning was never the hallmark of a sincere and reliable ally. In his constructive criticisms Mr. Mollet proved again that the French people are faithful to the common interests of the Western Democracies. Nevertheless, the French Prime Minister has been subjected to a barrage of accusations and innuendoes of a most vicious type. There is no doubt that this storm would not have been so violent, had it not been for the fact that Mollet questioned the soundness of American policy with regard to Germany. His well reasoned criticisms represented one of the rare public occasions when a prominent Allied statesman has taken issue with the "Germany First" policy.

Mr. Mollet declared that the German problem was basically a problem of European security. Thus, he implied that, when the peoples of Europe were assured of their security against the possible resurgence of an aggressive Germany, the German problem would lend itself to a practical solution.

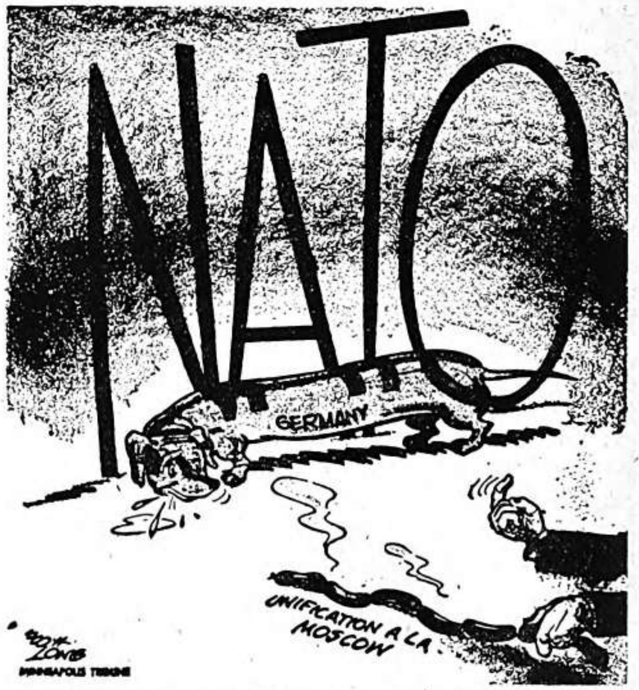
Mollet did not speak for the French alone. He represented the views of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Europe who have suffered time and again under the heel of the German jackboot. Indeed, the French Prime Minister was merely reaffirming what had been the original policy of the United States at the end of World War II. It is true that American policy has been reversed, but this does not detract from the validity of the principle enunciated by Mr. Mollet.

In a subsequent issue (4-13-56), the U. S. News & World Report carried a selected number of statements supposedly representing public opinion in Europe on the Mollet interview. While many of these carefully selected reactions from abroad were adverse, they were not unanimous. Nevertheless, the U. S. News & World Report captioned its "findings" with these words: "French Premier divides Allies, pleases Russians." The bias displayed in this misleading headline, is not an unusual phenomenon insofar as a large sector of the American press is concerned. Generally speaking, it is a rare thing to read criticisms of the Germans in the American press. On the contrary, ever since the end of the war there has been a steady increase of omissions in the press concerning the real state of affairs in Germany. It is always the French or the British who are accused of sabotaging Western unity and of dealing with the Russians behind the back of the United States. Such charges are seldom made against the Germans and yet, the record of German dealings with Moscow goes back as far as 1945.

It was in 1945 that Marshal Zhukov appointed Count Rudolf Nadolny to the post of special advisor on German questions. Nadolny was an expert on Russian affairs and was Hitler's Ambassador to Moscow. Through his tireless efforts following the end of hostilities, Nadolny brought together a group of ultra-conservative German businessmen and diplomats who sought to find ways and means of promoting rapprochement with the Russians.

Nadolny's circle of friends included such prominent personalities as Fritz von Prittwitz, former German Envoy to Washington, Dr. Hermann Puender, banker Hermann Abs, Dr. Andreas Hermes, former Minister of Agriculture, Prof. Ludwig Erhard, now Minister of Economics in the Bonn cabinet, all close personal friends of Dr. Adenauer and influential co-leaders in the Christian Democratic Union.

The secret Russo-German negotiations, sponsored by Nadolny and his group, were exposed in the European press. Mr. Walter Lippmann devoted an entire column to this development (3-15-49). It is also known that at one of the conferences held by the Nadolny circle, the present Foreign Minister of the Bonn Government, Heinrich von Brentano, warned: *"It must be our duty to overcome the deep antagonism of the Russians by eliminating all reasons for distrust against Germany."* In this connection he stated that "Germany must not become a satellite of a Western coalition" (Der Spiegel, 6-13-51). The growing activities of this influential group obliged Chancellor Adenauer to call for discretion. *"We must move very cautiously,"* he said. *"We ought not to give the impression either in Germany or in the United*



TEMPTATION STRONG . . . AND GETTING STRONGER

States, that we shall collaborate in any way with the Russians" (New York Times, 8-17-49).

Chancellor Adenauer's remarks did not dampen the enthusiasm of Nadolny and his friends in high places, and the secret dealings with Moscow continued. Thus, in August, 1952, a "hush-hush" meeting took place between top leaders of the German business community and associates of Anastas Mikoyan, the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister. It is noteworthy that this conference, held in Copenhagen, took place only three months after the general peace contract with Bonn had been drawn up. *"The conference was called at West German initiative with the knowledge of the West German Government, presumably Chancellor Adenauer himself"* (Christian Science Monitor, 4-17-54).

In the early part of 1954 additional efforts were made by influential Germans to come to some sort of bilateral arrangement with the Russians. The person who was directly associated with this move, was Karl Georg Pfleiderer, a leader of the Free Democratic Party which was part of the Adenauer coalition. A former career diplomat who served in Soviet Russia before World War II, Pfleiderer urged the prompt establishment of diplomatic relations with Moscow. He also favored a kind of East-West "non-aggression pact," similar to that which the Soviets had proposed at the Berlin Conference in February, 1954. According to Marquis Childs, Pfleiderer was said *"to have close ties with the powerful Rhineland industrialists who want to expand their sales in both, Russia and China"* (9-17-54). Added significance may be given to Pfleiderer's views since he was the foreign affairs expert for the Free Democratic Party whose leadership has long advocated separate negotiations with the Russians. The record shows that Pfleiderer had talks with the Soviet High Commissioner and other Russian officials in the Eastern Zone and it is also a matter of record that Dr. Adenauer secretly encouraged Pfleiderer to visit Moscow and Peiping. However, when Pfleiderer's activities became public knowledge, Adenauer denied that he was in any way responsible.

The fear lest Bonn's hand be exposed prematurely, has impelled German politicians to use all kinds of devious methods in their approach to the Russians. They have even sought to employ intermediary third parties to cloak their designs. When Vice-Chancellor Bluecher arrived in India in January of this year, a delegation from East Germany had also turned up. It is not known whether Herr Bluecher had direct contacts with his East German brethren in New Delhi, but Herr Bluecher told Nehru that "the Federal Republic would in no way consider it an interference into its domestic affairs if India would perform the service, by its good offices, of trying to increase Russian understanding of the difficult German situation" (The Bulletin, a weekly issued by the Bonn Government, 1-26-56).

Incidentally, it should be pointed out that Herr Pfleiderer negotiated with Nehru in the Austrian town of Fuschl in the preceding year. The German press reported that the Pfleiderer-Nehru talks preceded secret conversations between Adenauer and Pfleiderer by just a few hours. One press report had the following to say about this bizarre affair: "Of course, a spokesman for the Bonn Government was asked what was going on here? He was prepared with an adequate answer—and was met with bursts of laughter. According to the government spokesman, the important expert on Eastern affairs Pfleiderer met with Nehru, possibly the most active politician in the world today, to report on the economic structure of Baden-Württemberg." Thus, it was on this highly important subject that Nehru came all the way from India!

To return to Bluecher: Herr Bluecher has been quite active in this very sensitive field of Russo-German negotiations. His attitude on how to deal with the Soviets was revealed by the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (8-12-55), i.e., prior to his trip to India. This newspaper reported that Bluecher had already discussed the possibility of a "revision of the Paris Treaties" (release of West Germany from NATO). Bluecher also let it be known that Bonn was prepared to negotiate with the Communist Government in Eastern Germany in order to facilitate reunification. According to Marquis Childs (7-30-54), Bleucher was determined that Germany must deal with the Russians. Childs reported that Bluecher envisaged a policy of co-existence with the Soviets whereby German reunification would come about in return for a guarantee that the West "would respect the present status of Poland and Czechoslovakia."

The Pfleiderer and Bluecher plans to break up NATO as part of a deal with Moscow, seem to have carried great weight with the Bonn Government. Thus, the London Times (5-8-55) reported that the former Ribbentrop diplomat Herr von Herwarth, the present Ambassador to Britain, was expected *to propose the exclusion of Germany from NATO in return for Russian agreement to unification, free elections in her Eastern and South-Eastern European satellites and the abandonment of the projected 'Eastern NATO.'"*

Another important German leader, Martin Euler, was also an advocate of a direct approach to Moscow at the expense of NATO. The Swiss newspaper Journal de Genève (11-26-55) reported that Euler *"wants the Bonn Republic to quit NATO, to arm itself by its own means and, having recaptured freedom supported by force, undertake a démarche towards Moscow."* It is true that both Bluecher and Euler have split with the present leadership of the Free Democratic Party, but whether this represents a change of heart with regard to their attitude toward NATO and the need to negotiate with Russians remains to be seen.

As regards Bluecher, it is noteworthy that his right-hand man is a former SS Captain and ex-Ribbentrop diplomat, Dr. G. A. Sonnenhol. Two years ago, the noted British correspondent Sefton Delmer wrote a sensational article for the London Daily Express wherein he revealed the contents of a memorandum on German policy prepared by Dr. Sonnenhol. The main point of the memorandum was the insistence that the cold war between East and West must be kept going by the Germans so that they could play off one bloc against the other, reunify Germany, and reassert and increase the power of the Fatherland. The Sonnenhol memorandum observed that tensions between the victors of 1945 had already been exploited with such success that Germany was becoming sufficiently strong to abandon a policy of absolute reliance on the West and blind obedience to its orders. Sonnenhal boasted that Germany's war potential had become so great that a policy of subservience to the West "is no longer permissible." Stressing the thesis that the cold war had been a windfall to the Germans, the memorandum stated: *"Fears in the West* *of a German-Soviet understanding coupled with the intransigence shown by the Russians at the Berlin Conference, give a strong negotiating position to the government which it can and must exploit."* Needless to say, the Sonnenhol "line" has been followed faithfully.

Of course, under the shrewd leadership of Chancellor Adenauer the Germans are always careful not to move in a spectacular way until the proper alibi is found. It will be recalled that, when Adenauer returned from Moscow after having agreed to diplomatic relations with the Soviets, one of his justifications for this turnabout on his part was that the Allies had encouraged the spirit of co-existence at the Geneva Conference. Having established diplomatic relations with the Russians, the Bonn Government was now prepared for the next step but this, too, required a good alibi. Up to the Mollet interview, this was lacking. Even so, the press service of Chancellor Adenauer's party reported that if negotiations at Geneva were not satisfactory to Bonn, bilateral discussions with the Soviet Union on German reunification would be initiated through diplomatic channels (N. Y. Times, 7-22-55). Apparently, the results of the Geneva Conference did not provide sufficient grounds for a Bonn-Moscow deal. On the other hand, the Mollet interview was regarded by the Germans as a godsend.

Shortly after Mollet had expressed his views, von Brentano announced that Bonn would make a direct approach to the Russians. He implied, as did other German officials, that Mollet's remarks amounted to a doublecross, thereby justifying negotiations with the Russians. In this connection, von Brentano warned the West in a tone reminiscent of the best traditions of arrogant German diplomacy: *"We do not say we forbid you to make a disarmament agreement that ignores the German question. We warn you not to do so"* (A. P., 4-13-56).

So the Germans feigned shock over Mollet's statements and spoke as though they would have never thought of going directly to Moscow, had they not been "betrayed" by the French. However, contrary to the general run of press reports ntimating that Mollet's statements were the cause of Bonn's decision, von Brentano himself admitted that the Bonn Government had been dickering with Moscow for some time. He old reporters: *"We (the Bonn Government) may be said to be in a phase of continuing initiative although we cannot give periodic explanations which could prejudice the chances of uccess of our policies"* (Manchester Guardian, 4-19-56).

There is additional evidence to show that von Brentano was ndulging in sanctimonious double talk when he implied that he French were warming up to the Russians. Just two months efore the Mollet interview, the U. S. News & World Report ublished a statement by von Brentano wherein he declared hat it was *"possible and even probable that the new Soviet Ambassador in Bonn will broach the question of reunification"* 2-10-56). Von Brentano indicated that similar talks would o on between the Soviet Government and the newly apointed German Ambassador. He emphasized that diplomatic elations with Russia had been established "as a means of urthering the solution of the question of reunification." Did he U. S. News & World Report rush into print with a bold ace headline reading "German Foreign Minister divides Allies, pleases Russians"? Of course, it did not. Indeed, von Brentano's sensational admission went hardly noticed by the press with the notable exception of the Communist Daily Worker which gloated over the Brentano statement and featured it prominently.

In denouncing Mollet as subscribing to views held by the Soviet Union on German reunification, the Bonn Government stated that it had *"repeatedly declared that without reunification and the establishment of a security system satisfactory to all countries, it would not be possible to negotiate on disarmament with any hope of success."* However, if Mollet has deviated from the straight and narrow path, so did Chancellor Adenauer. As late as June, 1955, Adenauer told the United Press that the United States and Soviet Russia should try to reach an agreement on a program for controlled disarmament. The U. P. reported that Adenauer believed such an agreement on disarmament "would pave the way for a settlement of other problems, like security and Germany." Adenauer's view that disarmament and a general security system would pave the way for the settlement of the German problem was also reported in the New York Times (6-13-55). In a speech delivered before the Geneva Conference took place, Adenauer repeated his view that the "primary and decisive issue" at the Conference must be the question of disarmament. He declared: "By earnestly and resolutely tackling this task, the reunification of Germany in peace and freedom will also be achieved in due course" (The Bulletin, 6-2-55). This speech was praised in an editorial in the next issue of the Bulletin. Adenauer was hailed as a "realist" when he made his "strong bid for disarmament and collective security." The editorial concluded that through the settlement of these problems German reunification would be facilitated.

We have dwelt at length on "L'Affaire Mollet" because it is imperative, from the standpoint of U. S. security, to safeguard the bonds of friendship between France and our country. Only the most inveterate enemies of both, France and the U. S. A., could profit from the suspicions and deliberate distortions which have beclouded the far-sighted views of Mr. Mollet on disarmament, security and German reunification. The moth-eaten picture of France in the role of a cunning villain while the Germans appear as the loyal and betrayed party, is a favorite device of German propaganda. It would seem that two world wars should have immunized us from such deceit.

"So far, the German industrialists have been too busy to bother with politics, though they spent immense sums on election propaganda for the right-wing parties—and paid insurance to the Communist party, too, in the years before NATO blocked the Soviet advance.

"Meanwhile, they are dazzled by the vision of new markets in the Middle East and Asia; their enthusiasm for an Asian Marshall Plan springs strictly from the expectation of profit.

"This materialistic approach to world problems is not confined to the industrialists—it is general in all classes.

". . . But the bad side of German materialism is a cynical selfishness in both domestic and foreign policy—an absolute refusal to make sacrifices for the common good . . ."

(Denis Healey, New Leader, 5-28-56)

Dr. Wilhelm Haas — Ambassador Extraordinary

In defense of his decision to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, Chancellor Adenauer declared that Germany could not ignore the fact that Russia was one of the world's leading powers. By the same token, it would have been hardly in keeping with the Chancellor's sizing up of the Soviets, had he failed to appoint an individual with stature commensurate with the responsibilities and tasks awaiting the German ambassador to Moscow. Indeed, the Russians, aware of the importance of the new relationship with Bonn, lost no time in appointing one of their top diplomats to the German post. The Russian Ambassador Zorin not only held a high position in the Soviet Foreign Office, but was one of the key manipulators behind the scenes in Czechoslovakia when the Communists took over in 1948.

Renazifying the Foreign Office

Though Bonn's Ambassador to Moscow, Dr. Wilhelm Hass, may not have earned as colorful a reputation as his Russion counterpart, he is by no means a mediocrity. On the contrary, Dr. Haas has had extensive training and experience. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that he is not a well-known figure outside of certain circles in Germany. Indeed, the only time the outside world received some special news of his actual existence prior to his latest appointment, was during his sojourn as Chief of the Administrative and Personnel Division of the Bonn Foreign Office.

It was way back in 1950 that Dr. Haas admitted publicly that 14 out of 31 senior members of the "new" German Foreign Office were former Nazis. Dr. Haas told reporters that he saw no objection to the appointment of former Ribbentrip diplomats. He contended that the German Foreign Service could not be rebuilt on an efficient basis without the reemployment of these Hitlerites. Haas did a thorough job in renazifying the Bonn Foreign Office. One of Germany's noted radio commentators, Helmut Hammerschmidt, reported that there were "more Nazis now than the Foreign Ministry had even under Hitler" (A.P. 3-17-52).

Those who protested this scandalous situation, found out very soon that Chancellor Adenauer supported Haas to the hilt. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dr. Haas selected Foreign Office personnel with the help of the personal advice of another Ribbentrop diplomat, Hans Schroeder. It is a fact that Herr Schroeder had been a Nazi party member since 1933 and was also the Landesgruppenleiter of the Nazi regime abroad. The rapidity of Schoeder's rise as Deputy Director of the Personnel Division in the Nazi Foreign Office may be partially explained by the fact that he had very close ties with Rudolf Hess, Hitler's Deputy.

Following Haas' performance in staffing the "new" Foreign Office, Chancellor Adenauer rewarded him with the German Ambassadorship to Turkey. In this capacity, he helped to increase Germany's economic and political influence in that strategic area and in other parts of the Middle East. The German newspapers have praised him highly for his successes in establishing fruitful contracts for the Germans. Thus, his stay in Turkey which lasted for almost three years, proved his ability and paved the way for his still more important assignment in Moscow.

The Beginning of a Career

Like all German diplomats Herr Haas received careful training from the very beginning of his career. It was this special treatment which placed the German Diplomatic Corps and its operations in an elite category immune to the vicissitudes of domestic politics. This has produced a consistency in German foreign policy, regardless of the party in power, which remains intact to the present day.

We are told that Haas entered the diplomatic service in 1922 as a native of the city of Bremen. As a young attaché Haas made the rounds of many of the important foreign chancellories. Besides a tour of duty in Paris and in Addis Ababa, Haas was stationed in the Far East, notably Peking, Shanghai and Tokyo. The Bonn Government's official "Bulletin" (1-5-56) boasts that in Haas "Germany has an acute observer in the Eastern hemisphere." During his first years in the Foreign Office, Haas experienced the signing of the Rapallo Treaty which marked the beginning of postwar cooperation, military and economic, between Russia and Germany. At one time Haas was Secretary of the German Delegation to the League of Nations. He held this post until Germany withdrew from the League. It is stated that following Germany's withdrawal "Ribbentrop did not want to do without Dr. Haas and he appointed him for a period of 3 years (1934-1937) as a trade attaché to the German Embassy in Tokyo (Neue Volkszeitung, 1-7-56).

The "Bulletin" alleges that Haas had to resign from the Foreign Office in 1937 because of his wife's non-Aryan background. Offhand this would appear to imply that Haas was persona non grata with the Nazis. We shall subsequently see that this is far from the truth, but suffice it to say at this point that he was chosen "liaison officer" for I. G. Farben in Peking. While serving in this post to which he was recommended by the I. G. Farben war criminal Max Ilgner, Haas continued to receive his State pension from the Hitler Government, in foreign exchange no less. Haas remained in this position to the end of the war.

I. G. Farben's Record

That Farben performed invaluable services on behalf of the Nazis in their drive to conquer the world, is a matter of record. A study of the documents which were disclosed at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, indicates that the aims of the Farben empire and those of the Hitler Government were so interrelated as to make it difficult to separate one from the other. Even before the rise of Hitler, Farben was regarded as the "crown jewel" of the Weimar Republic. Stresemann called it his "trump card." On another occasion he said, "Without Farben no foreign policy was possible."

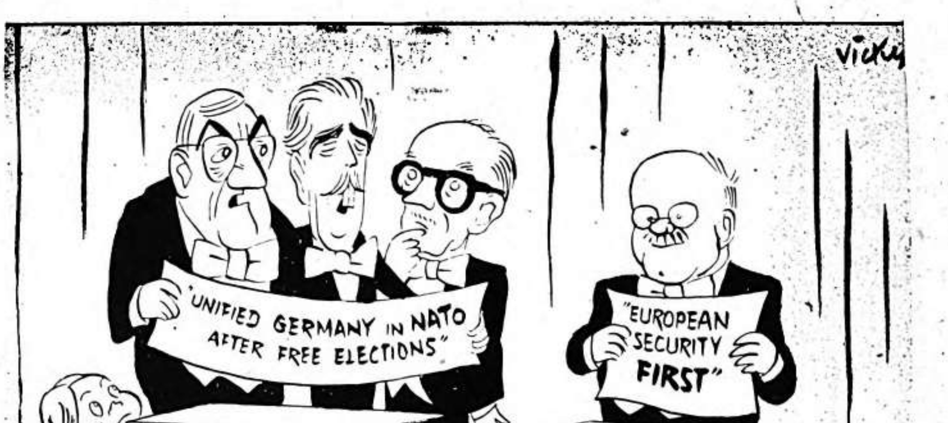
Farben's tie-up with the Nazis was described in detail by one of IG's top officials, Georg von Schnitzler, who was a member of the Board of Directors from 1925-1945 and the head of its important Commercial Committee. In an affidavit dated 3-18-47, von Schnitzler admitted that *"the development of IG during the last* 12 *years cannot be separated from the government's foreign policy."* In this same affidavit he confessed: *"Thus in acting as it had done, the IG contracted great responsibility and constituted a sub* *stantial and (in the chemical domain) decisive help to Hitler's foreign policy, which led to war and to the ruin of Germany. Thus I must conclude that IG is largely responsible for Hitler's policy."* As regards Farben's connection with Hitler's armed forces von Schnitzler said: *"Hand in hand with this, the relations between IG and the Wehrmacht became more and more intimate and a continuous union between IG officials on the one side and the Wehrmacht representatives on the other side was the consequence of it."* Needless to say, this relationship was very satisfactory to Farben and not only for patriotic reasons. Von Schnitzler tells us: *"Practically the whole augmentation in the turnover of IG from a little over 1 billion marks to 3 billions in 1943 is a 100 percent result of the rearmament and the war policy of the German Government."*

The cooperation between the German General Staff and IG Farben made it necessary to establish an organization that would work on a continuous basis for the development of Germany's war potential. This was achieved in 1935 when IG set up Vermittlungsstelle W in the Berlin office of Farben. The head of this office, Dr. Karl Krauch, described the function of Vermittlungsstelle W as an organization which was to provide *"the establishment of military economy for a systematic cooperation within the IG and particularly for a centralized treatment of questions of military policy and military technics."* Another of the Farben war criminals, Hans Kugler, put it more plainly when he said: *"The foremost purpose of the Nazi government and IG and all other industrialists was to keep the Wehrmacht all powerful vis-à-vis all other countries, including the USA."*

The Espionage Network

The N.W.7 office of Farben in Berlin was also headquarters of the world wide intelligence operations conducted by another key Farben official, Dr. Max Ilgner. His outfit turned out to be indispensable to Germany's preparations for the planning and waging of aggressive war. The Wehrmacht enjoyed particular close relations with this spy organization. Von Schnitzler revealed that after a conference with Wehrmacht intelligence officials in 1936, Ilgner promised to send them *"copies of his reports from abroad. In 1937, the Berlin NW 7 office first took the initiative in preparing bombing surveys and then interested the Wehrmacht in them"* (The Devil's Chemists by Josiah E. DuBois, page 325). Thus, Farben merged its resources with the Wehrmacht for espionage and military purposes. A conference between Farben officials and representatives of the military intelligence staff of the German High Command took place on May 2, 1941, to develop this cooperation still further. In opening the conference Major Bloch, representing the Counter Intelligence Division of the General Staff, conveyed the thanks of Admiral Canaris, Hitler's Chief of Intelligence, for Farben's *valuable cooperation and support shown so far in the field of foreign intelligence service in regard to questions of economy and war economy."* In reply, Farben officials assured Major Bloch of their unqualified cooperation. Further assurances were given that all reports from Farben representatives abroad which dealt with matters of concern to the General Staff, would be forwarded to it.

According to the investigations of the Senate Subcommittee, otherwise known as the Kilgore Committee, it was ascertained that the personnel under Ilgner "were working full time for the Wehrmacht" although they were ostensibly paid by Farben. This leads us to one of the key instruments necessary for the proper functioning of the Farben spy network. In 1937, the decisive year for the remilitarization of Germany and the preparation for aggressive war, the so-called Verbindungsmänner or "liaison officers" were appointed by Ilgner. It was in that year that Dr. Haas joined Farben. These so-called Verbindungsmänner cooperated with the Nazis in foreign countries in every possible way. In this connection the Commercial Committee which had overall charge of Farben's personnel abroad, stipulated in September 1937: "Under no circumstance should anybody be assigned to IG Farben agencies abroad who is not a member of the German Labor Front and whose positive attitude to the new era has not been established beyond any doubt. Gentlemen who are sent abroad should be made to realize that it is their special duty to represent National Socialist Germany. They are particularly


Vicky
"UNIFIED GERMANY IN NATO AFTER FREE ELECTIONS"
"EUROPEAN SECURITY FIRST"
West Germany
East Germany
THE 4 MAGICIANS
HOW TO PUT THE LADY TOGETHER AGAIN

(*London Daily Mirror.*)

"THERE IS NO CAUSE FOR ALARM! OF COURSE WE KNOW HOW TO DO IT — WE'VE BEEN DOING IT FOR YEARS AND YEARS . . ."

reminded that as soon as they arrive they are to contact the local or regional group of Germans abroad and are expected to attend regularly their meetings as well as those of the Labor Front."

Again we repeat that this was the year that the present German ambassador to Moscow was appointed as "liaison officer" of the I. G. Farben. The Farben official who was responsible for the coordination of the Verbindungsmänner's activities was Herr Waibel. He was most anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Auslandsorganization, the organization of the Nazi party abroad. It was he who worked out the agreement with the Nazis that all personnel representing Farben in other countries, would cooperate one hundred percent with Nazi organizations including the "German Labor Front." As a result of his responsibilities, Herr Waibel was the recipient of reports prepared by Dr. Haas from China which had little to do with Farben's business problems as such but were of definite concern to the German High Command. "Through the instrumentality of its leading agent abroad, the 'Verbindungsmaenner,' one of whom was located in every major country of the world, Farben received frequent intelligence reports pertaining to economic, political, and military matters. So invaluable were these Vebindungsmaenner that in most cases they were absorbed into the OKW/Abwehr (Military Intelligence Division of the Wehrmacht) and into Nazi Party organizations. In addition, Farben placed on its payroll members of the 'OKW/Abwehr.' Reports received from abroad or compiled by Farben were given to the Wehrwirtschaftstab (Military Economics Staff) of General Thomas, the OKW/Abwehr, and the Auslandsorganisation. These reports were received, analyzed, compiled, and forwarded to the Vorstand and to the various interested agencies of the Third Reich through Farben's Berlin organization known as the 'Berlin N.W.7' office. The Berlin N.W.7 office also prepared special reports and maps for the Wehrmacht identifying and locating strategic factories in countries about to become the victims of German aggression. These maps and reports were used by the Luftwaffe in selecting their bombing targets." (Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Vol. VII, page 33).

"Bureau Ehrhardt"

To cite a concrete example of how this vast espionage ring operated, we refer to the so-called "Bureau Ehrhardt," the German High Command's wartime intelligence organization in China and in neighboring countries of Asia. The head was Lt. Col. Ludwig Ehrhardt, chief of the Nazi intelligence service in the Orient. Ehrhardt had a very adventurous background having headed the German fifth column in the Balkans before he was sent to China to coordinate the intelligence activities of the German Armed Forces in that country. Ehrhardt was a close and trusted friend of the Fuehrer. "Bureau Ehrhardt" consisted of a number of shady characters including some Japanese who spied on Allied activities in the Far East and reported their findings to the German High Command. Ehrhardt's outfit had established offices in Shanghai, Canton, and Peking.

Information was gathered which led to the sinking of a number of American ships including at least one aircraft carrier, and heavy losses in the early phases of the Okinawa and other Pacific campaigns. The spy ring *"authorities reported, was cloaked by German commercial firms in China and was aided by the German Embassy"* (U. P. 4-15-46). The same press dispatch noted that those who worked for Bureau Ehrhardt were *"all members of a Nazi sponsored werewolf organization that carried on war against the United States and China long after the Reich had surrendered."* One of the agents, Wolfgang Schenke, is now the editor of a press service in Hamburg entitled "Realpolitik." He also contemplates the setting up of a so-called neutralist weekly which will be named "Neue Politik." Schenke has a long record of spying for the German High Command in the guise of a German newspaper correspondent. The Soviet publication "International Affairs" (February 1956) called Herr Schenke "the prominent West German Orientalist" and quoted approvingly his views on Asian "neutralism."

Von Puttkamer and Dr. Haas

Another interesting figure of "Bureau Ehrhardt" was Baron Jesco von Puttkamer. In many ways Puttkamer was even more important than Col. Ehrhardt. At one time he was Chief of the German Information Bureau in New York where he performed vital propaganda services for the Nazis. Prior to the war, he was public relations chief for IG Farben. Consequently, the Farben people were well aware of his professional talents and they took full advantage of them. This came about when the German counter-intelligence asked Farben to provide a more efficient spy setup for the German High Command in foreign countries. In a letter dated April 3, 1940, Farben's von Schnitzler wrote to the representative of the German counter-intelligence at IG, that he had recently discussed with Major Bloch, representing Admiral Canaris, "whether and to what extent the OKW (German High Command) wants to use the services of the Association for Sales Promotion which is under the management of Messrs. Kunzler and von Puttkamer." He said that this company was "particularly well suited for the intended camouflaging maneuvers. . . ." The German counter-intelligence welcomed von Schnitzler's suggestion and von Puttkamer was put to work.

On January 26, 1941, von Puttkamer wrote to v. Schnitzler from the German Embassy in Shanghai which itself was a nest of Nazi spies and propagandists. He expressed the hope that v. Schnitzler was satisfied with his work and mentioned that he had the pleasure of meeting "a good number of gentlemen from your company (Farben), among them Mr. Gadow and Mr. von Behring. . . ."

Besides his spy activities v. Puttkamer directed much of the antisemitic propaganda in Japan and in China during the war. It was v. Puttkamer who had posters plastered all over Japanese occupied China showing a wounded Chinese mother (with the rest of the family maimed and dead) in the ruins of their home bombed by an American plane. The poster carried these words "Who did this to you?" Just as he incited hate against "non-Aryans," so this propagandist provoked the Chinese against the Americans. Indeed, it was reported that v. Puttkamer's vicious lies were responsible for lynching of American pilots who had been seized after bombing Japanese concentrations in Hankow.

The Ehrhardt gang was found guilty by the American Tribunal, but apparently the punishment exacted against a number of these spies did not fit their crimes. Von Puttkamer himself received 30 years at hard labor but it was a very peculiar "hard labor"—he was appointed prison librarian. How v. Puttkamer got away with it is not exactly known, but this much was made public, viz, that the present Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, wrote a letter to then Secretary of State Marshall in behalf of v. Puttkamer. Secretary Dulles' letter, dated October 11, 1946, written on the letterhead of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, said: *"As Chairman of this Commision I have received two communications dealing with the trial of Germans at Shanghai as war criminals. I have no basis for the independent judgment as to the facts reported. But it is my deep concern which I am sure the State Department shares. that in these matters justice rather than vengeance should be done. I am, respectfully, John Foster Dulles."*

How does Haas fit into the story? In the first place, he worked on the closest terms with von Puttkamer. It has even been charged that it was Haas who may have been the Farben man in China who supplied von Puttkamer with the necessary funds for his activities. Allied officials who tried to interrogate von Puttkamer after his return to Germany were prevented from doing so—another indication that von Puttkamer had some very influential friends. The fact that von Puttkamer was in close touch with Mr. Gadow, a bigwig in the Farben organization in China, is also of relevance because Mr. Gadow was Haas' boss and Mr. Gadow, too, was one of the few men who was on intimate terms with Admiral Canaris, Chief of the German counter-intelligence. It has been stated that Gadow himself must have been an important member of the Canaris organization in view of his intimacy with the chief. In this connection it has also been pointed out that Haas was very friendly with Richard Sorge, the German who was Russia's top spy in Japan during the war. Prior to the war and even before the Nazis took over, both Sorge and Haas belonged to the circle connected with the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. Von Puttkamer belonged to the same group.

From the foregoing it is difficult to believe that Haas was obliged to resign from the German Foreign Office because of his wife's "non-Aryan" background. More plausible is the interpretation that his "forced resignation" was just a cover up for his tranfer from the German Foreign Office to the German counter-intelligence under the guise of liaison officer for Farben.

"Displaced Person"

The defeat of Germany created problems for the Farben people and other agents of German big business in China. However, with the help of top Chinese leaders, some of them succeeded in remaining in China, ostensibly as "employees of German firms taken over by the Chinese. This little trick enabled Farben representatives to develop reorganization plans so that IG's interests would remain intact.

These German agents pretended to be friends of the Chinese insisting that Germany's only enemies were "Britain, the United States and Russia." A correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, writing from Shanghai 3-22-46, analyzed the propaganda line and reported that the Germans were saying to the Chinese, "We are still your friends and when Russia and the United States fight, we will be able to help you." In this connection, the same reporter mentioned that among the bigshot Nazis *"who still have pipelines to Chinese Government officials, are Martin Fischer, former Consul General of Shanghai, and Karl Gadow"* of Farben. We shall have more to say about Fischer but it appears that by 1946 Herr Gadow decided to leave China.

The New York Post correspondent, writing from Shanghai (4-9-47), revealed that Gadow and one of his henchmen had *"peacefully left China for Germany on a repatriation ship."* He also disclosed that *"Dr. Wilhelm Haas, well known Nazi collaborator who was a DEFAG (Farben) advisor throughout the war, sailed for Switzerland as a 'displaced person'."* The category "displaced person" served to enable persons like Haas to escape Allied control. According to the China Weekly Review (6-7-47), Gadow was said to have *"carried with him blueprints for the reorganization of the IG trust into a streamlined world cartel with most operating bases outside Germany in neutral countries."* This same weekly noted that shortly after Gadow had left in the summer of 1946, Dr. Haas, IG's "liaison officer" in North China, sailed for Switzerland. While the Farben agents who remained in China, worked to protect IG's interests in that country, their colleagues scurried back to Europe to protect Farben's world wide interests.

A similar report concerning the strange doings of Gadow and Haas was released by King Features Syndicate (7-27-47). Their correspondent in China, James R. Young, confirmed earlier reports that Farben agents were reorganizing its assets in China in defiance of Allied interests. He stated, *"The IG Farben industry group . . . are planning to make Shanghai their headquarters, a part of the Nazi postwar plan to create a new world wide cartel with headquarters in China and branches in neutral or friendly countries. The gang includes . . . Karl Gadow, a Farben executive and Dr. Wilhelm Haas, who specializes in North China affairs."*

German Interests in China

At this point it is important to note that Germany had considerable interests in the Far East before the advent of Hitler. It was in 1871 that merchants of Bremen, Haas' home town, demanded that in negotiating peace with France, Germany should insist upon the cession of French Far Eastern and Pacific possessions. Bismarck sympathized with the merchants of Bremen but had to forego the opportunity to grab these areas because he felt that Germany was not yet in the position to embark on an ambitious colonial expansion. Nevertheless, German commercial interests began to grow in China so that by 1914, on the eve of World War I, total German investments in China were approximately 1 billion marks. The steady growth was interrupted by the outbreak of war but following the end of hostilities German financial and economic interests revived their activities with the enthusiastic support of the Chinese Government.

Alongside of these economic ties there developed military cooperation. This phase of German-Chinese relations was initiated by Col. Walter Bauer, one of General von Ludendorff's chief assistants and a friend of Adolf Hitler. The Bauer mission to China marked the beginning of an era of secret industrial diplomacy aimed at securing for Germany preferential advantages in the Chinese market. It was supported by the same enocomic interests which were bent on gaining supreme influence in the domestic policy of Germany. The Bauer mission turned out to be an embarrassment to the Weimar Government when certain Chinese leaders revealed that great quantities of war material were being shipped to China in violation of the Versailles Treaty. The Weimar Government sought to absolve itself of responsibility, but that is an old story for the Weimar politicians. Pretending that the left hand did not know what the right hand was doing was a way for the German Government to avoid an Allied probe. How much credence can be placed on these denials of complicity can be seen from the fact that the Weimar Government cooperated secretly with the German General Staff as far back as 1919.

When Bauer died in 1929, his post in China was assumed by Col. Hans Kriebel, one of the first members of the Nazi Party. Kriebel was subsequently appointed by Ribbentrop to take over the Personnel Division of Hitler's Foreign Office. It was Kriebel, regarded as "an old China hand" who appointed Hans Schroeder as his deputy. As mentioned in the earlier part of this article, Schroeder was a good friend of Dr. Haas and gave him invaluable assistance in setting up the Bonn Foreign Office.

Needless to say, the chemical industry of China received special attention in the German Government's relations with China. Thus, when the Germans signed a commercial treaty with Japan in 1927, it turned out that the agreement offered great opportunities to Farben in the Chinese markets.

In the 1930s German industrialists continued to press for a greater share in the markets of the Far East. The German Government's policy was carefully oriented along the lines spelled out by the China Studien Gesellschaft, a branch of the German National Manufacturers Association. Certain leaders in the Chinese Government facilitated these efforts and it was during this period that one of Germany's leading steel merchants, Otto Wolff (Cologne), established an office in Shanghai to secure railway orders from the Chinese Government. It was the same firm which played an important part in the arrangement of German sales to the Soviet Union. With such firms as Otto Wolff, Carlowitz & Co. representing Krupp, and financial institutions like the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, much was accomplished in the way of increasing German economic penetration in China. The close financial and economic ties between China and Germany are indicated by the friendly relations between H. H. Kung, a top financier for the Chinese Government, and Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's chief advisor. At a state banquet dinner given in honor of Mr. Kung in Berlin (1937), Herr Schacht spoke in glowing terms over the great future for Chinese-German relations: "Just as the political relations between Germany and China are based on friendship, so we can notice that our economic relations have been very pleasant and free of impediments. . . . Germany, being one of the world's great manufacturing nations, could help China along these lines by her advice and by her material resources. Please be assured that I shall do whatever I can to contribute to continuous Sino-German economic cooperation. . . ." In reply Dr. Kung assured his German friends that Herr Schacht's hopes were shared by the Chinese. "China considers Germany to be her closest friend, not only because of the cultural and intellectual bonds between Germany and China, but also because of the close economic relations between China and Germany. . . ."

Trading With Red China

As would be expected the Germans today are trying to regain the glories of yesterday. The markets of the Far East, particularly China, are an important factor in the calculations of German industrialists and the Bonn Government. Thus, even during the Korean war, when Communist China sought to destroy United Nations forces, Western Germany was carrying on a brisk trade with the Red regime. The N. Y. Herald Tribune (6-14-51) reported that the U. S. Government was alarmed over the flow of war supplies from Western Germany to Communist China. It was determined that during the first six months of the Korean war, legal West German trade with Red China increased 27-fold. It was also discovered that illegal trade amounted to at least 8 million. Significantly, German shipments of chemicals to China jumped from $233,000 for the first nine months of 1950 to $3,843,000 for the full year. U. S. officials were quoted as stating that there had been great improvement in limiting trade with Communist China by all nations "except West Germany." The Chicago Tribune (7-7-52) reported that West German businessmen had signed a trade agreement in East Berlin with Chinese trade representatives calling for the exchange of $37,500,000 in goods.

Thus, in spite of the alarms of the U. S. Government, Western Germany continued to develop its profitable trade with Red China. This agreement was followed by the organization of the so-called East Committee. The New York Times (12-19-52) reported that the top members of the committee included two leading Farben officials, W. A. Menne and Hermann J. Abs. One month later Hjalmar Schacht, speaking on the occasion of the opening of his new bank, declared that Germany would find more profit in trading with the East. *"Germany,"* he declared, *"should look to the Orient, especially China"* (N. Y. World Telegram and Sun, 1-15-53).

The support of the East Committee and the prodding of Schacht were most rewarding. Trade with the Soviet bloc including Communist China, increased 44 percent during the first nine months of 1953. Exports to China in that period were valued at over $23 million as compared to about $10 million during the same period in 1952. The following year, German industrialists voiced stronger demands for trading with the Soviet bloc. The New York Herald Tribune (3-21-54) reported that German industrialists regarded the market of Red China "as of special importance." A leading economic journal of the Ruhr "Handelsblatt" stated that many German businessmen viewed the Chinese mainland as "the greatest future market in the world." The New York Times (4-4-54) reported that the Chinese Communist Government was planning "to use the Transsiberian railroad to move machinery and precision instruments purchased in West Germany . . ." In this connection East Germany became a very convenient zone for German-Chinese negotiations. As reported by the Christian Science Monitor (4-17-54), *"West German spokesmen point with a certain pride to the fact that Communist China's only foreign trade representation in the Western world, the China Export-Import Cooperation Agency, is located in Berlin, Leipzigerstrasse 12, in the Soviet sector."*

Of course, the Germans tried to assuage the feelings of American officials. They put out propaganda to the effect that unless the West begins to trade heavily with Communist China, the Chinese will become more dependent on the Russians. A report to the Washington Post (7-24-54) notes that "the Chinese trade lobby in West Germany has perfected its arguments to the extent of claiming that the Germans want to help the worldwide fight against Communism by building up Peiping's industry. The United States, it is said, is just hampering this laudable objective." Apparently this was said with a straight face.

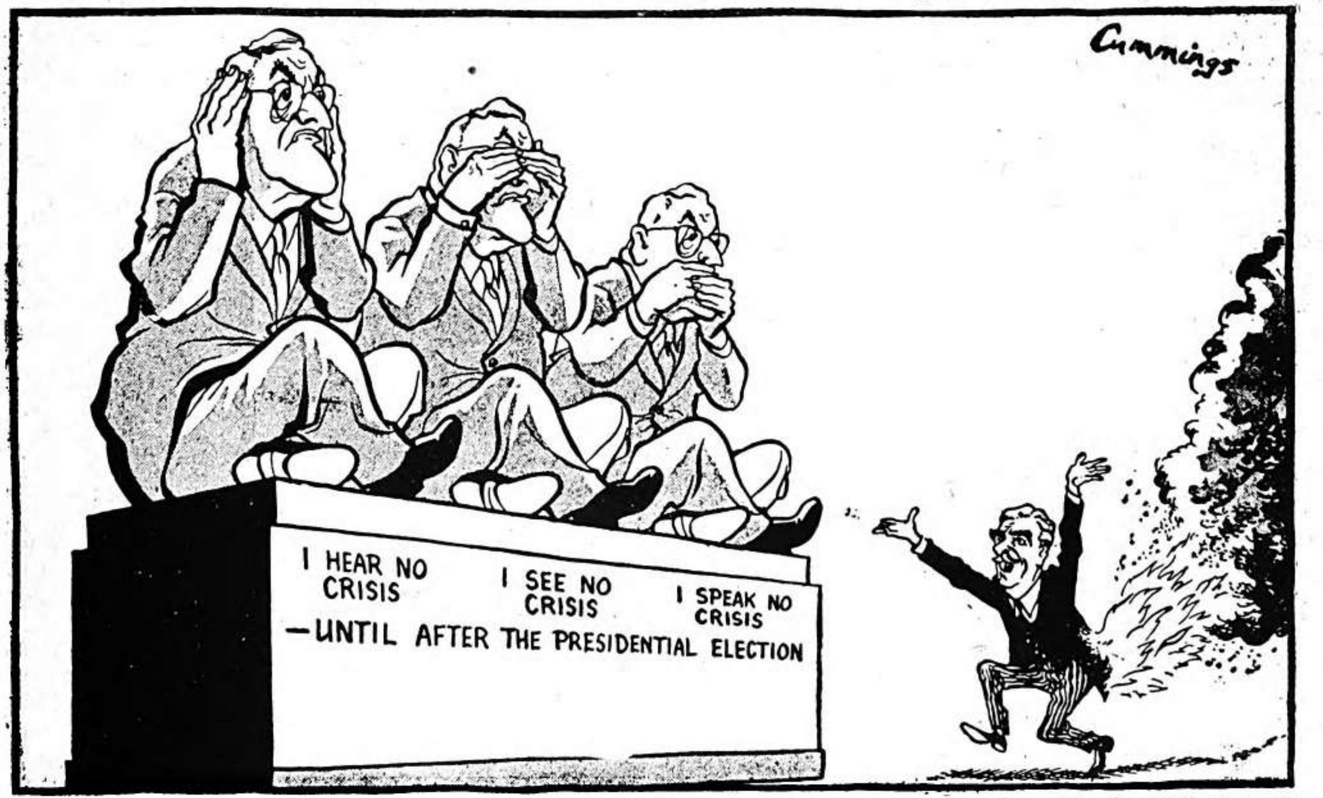
In June, 1954, when the Allies met with the Soviet Union and China on the Indo-China question, German representatives popped up. Among those who "vacationed" in Switzerland at this time, was Martin Fischer, referred to earlier in this article. In the years before the war, Herr Fischer worked out of the German Embassy in China and was well acquainted with Gadow, von Puttkamer and Dr. Haas. Herr Fischer, however, was not the only German who happened to be in Switzerland. Some of Germany's leading businessmen turned up and had talks with the Chinese Vice Minister for Foreign Trade. Included in this delegation was a representative of the East Asia Union of Hamburg as well as a spokesman for Farben. The New York Herald Tribune reported (6-4-54) that this group came *"with the knowledge of the Adenauer Government . . ."*

It is interesting to note that much of this agitation for trade with China and other countries of the Soviet bloc has been particularly strong in Hamburg and Bremen. These cities are Germany's leading ports which in the past have enjoyed a lucrative trade with the Far East. Bremen has made much progress in reconstructing its port. The Christian Science Monitor (1-23-56) points out that Bremen *"is watching the East West conflict keenly hoping for the opening of the iron curtain borders since this would restore transit trade, once one of the mainstays of the German port."* In anticipation of realizing this fond hope, two of Germany's largest shipping companies have established a joint shipping company to serve Red China. The well known Social Democrat and President of the Bremen Senate Wilhelm Kaisen joined the growing clamor for the revival of trade with the Far East. He expressed his support to a cheering group of 700 West German businessmen at the annual dinner of the East Asia Union. As reported by the New York Herald Tribune (3-14-55), the implication of Kaisen's remarks was that *"the West Germans should become the Peking Government's best commercial friends in the West."*

It so happened that Herr Haas, following his return to Germany from Switzerland, served as Chief of the Presidential Chancellory in the town of Bremen. In that position Haas "became a close coworker of the President of the Senate, Kaisen" (Neue Volkszeitung, 1-7-56).

More recently it was reported that West Germany had increased its trade with Communist China from about $58 million in 1954 to $72 million in 1955. This development was endorsed by Walter Hallstein, Adenauer's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in an address to the East Asia Union in Hamburg. Of course, the above figures do not tell the whole story because no one (except the Germans) knows the exact value of West German exports to China. There is no doubt that a portion of West German exports to that country has been camouflaged as coming from East Germany or other countries. The growing protests over restrictions limiting trade with Red China, are reflected in many articles appearing in the German newspapers. There is a great deal of resentment over the fact that some of this trade has to go through "third countries." The Germans feel that they will not reap the full profit until they are able to trade directly with China and this is precisely what they hope to achieve.

None other than Otto Wolff representing the Wolff concern which enjoyed such lush profits in trading with China and the Soviet Union in the past, has publicly attacked U. S. policy. Wolff himself is head of the Russian branch of the East Committee. However, in his denunciation of the United States, he laid particular stress on the need to resume large scale trade with Red China. His criticism, it was noted, followed *"exactly a month after the Adenauer regime in effect endorsed the persistent effort of*



(London Daily Express)

West German business to increase trade with Communist China" (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5-3-56). Forty-eight hours after Herr Wolff bitterly criticized the United States, a delegation representing the Chinese Import and Export Corporation with permanent headquarters in East Berlin, was wined and dined as the guest of the East Committee.

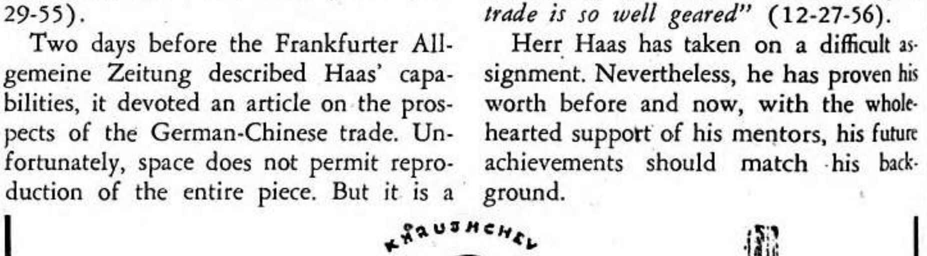
I. G. Farben's Men at Work

As one might expect, the influence of Farben in this all-out drive to embrace Red China is of decisive importance. Indeed, we find that one of the hosts at the reception in honor of the Chinese delegation was Hans Koehler, a top Farben official who is also the head of the East Committee's China branch. Mention has been made of Abs and Menne, two other Farben bigwigs who have been trying to expand Farben's possibilities in China. Another Farben official who is in a key spot to influence government policy, is Ulrich Haberland. Herr Haberland who lent his talents to the Hitler regime, is now a dedicated supporter of the Adenauer Government. He is a member of the Foreign Policy Council of the Federal Ministry for Economics. Needless to say, this strategic post enables Haberland to exercise a very strong influence in the formulation of government policy. As in the past, Farben has once again been able to place its agents in key positions, both public and private. Their influence is strengthened by the fact that IG has reached the point where it is only outranked by DuPont and Union Carbide at the present time.

It is these developments which lend additional significance to Haas' assignment in Moscow. German newspapers have played down the Haas appointment. However, here and there we do find expressions which shed light on his mission. Thus, the Neue Volkszeitung notes that Haas is considered an East Asian specialist. He is an expert at "decisive conferences" with regard to economic questions "on the highest level." *"West German industrial circles, especially, which are interested in a broadening of their exports to the East and in supplying their old customers in the Soviet Union, anticipate, as do all Germans who hope for friendly relations, that the mission of the West German ambassador in Moscow will lead to the realization of their so far unfulfilled aspirations"* (1-7-56). The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, although careful in its evaluation of Haas' assignment, notes that he is an experienced diplomat, *"an intelligent, quiet man of character . . . Ambassador Haas will take with him training in a field sorely lacking with our first-class diplomats: his knowledge of economics . . . Inauguration of a new era of big business with Russia will hardly be a task for a new German ambassador. However, it is quite feasible for situations to arise in the economic field in which he could achieve what could be possible . . . The ability to gain and hold personal confidence has ever been considered a requisite of the real diplomat. This man possesses that quality. The Federal Republic thus has a man in the capital of the Eastern hemisphere who is equipped with knowledge, who is careful and an intelligent observer. A man who will represent us in this most exposed and most delicate post, our only diplomat representation behind the iron curtain, with natural dignity . . . No one will recognize the responsibility of such a position as he; no one will show more humility in the shadows of the great men who in past times have held this post"* (12-29-55).

Two days before the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung described Haas' capabilities, it devoted an article on the prospects of the German-Chinese trade. Unfortunately, space does not permit reproduction of the entire piece. But it is a clear exposition of what the Germans hope to achieve. Several excerpts from this article will make this clear: *"All efforts to lessen the China embargo have thus far failed due to the resistance of the United States . . . Today, China's biggest Western Europe customer is the Federal Republic. As a matter of fact, the exchange of goods between the Federal Republic and China shows a steadily mounting tendency . . . It is self-evident that the predominating manner of conducting German-Chinese trade via third countries is detrimental to both parties. The important outcome of this situation as far as the Federal Republic is concerned, is that our considerable imports of Chinese merchandise do not favor German export possibilities to China but are solely of advantage to the intermediary countries. It would, therefore, be well to hope that the difficulties which, as of today, still impede the direct German-Chinese exchange of trade, could be eliminated. In the long run, even without succumbing to exaggerated expectations. China is a market with a tremendous future, especially for those investment goods (production type goods, such as machinery) for which German export trade is so well geared"* (12-27-56).

Herr Haas has taken on a difficult assignment. Nevertheless, he has proven his worth before and now, with the wholehearted support of his mentors, his future achievements should match his background.



(*Marcus in The New York Times*)

Be Vigilant!

by
ERICH MARIA REMARQUE

Erich Maria Remarque is an outstanding German writer whose book "All Quiet On The Western Front" won him international acclaim for its passionate denunciation of militarism. Remarque chose to leave Germany rather than to submit to the Nazi terror. Thus, the Nazis failed to silence his voice. Hitler's downfall has not blinded Remarque from the dangers which still lurk in Germany. In this connection he has completed the writing of a film "Ten Days To Die" which depicts the last wretched days of Hitler in his Berlin bunker. The film is not only a historical account of the meaning of Hitlerism but it is intended as a sharp warning to all that the roots of this pernicious idea are still alive. The London Daily Express published an article by Mr. Remarque telling the reasons which impelled him to write this story. The Society has reprinted below a condensed version of his observations.

The Nazis did not come from some strange planet to enslave Germany.

They grew up within Germany itself; and it was not only the economic crisis, the unemployment, which drove the masses into their arms and induced them to fight for them to the point of self-annihilation: there was something else as well.

That was the centuries-old inculcation of unconditional obedience which found in Germany particularly fertile soil.

The maxim "Orders are orders" was constantly preached as the first of the soldierly virtues and it was this maxim that had such dire consequences.

It was a comfortable slogan; there was no need to think or to take decisions for oneself—above all a man had no personal responsibility if he heeded this precept.

It was the slogan by which the murders in the concentration camps were justified; and to the dismayed astonishment of the entire world it was the precept by which even field-marshals and generals sought at Nuremberg to justify their acts because they believed in all seriousness that it was enough to exonerate them from all responsibility for the shooting of hostages, offences against international law, and the murder of civilians.

No one mentioned conscience. Conscience was dead—killed by this slogan, the slogan of all dictatorships.

How alive, how dangerous is THAT Germany today?—How does it show itself?

Before me lies an appeal from the Anti-Nazi Association of Berlin—Charlottenburg.

It reports that in Western Germany more than a hundred organisations with openly Nazi aims are again in existence and that more than 40 Nazi periodicals are being published.

In 1945 the great work of rehabilitating victims of the Nazis was to begin. That seemed self-evident. But what did the Nationalzeitung of Basle, a serious paper, have to say about this at the end of 1954 under the title "The Bonn Rehabilitation Scandal"?

- "About 85 per cent of the middle and upper dignitaries of the N. S. D. A. P. (the Nazi Party) and of the S. A. and S. S. who were already in office before 1933, are today receiving their full pension.
- "In approximately half of their cases the pension amounts to 1,000 marks a month.

". . . Germany's Newest Recruit.

"He has been in the new Army one month.

"His name is Wolfgang Doernbrack. He is a volunteer; he speaks very good English; he has a Diploma in Economics and he gave up an excellent job at £700 a year to be a private at about fifty bob a week.

"I asked Doernbrack if he was proud of the German Army—and its history. The answer was a fervent 'YES.'

"Was he ashamed of any part of it? The answer was an indignant 'NO!'

"Was he pleased with his new uniform?

"He was not.

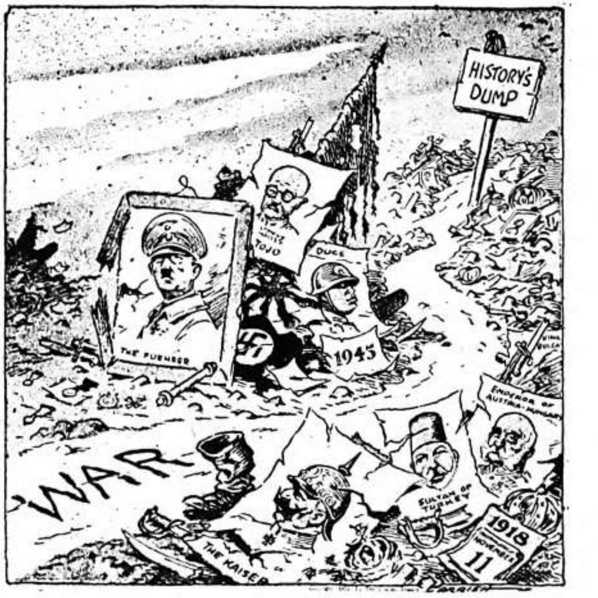
"What was wrong? The helmet was too American and the boots, which were similar to those of the British Army, were not suitable.

"What kind of boots then did he favour? Answer: 'Jackboots.'

"All these young men were enthusiastic. They had joined the German Army to be part of it. Part of its past—Nazi, Hohenzollern and Bismarckian alike. And, above all, to be the hope of its future."

(Cassandra, London Daily Mirror, 2-2-56)

THE GLORY ROAD



(Chicago Tribune)

- "Orphans of parents murdered by the Nazis, if they are lucky enough to have their cases investigated at all, get 100 marks. But this is forfeited if they earn more than 75 marks.
- "The founder and sometime chief of the Gestapo, Dirls, is similarly receiving his full pension, as is also the widow of the arch-butcher Heydrich, while tens of thousands of dependents of murdered people are still not receiving a farthing."

Let us look at other cases. . . .

- In 1945 a colonel was sentenced to 15 years' penal servitude because a few days before the Americans occupied the little town of Penzberg he had the mayor and six inhabitants shot because they wished to save the mine near the town from being senselessly blown up by the Nazis.

The colonel appealed. In 1956 he was acquitted in Munich—he had only been carrying out orders. Acquittals of this kind are becoming more common.

- Hitler's hated Public Prosecutor who gave the order that the men of July 20 were not to be shot but hanged, and who watched the hanging, is living comfortably on his full pension.
- The city of Kiel, which in 1945 withdrew its freedom from Admiral Raeder who has been condemned as a war criminal, offered him it back again in 1956. On their release war criminals are being feted as martyrs by the ringing of church bells and with bouquets and speeches.
- The commandant of the notorious concentration camp at Strutthof was recently sentenced to a full five years' penal servitude for 150 murders. A simple calculation shows the scale of punishment: ten days penal servitude per murder.
- A few weeks ago the naval representative in the new German armed forces made a speech at the naval training dep at Wilhelmshaven in which he set up Admirals Doenitz an Raeder, earlier condemned as war criminals, as examples, e plaining that "There is no stain upon the person of ou former Commander-in-Chief."

What was that? Yes, you have read aright—that was th leader of the navy department of the new democratic federa armed forces in the Blanck Bureau.

Fortunately the storm of indignation aroused in the Federal Diet was enough to secure the dismissal of this somewhat too zealous gentleman. But how did he come to occupy so important a post?

What then is the outlook in Germany?

The great part of the German people want peace and democracy and have had enough of Hitler and his associates; nonetheless, the forces of reaction are not dead.

They are agitating and working and waiting their chance, and they do not consist solely of former Nazis; they also include those circles which helped the Nazis to power; which did nothing to check them when they could still have been stopped, which put false patriotism above the concept of personality and responsibility, and which worked hand in hand with the Nazis for their own ends.

Let us hope that God will never allow them to come back to power.

But simply hoping is not enough. Education in active democracy is more important. Twelve years of education in intolerance and a couple of hundred years of training in blind obedience cannot so easily be eradicated.

That is why this film was made.

That is why its last words are: Be Vigilant.

"The Minister spoke in his introduction about the German tactical airforce. Do the Government really think that it is wise to bring German pilots, who shot down British and Allied machines in the last war, to train in this country? . . . We are so short of pilots that we are now employing the murderers—at least that is what they were in the last war . . .

"What guarantee do the Government have that these men, when trained in modern aircraft, modern jets and modern bombers will not be used again to shoot down British pilots, or perhaps drop the atomic bomb on this country? How can we be sure that Germany will be on our side in 10 or 15 years? When this sort of publicity (German pilots training in Allied countries) is spread throughout the world—it has been in British and American newspapers—it is an insult to the people still mourning the dead of the last war . . .

"How can we say that these pilots—and the Germans are now moving towards their own independent line in foreign affairs—will not be manning the new airforce, the tactical airforce, of a new Nazi Germany in another 5 or 10 years? . . ."

(Emrys Hughes, British M.P., House of Commons, 3-5-56)

Supposedly the U. S.-trained Germans have been carefully screened by the Adenauer government as to their political affiliations. Supposedly they never entertained Nazi sympathies—though all fought for Germany in World War II and all swore fealty to Adolf Hitler. . . .

Some observers feel that once Konrad Adenauer dies (he is now 80), Germany may turn from the U. S. Already German politicians are demanding bilateral negotiations with the Russians. German businessmen want to trade with Russia more than ever, and practically everyone in West Germany realizes that reunification of their country awaits negotiations with the Soviets. In the course of negotiations all manner of deals are made.

Recently, in Hamburg, I asked a cab-driver on whose side he thought most Germans would fight in the event of a U. S.-Russian war. "The Russian side, of course," he said.

"Why?" I asked. "You all hate the Russians."

"Of course we like you Americans better," he explained. "After all, you saved our country. But it would be safer for us to fight with the Russians. If they won the war we would be the victors. If they lost, the Americans would soon forgive us. You Americans are the best forgivers in the whole world." . . .

(Lloyd Shearer, Parade, 6-24-56)

From War Criminal to World Savior?

Cavalry Tactics

As avid students of the art of warfare, Prussian strategists valued highly the role of the cavalry. They found that an objective which could not be seized by frontal assault, might be more susceptible to capture by the outflanking maneuvers of the cavalry.

Judging from the methods employed by present day German statesmen, it would seem that they have been applying the lessons of Prussian military tactics to the field of politics. The imperative need "to overcome the catastrophe of 1945" and to reinvigorate the German powerhouse, required deftness and flexibility. A head-on attack against the policies proclaimed by the Allies at end of the war, would have been a hazardous undertaking. Consequently, German leaders "brought up the cavalry." The results were successful beyond all expectations.

Thus, when the Germans decided to undermine the policy of reparations, they began to spread stories about mass starvation in Germany. They knew that if these tales were accepted as the gospel truth, they could plead that only the scuttling of reparations would enable German industry to export in sufficient quantities in order to import necessary foodstuffs. It worked.

When the Germans decided that the time had come to rearm, they resorted to the device of the "European Defense Community." Time Magazine (1-4-54) noted that the EDC idea came "providentially" from France. *"Germans could not propose it without risking the impression that it was simply a cunning maneuver to unlock the occupation shackles and revive the Wehrmacht. But when the enemy from across the Rhine proposed it in* 1950, *Konrad Adenauer could more easily champion it."*

We find the Germans employing similar tactics when they sought to liquidate the decartelization and decentralization program. The instrument which played a major role in bringing this about, was the Schuman Plan which was also initiated by the French. Yet, as to the origins of the Schuman Plan idea, the authoritative magazine Business Week (5-20-50) reported: *"The story going the rounds among French businessmen is this: The Schuman pool project is really a German scheme. It was first sold to Secretary Acheson and then forced down the throat of the French government in exchange for a promise of U. S. aid to Indo-China. The scheme gives the Saar back to Germany."*

Schacht's Blueprint

Recent developments indicate that the Germans are about to employ the "cavalry" again, this time in their quest for a decisive role in the markets of the colonial world. A hint that this was the next major item on the German agenda, can be found in a little publicized book called "Gold For Europe," written by Hjalmar Schacht in 1950. Schacht, Hitler's financial expert on rearmament and an articulate spokesman for Germany's overseas ambitions, suggested that Germany should play a leading part in the underdeveloped countries of the world. He said that the number of tasks to be performed in such countries were practically unlimited *"and it would be easy to give Germany a special task in the development of one of them."* To make this scheme of German penetration more acceptable, Schacht magnanimously proposed that *"the industrial nations would have to carry out such work in common, or split it up between themselves geographically or by quotas."* He assured his readers, as if to sugar-coat the pill, that Germany's activities would not be imperialistic and could be controlled by the UN, if necessary. The Schachtian concept seems to have prepared the groundwork for recent developments.

Writing from Berlin (11-28-55), the chief foreign correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, warned the West that Chancellor Adenauer's leadership was being subjected to severe pressures by those who wanted to do business with the Russians even at the expense of West Germany's present ties with the West. He painted a dark picture of Soviet blandishments and tempting offers to the Ruhr. He admonished his readers that German big business might fall in with the proposition to participate in developing the markets of the Soviet bloc including Communist China. This great danger, Mr. Sulzberger declared, must be counteracted vigorously. In his opinion this could be done by increasing Bonn's role in the potential development of free Asia. "The Western powers," he wrote, "have not yet faced up to the necessity of coordinated economic action in that

"... When John Foster Dulles was retained by New York banks and bond houses in the 1920's he made several trips to Germany and each time he stepped off the boat on his return he made learned statements to the press that Germany was a sound investment, perfectly safe for American bondholders.

"After every such statement more American money was poured into Germany—eventually to go down the drain.

"... At any rate, Dulles kept on making bullish statements about Germany.

" 'Our bankers have performed a great service, both to this country and to the world,' he announced in 1928.

" ' Germany has made great progress,' he said again on Oct. 21, 1930. 'Her national income and government income have grown to a point where the reparations charge constitutes a readily bearable percentage.'

"End result of this investment splurge and Dulles' encouragement of it was that the American people helped to finance Hitler for World War II ..."

(Drew Pearson, 5-26-56)

vast area." Mr. Sulzberger observed that it was high time to enlist Bonn in this project because "any West German share in an Allied program to raise Asian living standards should be far more profitable than politically controlled trade with China." Concluding his analysis, he noted that since Moscow approached the German problem on a long-range Eurasian basis, "it is time we approach it (the German problem) on a world basis." It therefore follows, according to Mr. Sulzberger, that *"a specific share in global economic development should be offered to this industrious nation."*

Mr. Sulzberger's thesis was in substance reaffirmed in a special editorial published in the New York Telegram (11-30-55). Once again we are told that Germany may be lured into the Soviet camp. The solution? *"Finding a plan for West Germany to participate in some of the Western world's global problems—economic aid, free world trade, technical assistance. Germany has the resources and skills to contribute to such projects."* Only by reassuring the West Germans that "we will stand with them," can we be sure that Germany will stand with us.

Bonn Reacts

While articles of this kind were beginning to appear more frequently in the American press, the Germans, too, were thinking out loud. For example, Business Week (12-24-55) reported that Foreign Minister von Brentano was *"unofficially advocating that the West European members of NATO should consider an integrated aid program for Asia and Africa."* According to this same report, the German Foreign Minister was anxious to tie up this proposition with British and U. S. foreign aid programs. On January 14, 1956, the New York Times reported that von Brentano had succeeded in winning a group of German leading industrialists to support his long-range foreign plans." In that connection the Times stated that the Bonn Government was *"giving full support to a proposal submitted at the last meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris for joint commercial and financial policies"* vis-à-vis the uncommitted countries of Asia. A subsequent dispatch to the Times (2-1-56) elaborated still further on this subject. It noted that leading Ruhr industrialists were enthusiastic and had very definite ideas as to how this so-called aid project could be implemented: *"One of the leading industrial figures in the Ruhr said, he thought the economic program should be in the nature of a vast Marshall plan to which all the members of the Atlantic Alliance would contribute part of their production and their skills."* NATO, these industrialists said, must not take a "narrow view" of the world situation. One of their spokesmen assured the Times correspondent that West Germany was ready to roll up its sleeves and put across a global economic program "with great energy."

When Chancellor Adenauer's Minister for Economic Affairs Erhard visited London in January of this year, he repeated the same line. The Chancellor himself, in a special interview with the German newspaper General Anzeiger (3-2-56), called for "a united front" of the West to meet the Soviet economic challenge. He declared that Article 2 of the NATO Treaty enabled that organization to coordinate economic and political policies of the Western powers. Thus, we find the Germans working very diligently to impress upon the U. S. A. the need for a "grand global economic program."

When we compare Mr. Sulzberger's approach to the program with that of the Germans, we find the following: Mr. Sulzberger insists that the Germans must be given more elbow room for their industry and energy to prevent their forsaking the West for the blandishments of the East. The Germans, on the other hand, posing as the great anti-Red crusaders, emphasize the need to thwart Soviet penetration in Asia and Africa. It goes without saying that the combination of these arguments cannot help but attract many supporters. Yet, trying as hard as they could to maintain a posture of disinterested generosity, without any thought of special advantage, the Germans have let the cat out of the bag. The blundering in this case is the handiwork of Herr Krupp von Bohlen & Co.

Krupp's "Point 4½"

In March the New York Times reported that Krupp's chief lieutenant, the rather dashing, glamorous Berthold Beiz, had a delightful discussion with our Deputy Undersecretary of State Robert D. Murphy. Herr Beiz and his associates briefed Mr. Murphy on a Krupp plan supposedly aimed at thwarting Russian penetration in Asia and Africa. Using all of the tricks of slick advertising and public relations, the Krupp program was dubbed by its sponsors as the "Point 4½ Program," named after the well known American Point Four project to help underdeveloped countries. Krupp proposed that a syndicate of German, British, French and American firms be formed to exploit important areas of Africa and Asia. According to one report (La Tribune des Nations, 3-23-56), Krupp's representative told Mr. Murphy *"that the remarkable success recently achieved by my firm in Asia and the Middle East especially qualify it to become the basic center for the preparation of the projects to be realized by the industrial syndicate."* Without batting an eyelash, Herr Beiz declared that the choice of Krupp as the director of the syndicate "would eliminate all accusations of a new colonialism . . ." In commenting on Krupp's magnanimous offer, this same French journal noted that his anti-imperialism was fraudulent and was nothing more than a "well chosen perfect pretext to obtain the confidence of Washington." What has bothered Herr Krupp and is tempting his colleagues to dip their hands in the till of the U. S. Treasury, is the fact that interest on credits for German export run as high as 6 to 9 percent. It is these rates of interest which hamper Herr Krupp and impel him to run to Washington. That Herr Krupp and his associates are banking on Uncle Sam to foot the bill was admitted by the Economic Minister of the Bonn Government, Ludwig Erhard: *"The master plan is apparently based on the assumption that the Americans will give the credits and the Germans will get the contracts"* (London Financial Times, 5-1-56).

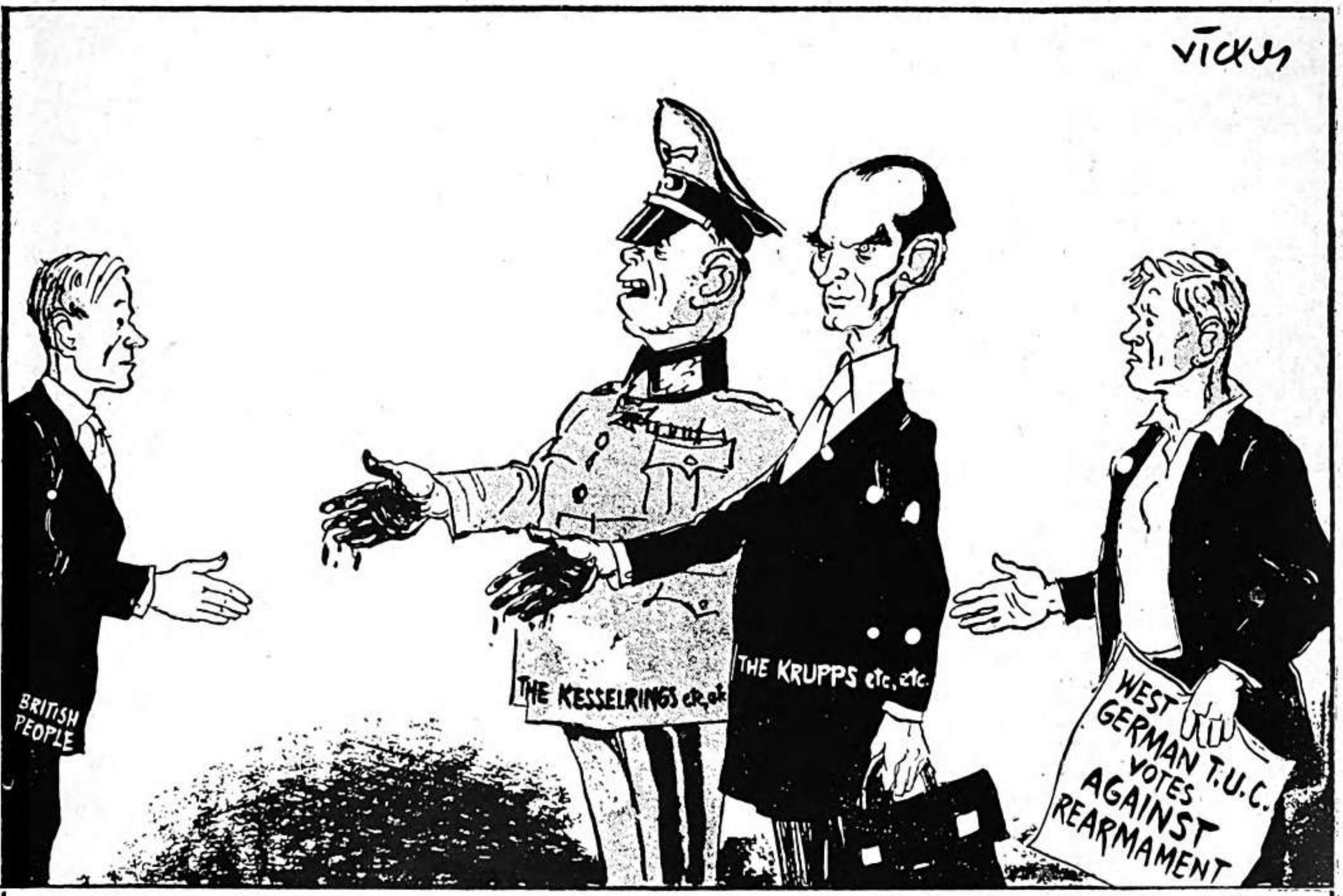
Krupp and the Russians

The fact that Krupp, a major war criminal and a devoted Hitler supporter, should now pose as the great benefactor of the colonial peoples should in itself cast suspicions on the motives which guide the Germans. Equally fraudulent are the Krupp interests' efforts to affect the role of a long term foe of Communist imperialism. It was the Krupps who played a leading part in developing Russia's industrial war potential after World War I. With the aid and cooperation of the German General Staff and the Weimar Republic, Krupp established a number of factories in Russia which were lated to armament production. While Krupp was actively collaborating with the Russians via the German General Staff, one of his directors, Dr. Wiedtfeld, was appointed ambassador to the United States. In this important position, Wiedtfeld helped to bring about successive waves of American investments in Germany. Thus, Krupp specifically and German industry in general had the best of both worlds: money from the United States and military cooperation with the Russians. Through these contacts with the East and the West, Krupp and his Ruhr friends were able to revive Germany's power, thereby laying the groundwork for the resurgence of German militarism under Hitler. One might say that Herr Beiz has been appointed to play the same role as Herr Wiedtfeld in the 1920s.

Krupp's love affair with the Russians is by no means dead and buried. On the contrary, the romance appears to have received new life. According to the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (2-10-56), one of Germany's leading newspapers, representatives of Krupp and of the Soviet Embassy have been discussing *"the question of delivery of Krupp locomotives to the Soviet Union . . ."* This newspaper further states. *"business talks had already been carried on previously between representatives of the firm of Krupp and Russian economic authorities by way of the Russian Delegation to the Federal Republic and in Moscow."*

It is noteworthy that at the Leipzig Fair, held in the Soviet zone a few months ago, 1589 West German concerns participated, a number far greater than that of any other western country. The New York Times correspondent, reporting on the fair noted: *"By way of introduction to Soviet visitors there is a discreet notice next to the Krupp office explaining the company's operations. The notice is written in Russian and is entitled 'From our production program.' It lists the numerous articles produced in the factories of the Krupp empire. Even more discreet is a smaller notice set in what resembles a restaurant menu stand. It contains a handsome photograph of Alfred Krupp, the present owner. There is a brief description of him followed by the names of the board of managers and a list of the principal divisions of the Krupp enterprises."* (N. Y. Times, 2-27-56).

Alfred Krupp himself has stated unequivocally that Germany's economic progress and interests are closely bound up with the markets controlled by the Soviets. In an interview with the magazine World (May 1954) he said: *"In the long run West Germany cannot continue her economic advancement without being reunited with East Germany, because both parts of Germany must be considered an organic whole. An expansion of trade volume (with East Germany and Soviet-bloc countries) would without doubt contribute considerably to a solution of West Germany's export problems."*



"Let the peoples extend the hand of friendship and forgiveness to each other" —Sir Winston Churchill

The Double Game

Just as Herr Krupp has been playing both sides of the street, so have his fellow industrialists. Ordinarily, the German press tries to becloud Germany's trade relations with the East including Communist China. Nevertheless, trade with that area of the world has been growing rapidly. The West will never know the value of such trade because official figures are misleading, to say the least. Yet, it is a fact that this trade is attaining decisive importance to the Germans and they are busily working behind the scenes to undermine present Allied restrictions on this traffic.

On the eve of Adenauer's visit to Moscow, a New York Herald Tribune report (9-4-55) disclosed that important German businessmen were beginning to drum up a campaign for a more active eastern trade policy. One of the chief arguments put forth by these interests, was that the destiny of Germany depended on the eastern markets. *"It is their special preserve. There is a great tradition of German-Russian trade. It is the duty of this generation of German businessmen not to allow the preeminent experience of their forefathers in the Slav market to go down the drain."*

Following Adenauer's trip to Moscow, the New York Times revealed that important sections of German industry looked hopefully for the revival of trade with the Soviet bloc. The pressure of these interests, the Times reported, "gave rise to the suspicion that there was perhaps more interest in the Soviet market than the Bonn Government, for political reasons, was prepared to admit." In this connection, studies were made which indicated that German exports to the East could go as high as $1 billion annually, and the Times correspondent noted that these ambitious plans have not been discarded. He observed that, since the German Government's experts drew up the plans in the first place, "it would appear to contradict the . . . propaganda line that trade with the Soviet Union does not have a future" (9-18-55).

A few months ago, prominent German industrialists made a highly publicized trip to key areas of Asia and Africa. Among the bigwigs on this German junket was Alfred Krupp. An Associated Press dispatch (2-6-56), describing the venture, declared that it was a drive "designed to counter the Soviet bloc's economic overtures in Asia and Africa." The report which seemed to bear the earmarks of a handout from the public relations machine of the Ruhr industry designed for American consumption, emphasized that "Communist China is being bypassed by the German industrial visitors." However, the German people have been given a far different version of the meaning and objectives of this trip.

While the German industrialists did not visit China proper, they did stop at Hongkong. According to the Stuttgarter Nachrichten (2-11-56), information on trade, etc., with regard to Communist China *"can be obtained directly from the German business men located in Hongkong. In the final analysis Hongkong, the direct gate to Red China, is the most important port for transshipment in the Red China trade."* The story that the trip was aimed at countering the Soviets does not carry weight with the Germans. The same newspaper declared that *"it would be misjudging the purpose of the Asian trip of the German industrial delegation to assume that it was primarily designed to counteract and attack the trade-political offensive of the East bloc."* Indeed, this influential paper did not seem to be at all disturbed about the inroads made by the Soviet Union in Asia and Africa. It expressed the belief that there was sufficient room for German expansion in these regions and that the Soviet trade offensive should not be regarded as though it had inexhaustible resources. *"Thus, this Asia trip primarily serves the preparation for participation of German industry in the coming business for development in Asia."*

It is interesting to note that this German newspaper envisaged not only Soviet competition but also strong competitive activity by the Western powers. In spite of these difficulties the paper is confident that the Germans will grab their share, come what may. The tone of the article is one of optimism. There is no dark picture of the Soviet Union approaching the point of swallowing up all of Asia and Africa. This is good propaganda for America, but the Germans who look upon the Eastern markets as "their special preserve" have other ideas.

"Partnership"

The spurious character of the so-called economic partnership proposed by the Germans, may also be seen by the fact that they are doing everything possible to undermine the position of the United States in other world markets. In the No. 43 issue of Prevent World War III, the Society analyzed the Krupp economic offensive against the West. We noted that Krupp together with other industrial warlords of the Ruhr were undercutting the United States and her Allies in India, the Balkans and in South America. In the No. 46 issue of Prevent World War III we returned to the subject pointing out that Krupp's economic penetration throughout the world was strongly backed by the Bonn Government. It was stated that much of this financial assistance to Krupp and his cronies was made possible through the Marshall Plan aid.

The economic offensive continues. The attack is becoming more formidable by the retrustification and recartelization of German heavy industry. In South America, the Krupps, the

"The Krupp public relations machine rang another strange-sounding bell yesterday when Chancellor Adenauer congratulated Mrs. Bertha Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach on the occasion of her 70th birthday. She's the Krupp matriarch after whom 'Big Bertha,' the German gun that shelled Paris in World War I, was named. Big Bertha's most famous shot landed 38 years ago today, Good Friday, 1918, on the Church of St. Gervais, killing and wounding 156 persons."

(By Theodore Kaghan, N. Y. Post, 3-30-56)

"To the reports from Washington, the firm of Friedrich Krupp states that the talks held by its chief authorized agent Beitz with the State Department were not based on the intention to begin an economic offensive towards the East or to participate in such an action.

". . . The firm of Friedrich Krupp did not entertain any political aims in the talks with the State Department . . ."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine, 3-21-56)

Mannesmanns, the Siemens, and other members of the German monopoly "club" are grabbing one market after another. The New York Herald Tribune (1-30-56) describes the drive as follows: *"West Germany has already recaptured a large slice of the Brazilian market. Establishment of Krupp iron, steel and other heavy industrial plants will extend Germany's position in Brazil still more."* The same situation holds true for Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico. Thus, the U. S. News & World Report (2-17-56) notes: *"Trade offensives aren't a monopoly of the Soviet bloc . . . West German businessmen—groups of them—are mounting an offensive of their own. You run into a group drumming up business in Mexico and Central America and heading toward South America."*

A heavily trustified industrial Ruhr backed by the full support of the Bonn Government and taking advantage of the extreme low living standards of the German workers, has made the German trade assault a reality in the grimmest sense of the word. No wonder, American businessmen are showing concern and Business Week (5-12-56) admits that the Germans are *"becoming a real challenge to American companies in international markets."*

The Real Objective

It is against the background of these facts, incomplete as they are, that one must weigh the proposals to enlargen the economic mission of NATO. In principle, this is a praiseworthy objective. It is clear that Soviet tactics are now of such a character that purely military remedies no longer suffice. There is no doubt that the free world could accomplish much in terms of the extension of democracy through a bold program of aid to countries which are less fortunate economically than ourselves. On the other hand, it would be well to bear in mind Germany's "cavalry" tactics. A columnist in the German language newspaper "Aufbau," Joseph L. Oppenheimer, described the maneuver in these words: "Germany, eyeing overseas potential as its industry continues to rebound remarkably, would like nothing better than the backing of a Western Alliance of some type for its foreign business activities. NATO sponsorship, possibly under the guise of need to keep West Germany as a strong anti-Moscow force, would be ideal" (5-11-56).

Does Germany hope to undermine the economic position of her neighbors on the world markets and to achieve a predominating influence in Asia and Africa with the financial help of the United States? This is the key question that must be answered with regard to plans to enlargen NATO's economic role. In this connection we are reminded of an observation made by Sefton Delmer, the noted British journalist, when he was in Moscow during Adenauer's visit there. He wrote that the Chancellor would like to get an agreement with the Russians which *"while leaving the Americans confident of his loyalty to them, would nevertheless make it clear that he is more valuable to the Russians and that the U. S. must pay more to keep them loyal"* (9-12-55). If Germany's ambitions, as described in this article, are realized, then Adenauer's mission to Moscow will have paid off.

KRUPP'S CONFESSION

"The economy required an undisturbed or rising development. Due to the struggle between the numerous German parties and confusion there was no possibility for constructive activity. We Krupp people are no idealists but realists. My father was a diplomat. We were under the impression that Hitler would present us with such a sound development. As a matter of fact he did so.

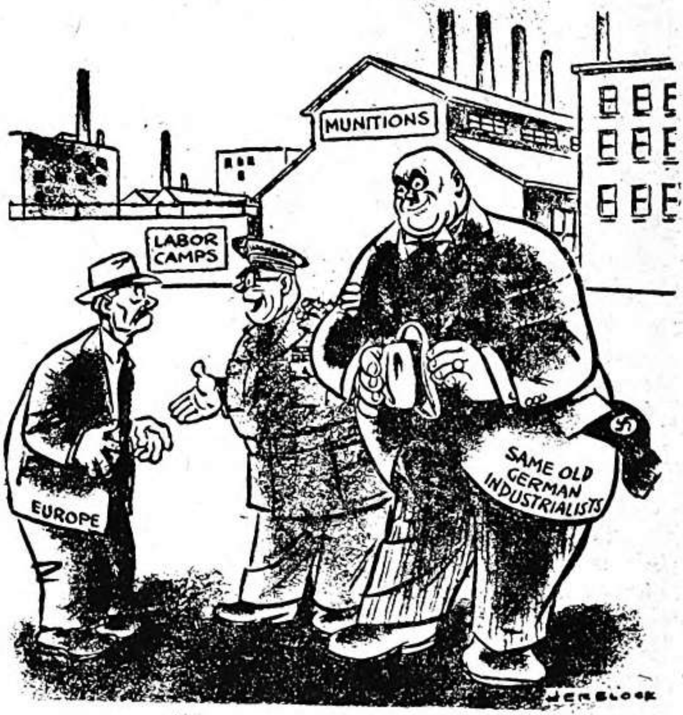
". . . There are no ideals. Life is a struggle to stay alive, for bread and power. I speak frankly, for that is necessary in this bitter hour of our defeat. In this hard struggle, we were in need of hard men and strong leadership. Hitler gave us both. During the years of his leadership we all felt better.

"I said, that all Germans gave support to Hitler. The majority of the people were behind the government . . . The entire nation endorsed the main elements of the policy which Hitler pursued. We Krupp people were never much concerned with what went on in life. We only wanted a system which would function well and give us an opportunity for unhindered work. Politics is not our concern . . .

"When I was questioned about the anti-Jewish policies of the Nazis and what I knew about them, I said that I knew nothing about the extermination of the Jews, and added: 'When you buy a good horse you have to put up with a few defects.' "

(From a signed affidavit by Alfred Krupp, published in "The Third Reich and the Jews" by L. Poliakov and J. Wulf)

"BUT THEY'RE SO EFFICIENT"



Herblock in The Washington Post

More Light On A Vital Issue

by

CONGRESSMAN STERLING COLE

A pro-German lobby in Washington has been working assiduously to have the Trading with the Enemy Act nullified so that German interests, such as I. G. Farben, would be able to regain their former properties in the United States. Because of the importance of this issue, we have reprinted the major part of a statement on that subject by Representative Sterling Cole (R. New York). Congressman Cole's statement was made before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives.

Allow me to forecast to you what will happen if these vested assets are returned to their former owners as is seriously urged upon the Congress by some persons.

A return of these properties would:

1. Require substantial and indefinite appropriations from the Federal treasury.
2. Reverse the present policy of the United States and its World War II allies with respect to reparations, and deprive this country completely of all reparations.
3. Open up a huge pork barrel to the old enemy cartels without whose backing Hitler could not have forced the World to the very brink of disaster.
4. Provide a gift or windfall of some $200,000,000 to individuals and organizations, some of whom are not even of German or Japanese nationality.
5. Enable the recapture, through devious means, of the huge business enterprises by the very persons they were taken from—in some instances in both World Wars.
6. Endanger the security of secret processes essential to the defense of the United States.

These, as I see it, are the principal objections to a return of the properties. But let us look at these objections more closely.

The first point is appropriations, the cost to us as taxpayers, and I don't need to remind you of the widespread demand these days that taxes be reduced.

The value of all of the vested properties under consideration here is better than a half billion dollars. That is the basic cost figure with which we must begin.

Around $225,000,000 of these properties have already been liquidated and the monies transferred to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission and disbursed to thousands of our citizens (prisoners of war, internees both civilian and military, religious organizations, etc.) who were the victims of suffering or damage, one or another, in the last war. So, over $225,000,000 must be replaced immediately in our Treasury if the policy of property return is adopted.

This is what we might call a "down payment," and that is exactly what it is.

However, all of the property under question here is valued at well over a half billion dollars. This is property now held by the United States Government, and if it is given back, it must be replaced in our Treasury. So with a return we will make the second down payment of around $300,000,000 if our Government makes good on its promise to compensate our own citizens for their war damages. Now we are up to the half billion dollar mark.

And there could be more, much more. For instance, what about enemy property located in the territories of our allies? Under our leadership, all of them seized this enemy property. And they also agreed to retain it. Also, they gave up in return for such retention the right to any other reparations from our former enemies. These are our agreements. We made them.

Now, if we reverse ourselves and return the property we have in our possession, who is going to pay the bill of our allies for the damages which their citizens suffered? Remember, this is our doing. After the United States made these arrangements by international treaties and agreements, our allies certainly had a right to rely on us. So now if we reverse ourselves certainly we will be called upon to pay this additional bill, and maybe we will have to do so.

This will add at least $300,000,000 to our cost—that is, the amount of property our allies reported to the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency they had seized.

Now our total is over $800,000,000—over three-quarters of a billion dollars! That is the price tag attached to the policy of property return. Do you want to buy it? I surely do not!

Now, let us look at the second point, reparations. This is a point that seems to be overlooked generally.

Much has been said in the press and in Congressional hearings about the sanctity of private property—that Governments should not seize it—and that such seizure is a complete reversal of our historic policy, followed in World War I—of retaining custody of enemy private property during hostilities, and then returning it after the war is over.

Yes, that is what we did in World War I, but that turned out to be quite a mistake—one that cost the United States billions of dollars. Any one can be forgiven for making a mistake once, but to make the same mistake twice is both foolish and unpardonable.

After World War I we returned the enemy property we had seized—and received in return Germany's solemn promise that she would pay the war claims of our citizens. Of course, Germany defaulted. We gave up our collateral in return for a scrap of paper. Many of these claims are still unpaid.

Thirty years have passed — another world conflict is history—and in 1953, mind you—just 3 years ago—Germany again solemnly promised to pay these World War I—not World War II—but World War I claims. She says she will do it over a period of 26 years. If she does—I say "if"—some of our citizens will have waited about 56 years for the payment of their claims against Germany

Will Germany default again? You may say we should not speculate on such a question, but the prospects are not bright . . .

World War II is over—the victorious allies met with their defeated enemies—the subject of reparations was under consideration—everyone knew of Germany's default on reparations after World War I—no one wanted that to happen again—so it was agreed that the enemy property that had been seized in the territory of each of the allies, would be retained by them—in lieu of any other reparations payments.

Remember that—*"in lieu of any other reparations payments."* We lost once—neither we, nor our allies, want that to happen again. Germany has agreed to this plan. In 1952, she signed the Bonn Convention agreeing that this property should be retained by the allies as their only reparations—and agreeing that she would compensate her own nationals for their losses due to property seizures by the allied powers.

Now this made sense. It would appear that we had refused to make the same mistake of World War I all over again . . .

But listen to this! On March 7, 1954, Chancellor Adenauer appealed to the United States to return the vested German property.

So—just two years after another solemn agreement—the Bonn Agreement of 1952—we have the first move to cancel it.

So here we go again—down the same old disastrous and costly road. This German appeal is based on the historic policy of the sanctity of private property. Can't we see that we are talking about reparations—and not private property?

Can't we remember that obtaining reparations after fighting a victorious war is also a historic policy?

Can't we see—are we so blind not to see that the pressure to enact this legislation for return of the properties is coming from a few selfish people—the old notorious cartels that backed the Nazi machine in its attempt at world conquest? How blind and stupid and soft-hearted and fickle do they think we are?

This leads to my next point.

Under point 3, let's look at the cartel angle involved here. The name, "I. G. Farben is notorious the world over.

Here is the world's greatest chemical trust—the one that gave to the murderous Hitler the technical know-how he needed. The one whose branches, spread throughout the world, constituted the greatest network for economic espionage ever seen. The one that was able to keep from us the secrets of synthetic rubber, among other things, when we needed that knowledge for our war effort. And the same one—I. G. Farben—that ordered destroyed—and the orders were carried out—a nitro cellulose plant located at Afton Lake, New York. Nitro cellulose is the basis of high explosives, and the plant was destroyed—on orders from Germany—at the time Hitler started his invasion of Europe. It took us two years to replace that destroyed potential of war production.

These are the type of people a return of the property would aid—these and their fronts—not the little man, the little German, for whom it may be possible to generate some sympathy, but the big business tycoons and international financial brigands.

That brings me to the next point—the windfall, bonus, or gift—call it what you will—that would be involved in a return of the property, and this is the most compelling argument of all against the proposed return.

When these properties were seized, they were much smaller than they are today, both in size and in value.

Their increased values all were brought by American management backed by American labor and American know-how.

Let's look at just a few of them—increase in value since 1942: General Aniline and Film Corporation—from $35,000,000 to $106,000,000. Schering Corporation from $1,300,000 to its sales price of $30,000,000. Spur Distributing Co.—from $1,000,000 to $3,000,000. Karl Lieberknecht, from $365,000 to $6,500,000.

These are just a few. The increased value of all the properties—this windfall—bonus, or what have you—is close to $200,000,000. Of all the "give-aways" this is the most flagrant and unjustified. You may wish to be a party to such an outrage, Mr. Chairman, but I hope you will excuse me.

Let us go to the next point.

It is the plan of the United States and its allies, solemnized by international agreements and treaties to not only keep this enemy property, but to try and make sure that it would never fall into enemy hands.

In World War I, the then Custodian, after he had sold the German Bosch properties to citizens of our country, proudly announced that never again would this company fall into alien hands. Within a very few years, however, Robert Bosch of Germany had regained ownership of

FOOTNOTE TO CONGRESSMAN COLE'S STATEMENT

It appears that the pro-German lobby seeking the release of properties in the United States formerly belonging to the I. G. Farben cartel, has unlimited financial resources at its disposal. Representative Leo W. O'Brien stated that legal expenditures to regain these properties, have run to over $750,000 in only two years. Congressman O'Brien noted that this sum does not give the whole picture since legal action by the Farben interests started about eight years ago. It goes without saying that such huge financial sums can be most effective in artificially whipping up public opinion to further the Farben cause. Yet, we are sure that the overwhelming majority of the American people are outraged over these scandalous activities.

Many Americans wonder why Senator Dircksen has worked so diligently for the return of these properties to the former enemy. It is also a puzzle that Senator Olin Johnston should meet with Chancellor Adenauer in the German Embassy in Washington to discuss this subject when, after all, this matter is a domestic affair. We hope that it won't be long before the American people are in the possession of all of the facts concerning the activities of the pro-German lobby.

the Corporation. The American purchasers had resold the firm to its original owners.

Came World War II, and Bosch property was again vested in our Alien Property Custodian. It was sold again in 1948, but this time in order to forestall a return to alien ownership, the Certificate of Incorporation was amended so as to restrict the ownership of the stock to American nationals.

The same thing was done when Schering Corporation was sold. This technique was applied in other sales.

Our Government believed that these companies should move into the American economy, and stay there.

This is one of the basic purposes of my Bill, H. R. 80, to sell these companies into our economy. And they should be kept there.

All this leads me to my last point. One that involves the security of our nation, and should be of paramount importance in your consideration.

Let us use but one example—General Aniline and Film Corporation.

This is the major holding of our Alien Property Custodian, the largest single reparation we have, and the greatest I. G. Farben property taken from our former enemies by any allied custodian. This company has two of its principal plants in my district, as I have said, and consequently I am greatly interested in it, as well as the entire alien property problem.

This company has many secret processes that today are part of our defense effort. Some of them are so secret that it would be dangerous to even apply for a patent, and thereby risk exposure. It is working closely with our Government and the Department of Defense.

This property was vested from a Swiss Corporation, now loud in its protestations of neutrality and innocence. The Department of Justice says that this Swiss claimant was and is a cloak for I. G. Farben of Germany.

The reluctance of the Swiss to come to issue and trial of this question, and they brought suit in 1947 for return of the property, would indicate there is more here than meets the eye.

Now we know the Germans are expert at cloaking or hiding their external assets. We learned that in two world wars. They want this company with its treasure trove of dollars and know-how—American developed know-how and American dollar earnings.

Representatives of the Swiss cloak deny this, and have even testified they want to "Americanize" the company, that they will sell it to Americans, but only after it is first returned to them.

Now if this were true, all they would have to do is to stipulate with the Department of Justice so as to allow our Government to make the sale. The lawsuit would then continue for the money resulting from such a sale. This is just what my bill would allow.

The Department of Justice conducts these sales in public, to the highest qualified bidder. It has done so for years, and the sales have been successful. In this way, the retention of this great corporation by American owners could be made certain.

But no—the Swiss cloak won't agree to this. They want General Aniline back in their hands and what they will do with it no one can be sure

They, by this stand, obviously want more than money.

Mr. Chairman, this problem has beset the Congress for many years since World War II. It is saturated with cross currents of conflicting interest, pressures, influences, and lobbyists. It is time to have it settled with finality. . . .

PLAIN TALK—BUT WHEN?

Why can't we get from American officials the kind of plain talk about the Soviets Mr. Adenauer gives us?

(From editorial, N. Y. World Telegram & Sun, 6-12-56)

Chancellor Adenauer said today his Moscow talks convinced him the Soviets urgently desire a long period of peace . . .

Speaking of the Soviets' desire for peace, he continued:

"From all our negotiations and private talks in Moscow I was fully convinced that Soviet Russia really wants a security system.

"She has such a vast quantity of internal tasks to fulfill that she wants to devote her whole strength to this. This is not merely a short term proposition, though it is impossible to predict for how long it will be.

"But I think it would be false judgment not to accept this as a reality.

"The Soviets feel a real need for a relaxation of world tension and I think we have helped this by accepting direct diplomatic relations with the Soviets which will enable us also to work with them for a period of peace in the world."

(U. P., 9-16-55)

"But our own experiences have been too bitter and we have seen too clearly the meaning of communism, the methods it uses, and the diabolic skill with which its progaganda operates not to react to the latest events in Moscow with the utmost skepticism . . .

"As far as the Soviets are concerned, 'peaceful co-existence' which they had used advantageously before—is merely another technical phase in their campaign to weaken the cohesion of the free world and to improve their own position.

"The men in the Kremlin are still not prepared to remove the main causes of the tension in the world . . .

"I consider the new tactics of the Soviet Union more dangerous than the former aggressive conduct since it plays upon the longing for peace which lives in all men."

(Chancellor Adenauer speaking at Yale, 6-11-56)

Inside Germany

INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY

"There can, indeed, be only one reason for neo-Nazi activity which contradicts the normal German voter's urge toward political quiet and reasonably sane middle-of-the-road parties. This is that right-wing radicalsm is kept alive in Germany mainly by the efforts of the 'Nazi-International.'

"Observers in Bonn have traced the increasing acivity of former Nazis who travel between Germany and the main centers of the international—Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Egypt and Argentina. They often work for import-export firms and agencies and for German motor manufacturers.

"They are able to tap 'buried' Nazi assets abroad, which may be providing the main financial backing for Nationalist activities inside Germany."

(Washington Post, 5-6-56)

★

GERMAN EDUCATION

"West German schools are still governed by outdated authoritarian methods and need basic reforms to train children for life in a modern democracy in the view of a committee appointed to advise on changes . . ."

(Cleveland Plain Dealer, 4-29-56)

★

SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR FORMER NAZIS

"400,000 former Nazis get 180 million marks addiional pension yearly, while Nazi victims have their iles for claims returned marked 'incomplete.'"

(Liberation—Paris, 4-3-56)

★

JUST A STARE TODAY

". . . Before West Germany regained its sovereignty in May, 1955, a United States uniform was treated with deference and a certain amount of servility.

"The unanimous complaint of G. I.s and their dependents is the way in which the Germans stare at them. One German said it was because of the unconrollable curiosity of his people. Another admitted that the staring was an intended insult . . ."

(N. Y. Times, 5-27-56)

★

BEATING THE DRUMS AGAIN

"The Stahlhelm (steel helmet), an organization of 0,000 German veterans of both world wars, is making small but ominous noises in free Germany.

"Members of the Stahlhelm gather in obscure beer halls where they argue politics and run through ceremonies involving drums, flags, jackboots, and remnants of old Wehrmacht uniforms.

"The leaders of the Stahlhelm are politically ambitious and its membership is reported growing . . ."

(The Christian Science Monitor, 6-2-56)

WHAT NEXT!

"Former German Field Marshal Erich von Manstein has been given access to NATO military secrets . . .

"Manstein, who served a term in the British prison at Werl for war crimes committed in Russia, has been given an office in the ministry . . ."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6-7-56)

★

SHADES OF THE PAST

"Amid rioting reminiscent of the early days of Nazism, former Hitler crony Otto Strasser launched the first meeting of West Germany's newest neo-Nazi party.

". . . Strasser condemned the recent presentation of the Charlemagne 'European Unity' Award to Sir Winston Churchill by the city of Aachen, Germany. He said it was given to a man who once called the Germans 'a people of 65,000,000 murderers and criminals.'

"Stating that President Eisenhower once boasted (in his memoirs) that he never shook hands with a German officer, Strasser said:

" 'We laugh when one tries to present us these men as allies today, calling on us to join them in a crusade again the new Huns. Yesterday we were the Huns. Today the Russians are the Huns.' "

(A. P., 6-18-56)

★

HOW ABOUT U. S. SHIPYARDS?

"Orders for three 36,000-ton tankers have been placed by Esso Petroleum, with the Deutsche Werfte, the Howaldt shipyards at Hamburg, and the Howaldt shipyards, at Kiel.

"This brings the number of 16-knot 36,000-ton tankers ordered in Germany by Esso and other Standard Oil subsidiaries up to 15. The total value is DM.375m. (£32m.) . . ." (London Financial Times, 5-26-56)

★

11 YEARS AFTER

"West Germany expects to produce 23 million tons of crude steel this year, it has been reported. Last year's output totaled 21,300,000 tons. Steel producers are investing 279 million dollars in new installations this year. Last year, West Germany nudged out Britain as the third largest steel producer in the world."

(Christian Science Monitor, 3-27-56)

★

GALLING

"Uncle Sam pays out more than $2 million a year in damage claims to German civilians, but for political reasons he doesn't get much credit for it.

"The average German thinks we duck, and that if it weren't for the openhearted generosity of his own government, he'd never be reimbursed.

". . . the checks are written in and mailed from a German government office in Bonn. They are drawn on a German bank. But the average German is under the impression Bonn reimburses him in full for damage caused by the visiting Americans.

"From Bonn's point of view, that's fine. From ours, it is sometimes galling . . ."

(Jim G. Lucas, N. Y. World Telegram Sun, 1-7-56)

FACTS TO CONSIDER

"The Federal Executive Committee and the Area Chairmen of the Metal Workers' Union for the Federal Republic of Germany dealt with the question of the rebirth of right wing radical and neofascist organisations, and the danger they constitute to the young Republic, at their meeting on the 22nd of February 1956. In numerous right wing radicalist publications democratic institutions are reviled and dragged through the dirt in a most disgusting manner. It is the intention of these reactionary and neofascists elements to destroy our democratic way of life.

"The Federal Government has given impetus to these developments, insofar as that they have made it possible for active Nazis to once again hold responsible positions within the political framework of our country.

"There are also developments taking place within the German judiciary which give grave cause for anxiety. The Ansbach judgment, and the verdict of 'not guilty' in favour of the former Colonel Ohm during the Penzburg murder trial are examples that show that our judicial system is not free from nazi tendencies . . ."

(D. G. B. News News Letter, March, 1956)
(German Federation of Trade Union)

HOPES

"Wide hopes of a further strengthening of trade between the USSR and the Federal Republic are being entertained in circles of the West German steel industry; special thought is given to exports of special grades of West-German steel. These expectations are being justified on the ground that the USSR wants to substantially expand its metal-using industries within the scope of its sixth Five-Year Plan and that probably it will not be able to meet the ensuing need for steel from its domestic sources.

"For this reason the steel industry in the Federal Republic has already undertaken suitable preliminary steps to make possible the smoothest exchange of goods within the steel sector . . ."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5-23-56)

KRUPP COMPLAINS

"The firm of Krupp is exerting growing pressure on the West German Government to prevent the sale of the Krupp-owned steel mills and coal mines.

"Krupp representatives have also asked at the British, French and U. S. Embassies in Bonn whether the Western Powers are still determined that the agreement of March, 1953, between Krupp and the Western Allies, under which Herr Alfred Krupp promised to sell his steel and coal holdings within five years, should be carried out.

". . . The directors of Krupp regard the agreement as having been signed under duress. They claim that it discriminates unfairly against a single company and that its effect is economically undesirable . . ."

(London Financial Times, 2-29-56)

A FAVORITE ALBUM

Records can be bought in Schleswig-Holstein, and also in Bavaria, of a speech allegedly made by Hitler "in the best of health" during this year, 1956. The fraudulently manufactured record is aimed at ever-existing dupes and is being offered, luxuriously packed, at the high price of 50 marks; sure enough, there are buyers for it. One agent is said to have sold 8,000 marks worth of records in one month. It cannot be ascertained why the police do not take action against this public nuisance.

The speech, as recorded, contains typical Hitlerian impudences and threats of death, and the speaker, evidently no mean imitator, also says: "I am alive and you will soon hear from me." Women especially, just as in the old days, are said to be over-eager to obtain the record.

(Aufbau, 6-22-56)

POOR GERMANY

"West Germany's gross national product increased 12.7 percent in 1955 over 1954.

". . . In 1955, the gross national product amounted to 164 billion marks ($39,032,000,000)."

(N. Y. World Telegram Sun, 4-13-56)

HE IS PARTICULAR!

"Germany's master atom spy of WWII said he applied for and was offered a job at McGraw Caserne recently, but turned it down because the pay was too low.

"Ex-spy Erich Gimpel returned to Germany eight months ago after serving 10 years in Leavenworth, Alcatraz and Atlanta State Penitentiary. The 46-year-old professional espionage artist was originally sentenced to death in the U. S. . . .

" 'I went to McGraw Caserne,' Gimpel told OW in an exclusive interview, 'after reading an ad in a Munich newspaper that highly-qualified interpreters were wanted.

" 'I drove up to the gate in my car, and when I spoke English to the guard, he let me through.

" 'At the civilian employment office, a captain looked at me and asked if I spoke German, I told him I was German.

" 'They offered me a job at 700 marks ($180) a month, but I figured I could do better lecturing and writing.' Gimpel said. . . ."

(The Overseas Weekly, 5-13-56)

HOW TO INFLUENCE OLD FRIENDS

Cairo (dpa): Deputy General Secretary of the Arab League, Dr. Haif Abullamaa, stated in Cairo that the Arab League will establish an office in Bonn to supervise the Arab economic boycott against Israel.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6-13-56)

No End to Broken Pledges

"If there is anything to be gained by being honest, let us be honest; if it is necessary to deceive, let us deceive."
Frederick the Great (1712-1786)

Hitler's seizure of power in 1933 caused much concern in foreign capitals over Germany's willingness and determination to abide by its international obligations. Aware that the Nazis' intentions were suspect, Hitler tried to create the impression that his gangster tactics in domestic affairs would have no effect on Germany's behavior toward other countries. Thus, on May 21, 1935, Hitler told his rubber stamp Reichstag, *"the German Government will scrupulously maintain every treaty voluntarily signed, even though it was concluded before its accession to power and office."*

Of course, Hitler's real attitude toward pledges and treaties was basically no different from preceding rulers of Germany who regarded treaties as "scraps of paper." Four years after his public promise that the Nazi Government would be faithful to its commitments, Hitler told his military commanders in a secret speech, *"agreements are to be kept only as long as they serve a certain purpose."* The Fuehrer kept his word on that score. At the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials it was revealed that the Nazis broke at least 69 treaties to which Germany had subscribed between the years 1933-1941.

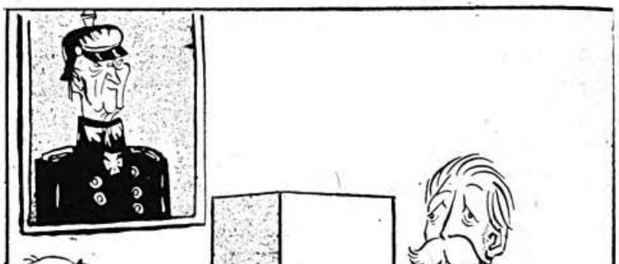
One of the fond hopes entertained by the Allies in giving all-out support to the present Bonn Government, was that this melancholy record of broken treaties would not be repeated. Indeed, many people accept as fact that the German Federal Republic has scrupulously adhered to its promises since the end of the war. Yet, even a brief survey of how the Federal Republic has comported itself in carrying out its obligations, will show that past practice is very much alive.

In this connection we recall a report appearing in the New York Times (8-3-51) disclosing that the Bonn Government had failed to live up to its commitments on the delivery of steel scrap to the Allied Powers. This particular incident, according to the Times, increased the concern of Allied officials over the fact that the Germans were "welshing on agreements." The Times report mentioned that there were *"frequent complaints that the Germans are slow to make any sacrifices themselves for European integration and persistently attempt to whittle down commitments made in the past."* One Allied official, speaking about these broken agreements, said: *"Are we growing too cynical to remember that one of the reasons we went to war with Germany in 1939 was because we believe such agreements should be kept?"* Another Allied official put it this way: *"I am pretty tired of seeing the occupation powers make all the compromises. The Germans just never are satisfied."* This particular complaint reminds us of Britain's Foreign Minister Austen Chamberlain's reproach to Foreign Minister Stresemann during the 1920s: *"Whenever we make a concession to you, instead of acknowledging it, you ask for more."*

We have not taken the trouble to tally all of the agreements and pledges which have been vitiated by the Bonn Government, but in any event we can cite some glaring examples of how the Adenauer regime has back-tracked more than once on obligations it has assumed.

Reparations

From the very beginning of the occupation, the Germans vigorously and even violently opposed the Allied policy of reparations and the dismantling of her industrial war potential. In the summer of 1948 the German steel magnates notified Allied officials that they would no longer cooperate in the dismantling of certain plants which had been regarded by the Allies as excessive in terms of Germany's peace-time requirements. The struggle against the reparations policy became even more intense following the establishment of the Bonn Government under Adenauer's leadership. Because the British zone was highly industrialized, the English became the main target of this attack. In October, 1949, the Chancellor himself accused the British Government of "a high degree of stupid stubbornness." One newspaper correspondent observed: *"Familiar echoes in this speech of the diplomatic practices of Ribbentrop and Hitler were further enhanced by the fact that the non-official new German news agency D. P. A. carefully omitted mention of Chancellor Adenauer's attack in its report of the speech"* (ONA, 10-24-49).


GERMANY WILL REFUSE TO PAY TOWARDS COST OF STATIONING ALLIED TROOPS ON HER SOIL
Dr. Schäffer

(*London Daily Mirror*)

"REALLY, IT ISN'T FAIR, HERR DOKTOR! AS SOON AS WE GIVE YOU SOVEREIGNTY YOU START BEHAVING AS IF YOU HAVE IT . . ."

That Chancellor Adenauer was using his high position to further the interests of the German steel monopolies was reported in the New York Times (11-21-49). The man who was particularly influential with Dr. Adenauer was Robert Pferdmenges, one of his close advisors and a bigwig in the Vereinigte Stahlwerke (the German steel trust). It was pointed out that Adenauer, in trying to protect the steel interests, sought to tie up the dismantling of plants belonging to the Vereinigte Stahlwerke. The Chancellor's efforts to sabotage the Allied program was partially successful when in the Petersberg Agreement of November 24, 1949, the Allies consented to cut down the dismantling program in favor of the Germans. Commenting on the agreement, the British High Commissioner Sir Brian Robertson declared: *"We are clearly not expecting that this agreement should be regarded as a stepping stone for further demands . . . The Chancellor also gave us an assurance that the Federal Government would use its influence and authority to insure that the balance of the dismantling program proceeds expeditiously without obstruction."*

The High Commissioner's optimism, however, was unwarranted. Within two months after Adenauer had signed this agreement, he appealed to the Allied Powers to halt the shipment of machine tools from the Krupp steel works which were intended as reparations. In April, 1950, less than five months after he pledged to cooperate with the Allies, Adenauer publicly attacked Allied policy. He not only complained about alleged mistreatment by the Allies, but assailed the dismantling program (N. Y. Times, 4-4-50). Exactly one month after Adenauer aired his latest complaint, sweeping concessions were granted to the Germans as the Allies stopped all work on the dismantling of the Hermann Goering combine. The Goering works had been regarded by the Allies as a key factor in Germany's war potential. Consequently, they were not included among the plants which were to escape dismantling under the Petersberg Agreement. In submitting to the agitation of Adenauer and his fellow politicians, the British High Commissioner, Sir Brian Robertson, said: *"I must emphasize that these concessions can be granted only on the understanding that they are regarded as a final settlement."* A New York Times reporter noted with irony that the same Allied spokesman *"made a similar statement the day following the proclamation of the Petersberg agreement . . ."* (N. Y. Times, 5-3-50).

Cartels

As in the case of reparations and dismantling, the Bonn Government showed no enthusiasm for the Allied policy to decartelize and deconcentrate German heavy industry. In view of the notorious record of the German cartels and monopolies, the Allies planned to break them up. This did not deter the Germans from utilizing every means available to emasculate the program. They even employed American lobbyists and lawyers to plead their case. Although the program was crippled by their efforts and by the unsympathetic attitude of certain Allied officials, it managed to survive.

When the Germans began negotiations with the Allies toward the granting of sovereignty, they publicly pledged that they would continue the anti-cartel policy of the Allies even after they had achieved full sovereignty. Chancellor Adenauer made this clear in a letter to James B. Conant, then U. S. High Commissioner for Germany: *". . . the Federal Government will also oppose efforts to repeal or modify Allied legislations which now prohibits restraints of competition and monopolies before the coming into force of a German law containing general provisions against restraints of competition"* (10-23-54).

It turned out that there was a yawning gap between promise and fulfillment. The bills presented to the Bundestag on monopolies and cartels have been so full of loopholes and qualifications as to make Bonn's anti-cartel posture a gigantic farce. Thus, the London Financial Times (1-20-56) reported that pending legislation provided for the setting up of German export and import cartels. Other legislation encourages the reestablishment of the German banking monopolies. The New York Times (4-17-56) reported: *"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's government hopes to legalize by 1957 a rebirth of the three great commercial banks that dominated the financial life of Germany during the Hitler era and before."*

It is not only the German banks and the export cartels that are given a new lease on life by the Bonn Government. As a matter of fact, Dr. Adenauer has given his blessings to the rebirth of the entire structure of German monopolies and other economic concentrations. The New York Times (3-22-56) noted that the Bonn Government had announced its intention *"to open negotiations with the Allies to permit the reconstitution of the great German industrial empires."* In point of fact, the reforming of these conglomerations of economic power had been going on even before Germany was granted sovereignty. Today the Bonn regime is merely trying to legalize its violation of a solemn pledge and agreement.

In previous issues of Prevent World War III it was noted that, as the situation is now developing, these monopolies will be even more powerful than they were under Hitler. It is noteworthy too that the principal beneficiary of Adenauer's attempt to make unlawful acts respectable would be Krupp. Chancellor Adenauer himself has gone out of his way to support Krupp's effort to nullify the pledge that he would sell part of his properties.

Rearmament

Following the end of the war there was little public talk among the Germans about reviving the Wehrmacht. Perhaps this was due to the psychological impact experienced by the utter defeat of Hitler's armies. This is not to say that hope did not exist that some day, somehow, the Germans would have a brand new army. As a matter of fact, in January, 1949, before he became Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer told a group of American correspondents that he would not oppose "a forward looking" German army. Of course, he assured his listeners that he objected to the revival of the traditional military caste, but this did not mean that he would be against the formation of a new Wehrmacht "as such." It is not known whether this was a trial balloon or a slip of the tongue but in any event, the Chancellor changed his mind 10 months later. In an interview with a correspondent for a Paris newspaper he said, *"I have absolutely no desire for a German army"* (11-28-49). Whether this was intended to assuage the feelings of the French is not known. He repeated the same thought in an interview with the Cleveland Plain Dealer (12-4-49): *"It must be clear once and for all,"* he said, *"the*

I am fundamentally opposed to the rearmament of the German Republic and therefore also against the creation of a new Wehrmacht."

The supposed opposition to the remilitarization of Germany was officially acknowledged by the Bonn Government in the Petersberg Agreement. There it was stated that the Bonn Government pledged *"its earnest determination to maintain the demilitarization of the federal territory and to endeavor by all means in its power to prevent the recreation of armed forces of any kind. To this end the Federal Government will cooperate fully with the High Commission in the work of the Military Security Board."*

Two months after Adenauer had signed the Petersberg pledge, the New York Times (1-14, 1-15-50) revealed that he had requested a group of German generals to draw up a schedule and a plan for German rearmament! It was noted that these German military officers were organized in the so-called Brüderschaft (Brotherhood) which had chapters in various cities. The Brüderschaft was one of the first para-military organizations to reappear in Germany after the end of the war. Its connections with the Federal Government were not a secret and its policies definitely contemplated the revival of Germany's military might. The militaristic character of the Brüderschaft was analyzed in Prevent World War III (No. 31 issue, September-October, 1949). The New York Times (2-22-50) noted that the "Brotherhood" was sending *"plans and mobilization schemes to Dr. Adenauer, Chancellor of the Bonn Government, and other members of his cabinet."*

This particular episode was only the beginning. Additional facts continued to leak out of Germany concerning rearmament and militaristic activities. Thus, the New York Staats-Zeitung (9-9-53) reported a speech made by Willy Messerschmidt, the German airplane manufacturer, before the Rhine-Ruhr Club. In this speech Messerschmidt boasted that the Germans could initiate the mass production of airplanes with a minimum of investment. He declared that a great deal was being accomplished for the construction of airplanes, since the beginning of the occupation. He further mentioned that these developments were facilitated by the application of German know-how in foreign countries. It is a fact that Spain was one of the countries which became a laboratory for Germany's rearmament plans.

The New York Times (9-25-53) carried a dispatch from Germany describing "an exhibition of German made military equipment." The Times report observed that *"some of these items caused eyebrows to rise for Germany is prevented by the Allied Occupation Statute from manufacturing arms or exclusively military equipment."* Among the German firms which displayed military equipment, was none other than Krupp whose leaders today tell the world that they are through making war material.

The Associated Press (9-18-53) reported that the Swiss Government had rejected an application to export hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of military equipment which had been ordered by the Bonn Government. To top it all, the German language newspaper Aufbau (9-25 and 10-2-53) carried an exposé detailing the existence of a powerful German armaments ring operating in Germany, Switzerland, and the State of Liechtenstein. Among the ring leaders were the accused war criminal Hjalmar Schacht, Rudolf Ruschewey, a former German officer who was wanted by the French for war crimes, and an individual by the name of Klein, father-in-law of the late General von Seeckt who helped build up the Red Army.

It should be borne in mind that these activities went on during the same period when Germany had pledged to adhere to the program of demilitarization and disarmament.

German Assets

A major policy pursued by the Allies at the end of the war, was to prevent Germany from regaining assets and loot hidden abroad. The Allies knew that the Germans wanted to keep this wealth under cover and intact until such time as it could be employed again to further Germany's predatory designs. On the other hand, the Allies sought to use these assets to compensate, at least in part, the nations victimized by German aggression.

As in the previous cases mentioned above, the Germans employed every trick imaginable to prevent this program from being implemented. Officially at least, the German Government pretended that it bore no responsibility for this sabotage. Indeed, the Contractual Agreement granting sovereignty to the Germans, contained the following clause: *"The Federal Republic shall in the future raise no objections against the measures which have been, or will be, carried out with regard to German external assets or other property, seized for the purpose of reparation or restitution, or as a result of the state of war, or on the basis of agreements concluded, or to be concluded, by the Three Powers with other Allied countries, neutral countries or former allies of Germany."*

However, it was not long before Chancellor Adenauer turned his coat again. Directing his request to the United States in the hope that he would receive the necessary support from certain pro-German groups in Washington, he asked President Eisenhower to return these assets alleging that they belonged to Germans who *"were always the traditional promoters of friendship between the two nations."* While the Chancellor spoke about the need for the return of these assets to foster "good will" and as a token of appreciation for Germany's "brave role" in the struggle against Communism, West German direct exports to Red China were soaring to record heights.

Even before the Chancellor had made pubic his approach to Washington, one of his chief advisors, Herman J. Abs (Hitler's paymaster), had hinted that, unless these former assets were returned, Germany might not be able "to carry out the bargain" with respect to the repayment of Germany's postwar debts. This was in sharp contrast to Adenauer's pledge to fulfill the debt obligations in return for a revision of the Occupation Statute in Germany's favor. That Adenauer suceeded in reducing Germany's postwar debts by $2 billion despite this pledge, did not faze Herr Abs. Now the Germans wanted the United States or, to be more precise, the American taxpayers, to turn over additional hundreds of millions of dollars in the interest of "German-American friendship."

Relations with Soviet Russia

One of the favorite boasts of the Bonn Government is the contention that the Germans have steadfastly rejected Communist blandishments. Time and again, Bonn politicians have assured U. S. policy makers that the Federal Republic could be relied upon to reject any thought of bilateral negotiations at the expense of Allied Powers. Thus, when the Secretary of State for the Bonn Government, Prof. Walter Hallstein, visited the United States in 1953, he categorically declared that Chancellor Adenauer would "never! never!" negotiate with Russia. The Chancellor himself told American audiences during his visits here that the Bonn Government would have nothing to do with the Soviets. In October, 1953, he told a correspondent for the United Press that the Allies must not crawl after the Russians. *"There is no point in continuing to chase after them (the Russians). We merely hurt our own objective of reaching an understanding with the Russians."* As for the Germans, Dr. Adenauer told his interviewer that *"he most certainly would not go to Moscow himself to try to reach a direct agreement with the Russians."* Prior to his trip to Moscow in September, 1955, Adenauer repeated this line. What happened in Moscow needs no further comment.

So It Was — So It Is

In other instances the Germans have used surreptitious means to escape from their solemn commitments and obligations. They undermined the Allied program to limit Germany's steel capacity by helping to build up steel production in the Soviet zone; they made enormous profits through the sale of strategic materials to the Soviet bloc; they secretly gave aid and comfort to the neo-Nazi and anti-French elements in the Saar; and even today when they are granted the right to rearm, they find all sorts of excuses to justify their stalling tactics. The fact is that the path of Germany's resurgence to power is strewn with broken pledges and agreements. Of course, when the situation suits their purposes, the Germans demonstrate a marked fidelity to commitments. Thus, they give full support to the clause in the Contractual Agreement whereby the Germans are no longer obligated to give financial support to Allied forces in Germany after May, 1956. On this head they are insistent that the agreement be carried out to the letter—but not the spirit.

The German record of broken pledges would not be complete without some comment on Allied responsibility. It cannot be maintained that the Allies were unaware of Germany's propensity to tear up agreements. Thus, there was no valid reason why the Allies could not have coped with German duplicity. The fact is that from the very beginning of the occupation, certain Allied officials in high places connived with the Germans behind the backs of their own governments. There were other officials in key posts who "looked the other way" while the Germans and their friends in Military Government were sabotaging Allied policies. This "tolerant" attitude was defended on the grounds that Germany was indispensable to Western civilization. Those who provided this rationale, forgot that one of the basic principles of a civilized community is faithful adherence to contract. Nor did these same people bother to explain how respect for international obligations and lawful agreements is strengthened against totalitarian attacks from the outside if aid and comfort is given to lawlessness from within. By permitting the Germans to run roughshod over their obligations, these "practical realists" have encouraged the rebirth of that German spirit which never felt bound by the norms of civilized communities.

"... Whether the Germans will remain democratic through periods of adversity and stress remains to be seen. At present, employment and production are high; the land is busy and prosperous; war damage to plants and buildings is largely repaired. So long as things go well, several persons remarked, the Germans will not again follow a fuehrer. But let things take a bad turn—then, they said, 'comes the question mark.' Many Germans seem far more likely to yield to authoritarian leadership in periods of adversity than do, say, most Britons, Frenchmen, Scandinavians, Canadians or Americans. I met few Germans who denied this. It may not be a matter of German 'temperament,' but it is distinctly a corollary of the Germans' limited experience with democracy ..."

(Ralph C. Epstein, Freedom & Union, Nov., 1955)

"Less than a decade ago, an American War Crimes court at Nuremberg sentenced him to 12 years imprisonment for employment of slave labor and plundering Nazi-occupied territory ...

"... Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, whose Krupp-Essen combine is today estimated to control almost half a billion dollars worth of assets ranging from coal and steel holdings to his 60 factories producing everything from sausages to false teeth, is touring the 'uncommitted' and 'underdeveloped' areas of the world with his own Point IV program of aid.

"Krupp is merely spearheading for a powerful group of Bonn-blessed German industrialists a new economic 'drang nach osten' . . ."

(William Richardson, Worldwide Press, 3-1-56)

"PRIVATE BUSINESS"

"West German trade with the Soviet Union is increasing sharply as the Russians push for a Bonn-Moscow commercial agreement.

". . . The business is all private—between German businessmen and Soviet buying agencies. German exporters have been selling the Russians ships, machinery, steel and sheet metal products, among others. The Russians have been selling the Germans pig iron, cotton, furs, phosphates, wood and aluminum."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 5-4-56)

"The (German war) criminals, isolated and separated from the martyrs and heroes, have also come to serve a function in the German people's guilt complex. They become a means of releasing the people's pent-up feelings. Sorge, Schubert and Clauberg have become a species of 'scapegoat,' and the whole indignation of the German people is vented on these three men as if they alone were the guilty ones. On these men are fastened not only their own crimes but the guilt of others, particularly of those who remained passive while the crimes were being committed. Thus, by loading these men with the guilt the German people should bear, the latter achieve absolution. No one as yet has had the courage to state that the German nation, German society as a whole, bears even some responsibility for the crimes which were committed in its name and which were bred and fostered by it."

(Eleanore Sterling, Congress Weekly, 3-26-56)

German Social Democrats: Past and Present

In recent times, the problem of leadership in Western Germany has become the subject of much speculation among political commentators and newspaper correspondents. The knowledge that Chancellor Adenauer's age, no less than his decline in popularity, may remove him from the political stage, has bothered many people. There are some who feel that he is irreplaceable. This view is based on the assumption that it is Adenauer's personality and his authoritarian manner of governing which have been responsible for Germany's post-war successes. It is implied that after Adenauer, "chaos" will follow and that the forces making for totalitarianism and anti-Westernism will emerge stronger than ever.

On the other hand, there are a number of "experts" on Germany who insist that all is not lost even if Adenauer must depart from the scene. They declare that there is a great body of public opinion in Germany influenced by the Social Democrats, that can be depended upon to uphold the democratic way of life, come what may. Indeed, the people who take this position, have charged our State Department with being too one-sided in its support of Chancellor Adenauer.

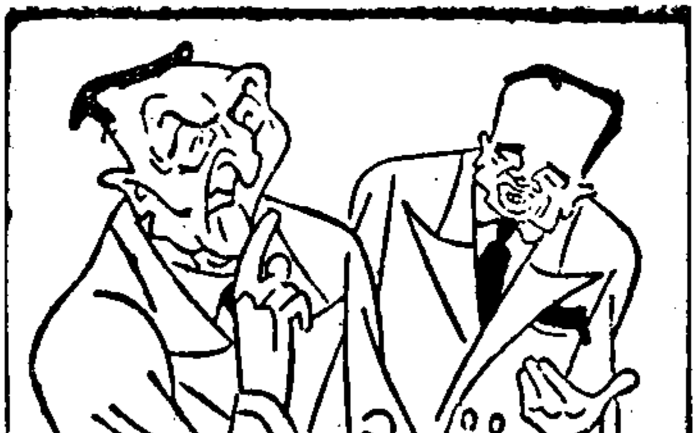
That Adenauer has been the great favorite of the State Department can hardly be disputed. However, the question at hand is whether the Social Democrats can provide a more reliable as well as more democratic leadership than that which Adenauer has displayed. This is not to say that we believe that the Chancellor has done a good job. On the contrary, as we have shown in other articles in this and in previous issues of Prevent World War III, there has been little house-cleaning under Adenauer as well as too many question marks concerning Germany's trustworthiness.

But to return to the Social Democrats—what can we expect from them? Without trying to apply a psychiatric analysis, we are tempted to describe the Social Democratic leadership as schizophrenic. Judging from the record, it has been suffering from a split personality for decades.

Aside from ideological considerations, there is no doubt that German Social Democrats have contributed much to democracy and culture. Many of their leaders were in the forefront in the fight against militarism and Junkerism. They have courageously opposed assorted brands of totalitarianism, whether of the Red or the Brown variety. Even today there are many among them who give us cause to feel that the future of Germany is not all together black.

Yet, with all this said, past history shows that among the Social Democrats a peculiar predilection existed toward supporting German militarism, albeit under the guise of democratic slogans. This duality of personality may be illustrated by the story of the prominent German Socialist leader, Haase. Three days before the outbreak of World War I, Herr Haase solemnly declared at Brussels that the German workers would oppose war to the utmost. Three days later Herr Haase voted for the war budget proposed by the Imperial Government of Germany. The attitude of the Social Democrats towards the Kaiser and his ambitious generals was described by a leading German Social Democrat, Gustav Noske: *"The overwhelming majority of the Social-Democratic Party stood behind Moltke and Hindenburg; the tremendous political and economic organization of the Party and its press with a circulation of over a million copies, undertook to strengthen the morale of the men in the trenches"* (The War and the Social Democracy, 1915, page 16).

After the end of World War I we find this same part of the split personality busily at work. In 1918, the leaders of the German Social-Democratic party sought to maintain the authority of the Imperial Government against the growing dissatisfaction and opposition of the German people. When this was no longer possible, the Social Democratic leaders established secret contact with the German General Staff. A deal was worked out whereby the General Staff would support the Social Democratic leaders who then headed the government, while the Social Democrats would carry out the basic policies of the General Staff. Details of this agreement were revealed by General Groener during a sensational trial in 1925. Of course, the world was ignorant of this "quid pro quo" affair and was misled to believe that with the overthrow of the Kaiser, German democracy had triumphed. However, the true state of affairs was described in blunt terms by another leader of the Social Democrats, Otto Braun: *"Only incredible political shortsightedness could have assumed that a great, culturally advanced and profoundly warlike people like the Germans would tolerate such a state of imposed defenselessness permanently"* (From Weimar to Hitler, page



Adenauer: "And who shall be Commander-in-Chief of our defense army?"

Blank: "Kesselring is the best one. . . . He will know how to defend himself before a military tribunal."

(Aus "Frankenpost," Hof)

207). Thus, the Weimar Republic turned out to be a valuable camouflage for the resurgence of German militarism.

During the Hitler regime the Social Democratic leadership was decimated. Many leaders were bruitally tortured while others courageously fought the tyranny. Nevertheless, even during this period we find certain leaders who tried to make a distinction between the Nazis and the German people. They sought to convey the impression that the overwhelming majority of the German people were violently opposed to the Nazis. When war broke out, these same leaders warned the West in haughty tones that the peace which would follow, must be of a kind that would give Germany a rightful place in world affairs. In the United States a number of Social Democrats aired their views through the so-called Council for a Democratic Germany. When the Council was founded in 1944 at the height of the war, it released a statement to the press (just before D-Day) which declared: *". . . It must not be forgotten that the masses of German opponents of Nazism were the first ones to suffer defeat at the hands of National Socialism; that they did not want war . . . It would be disastrous for the future Europe if Germany were to be torn asunder, politically or economically . . . It is essential for the economic future of Europe that the productive power of Germany be preserved . . . The German people should be given a peace which, in spite of the burdens it may impose, they can regard as Just."* As one can see, these are not the thoughts of people who show a sense of humility and contrition for the crimes committed by the Germans. It is rather a brazen declaration announcing Germany's postwar ambitions which must not be challenged by her victims.

During the first years of the Allied occupation in Germany the Social Democratic leadership continued to exhibit its split personality. On the one hand, they showed themselves to be a tireless force in the efforts to build democracy in Germany. They maintained ceaseless vigilance over the machinations of the Communists. So much for the positive side.

Their anti-Nazism did not deter unremitting attacks against the Allied occupation. This continual harassment was led by the outstanding leader of the Social Democrats, Dr. Kurt Schumacher. Schumacher had established an early reputation as a bitter critic of the Allied powers. On the eve of a Big Four Meeting in Moscow, Herr Schumacher warned that he would never sign a peace which would be considered "hard" by the Germans. He publicly declared that the Big Four must recognize their "war guilt" too. On another occasion Herr Schumacher warned that the Allies were responsible "for whatever happens in Germany." He then went on to compare the Germans' plight under Hitler and under the Allies. He said that the Allies "did not do much better than their predecessors (Hitler)." He asserted that a "poverty-stricken Germany means a poverty-stricken Europe." This line has been spouted by every kind of German politician from the extreme right to the extreme left. The reason why it has received such unanimous support is simply because it expresses the Pan-Germanic idea of "Deutschland über Alles."

Herr Schumacher's derisive attacks against the Allies came with increased bitterness. "The Allies," he once said, "have to get over their governess complex." Another time, he heaped scorn upon Adenauer describing him as the "Chancellor of the Allies." In a speech delivered in 1951 he called the United States an "elephant in Europe's china shop."

The Social Democratic leadership attacked Allied policy in deeds as well as words. They helped to cripple the dismantling of Germany's war potential; they blocked the decartelization and deconcentration of German heavy industry; they opposed the establishment of the International Ruhr Authority which was to see to it that the resources of the Ruhr would be shared equitably among the victims of German aggression, as well as Germany; they violently agitated against Allied policy granting France certain rights in the Saar in lieu of reparations. It is interesting to note that Herr Schumacher once hinted that the German Social Democrats would support a second Anschluss with Austria. In 1946 he caused a furor in Austria by his statement that "no one can say that the Austro-German frontier is final." An unnamed spokesman for the British Labor Party once said that Schumacher acted *"like a good old-fashioned German—a real Prussian—and he made it clear he was interested in the Internationale (socialist) only insofar as it might be useful to Germany"* (ONA, 7-9-51).

Schumacher's super nationalistic tactics were described by a noted writer on German affairs, Leo Lania (United Nations World, May 1952). Lania pointed out that while Schumacher was a courageous fighter against Nazism and all forms of totalitarianism, he had little use for the Western or Eastern Big Powers. Upon hearing Schumacher speak on one occasion, Lania reported: *"Suddenly I felt as though I was back again in the late* 20s *in Berlin at a Nazi meeting. It was not the content of Schumacher's speech that startled me . . . but the way he spoke was simply quite frightening. Unconsciously he seemed to have acquired Hitler's terminology, his screeching mode of speech, his gestures and histrionic intonation."* Lania's impressions of Schumacher's ways seem to have been shared by other sensitive reporters. Thus, the well known British correspondent Alistair Horne, writing in his recent book "Return to Power," described Schumacher's harangues as sounding "curiously like an utterance of the Nazis."

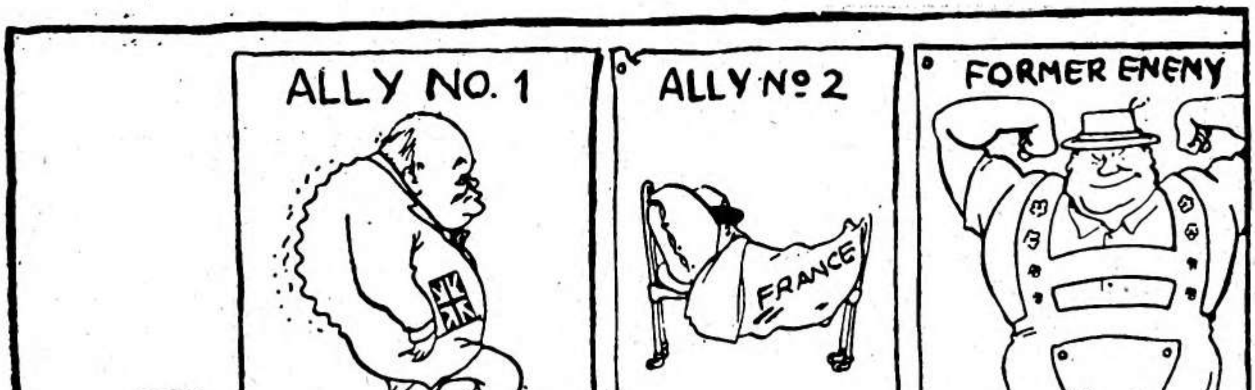
What of the Social Democratic leadership today? Is it true that the present leader, Erich Ollenhauer, is a more reserved and less volatile personality than his predecessor. It is also true that he has had a good record as an opponent against the twin pressures of Hitlerism and Communism. Yet, the Social Democrats under his leadership have by no means discarded Schumacher's legacy. For example, the Social Democrats did not hesitate to join hands with the neo-Nazis and other reactionary elements during the recent Saar plebiscite. The Social Democrats did not find it objectionable to cooperate with certain neo-Nazi personalities in North-Rhine Westphalia in order to oust Karl Arnold from office. Indeed, they are supporting the efforts of the war criminal Krupp to regain properties which are supposed to be liquidated under the decartelization laws. As regards the reappearance of German war criminals and top Hitlerites, the Social Democrats have not shown the degree of opposition to this development which one would expect from them.

The Social Democrats have been lukewarm toward Germany's membership in NATO and have emphasized that the reunification of Germany should take priority even if this should necessitate direct negotiations with Moscow. This does not imply that the Social Democrats are pro-Russian. No group has been more uncompromising on the question of Commuism than the Social Democrats. Nevertheless, it does not follow that the Social Democrats are unqualifiedly pro-Western. In the last analysis the Social Democratic position aims at the revival of a strong and powerful Germany even if this should come about at the expense of NATO and through negotiations with the Kremlin.

The Social Democratic position was explained in a recent article by one of their leaders, Fritz Erler, writing in the April issue of "Foreign Affairs." Erler sounded off in a manner which brought back memories of the late Herr Schumacher. The article is replete with threats. He writes that the "Balkanization" of Germany "cannot last forever," and then, without the least display of modesty, he says, *"a great people cannot be deprived of its natural right to live under a single roof."* Erler's attitude toward the Allies as well as the Soviets may be summed up in these words, "a plague on both your houses." He condemns what he calls the "intelligence services and propaganda organizations of both sides" who are supposed to be operating on German territory. Thus, he makes no distinction between the Communist and the Democratic forces. Repeating a line which is threadbare by now, Erler declares that *"no lasting peace is possible in Europe while the heart of Central Europe is cut in two."* Of course, he does not tell his readers what happened to the peace of Europe when the so-called heart was united. Unity, according to Herr Erler, is all-decisive and he warns, *"the German people will favor the side that does the utmost to restore their unity, not with words—words are cheap—but in action."* In these words Herr Erler tells us that democracy versus totalitarianism is not the real issue insofar as the Germans are concerned. German unity, no matter how it is gained, is the central problem.

To strengthen his case, Herr Erler warns the West not to repeat "the bad experiences of the past when the democracies surrendered to Hitler's blackmail what they had denied to the Weimar Republic—and much more." What does he mean by that? Is it his contention that the democracies did not pour billions of dollars into the Weimar Republic? Does he mean that the Allies looked the other way while Germany secretly armed after World War I? Does he mean that the appeasement policy toward Hitler which led to Munich, should have been pursued in the first place toward the Weimar Republic? The fact is that Herr Erler is repeating one of the favorite stories of the Social Democrats, to wit, that the Weimar Republic would have survived had the Allies supported it. This is but another way of absolving the Germans from the guilt of Hitlerism and shifting the blame on to the Allies.

While professing friendship with the West, Herr Erler insists that the West German Government "should take the initiative" in conducting talks with Moscow on reunification. Of course, he qualifies his advice by stating that the Western powers should be in full accord with this initiative. However, what does such an assurance mean in fact? It merely indicates that the Germans will negotiate with the Russians while the Western powers should rest content on the assumption that the West Germans will not double-cross them. Herr Erler is willing to pay the Russians a high price including "the removal of hostile military alliances" from Russia's doorstep and the granting of economic concessions. Towards the end



That would be a way out: "We could make Germany the 49th State of the Union."

(Cummings in Daily Express)

of his article he poses the question of the removal of Allied bases in Germany. All of these propositions are made in the name of loyalty to the West and yet, they all boil down to a plan that would smash NATO on the basis of a German-Russian deal. In this connection the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (5-8-56) reported that secret negotiations were being conducted between an important Social Democratic functionary "from Bonn" and Soviet authorities in East Berlin. These negotiations, we are told, have the support of influential Social Democrats.

The views expressed by Herr Erler in Foreign Affairs are now the core of the foreign policy program recently adopted by the Social Democratic Party for the 1957 election. The nationalistic overtones of the program are not difficult to detect. Though the Social Democrats have always professed their attachment to the West, the new program leans heavily on a bilateral understanding with the Soviets. "Only thus can the harm done to Soviet-German relations by Hitler be removed," the program states.

As regards West Germany's commitments to the West, the Social Democratic program demands that they be scrapped and that West Germany withdraw from the Atlantic Pact. The unified Germany envisaged by the program would conserve the so-called basic economic and social reforms introduced in the Soviet zone. Indeed, the program advocates talks between East and West Germany, although the Social Democrats have time and again denounced the East German regime as a Soviet satellite. The new Reich envisaged by the Social Democrats would serve as a "bridge" between the East and the West. The Social Democratic platform does not spell out in detail the function of such a "bridge" but leaves it to the imagination of the voters. Nevertheless, it is well to bear in mind that the idea of a German "bridge" is a favorite concept of Pan-German ideologists who long for a Third Power Bloc in Europe dominated by Germany.

From the foregoing it is clear that the present Social Democratic leadership is far from dependable. We are reminded of a statement by the late Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, Ernest Bevin, *"The Hitler revolution did not change the German character very much. It expressed it."* Mr. Bevin, in this same talk in the House of Commons, discussed how difficult it was to handle the Germans, *"I have to tell my socialist colleagues in Germany very often that they are a little too nationalist for me and that their nationalism breaks through their ideas of social democracy rather too frequently to make me feel comfortable in arriving at decisions in dealing with them."* Mr. Bevin's remarks were based on solid ground. Ever since the end of World War II, Social Democratic leadership has tried to outdo German nationalists. Kurt Schumacher once declared that one of the reasons for Social Democracy's defeat was the fact that Hitler was able to puff up the nationalistic feelings of the Germans with far greater effectiveness than his rivals. *"Never again will the socialists be caught being less nationalistic than their opponents,"* he told an American writer (The Reporter Magazine, 7-5-54).

To sum up, the record of the Social Democrats does not lend much hope that their leadership would necessarily be more reliable than that provided by Adenauer. A schizophrenic personality can be dangerously unpredictable and it would be well for the West to bear this fact in mind.

. . ."One clause stated that for the first year after the agreements, Britain, France and America should receive a limited German contribution towards the cost of their armies.

"This year ends on May 5. What contribution Germany should make after that date should be a matter for negotiation.

"Those words, 'a matter for negotiation,' are the legal trap in which Dr. Schaeffer has caught us.

" 'Certainly I am obliged to negotiate,' he argues, 'but I am not obliged to accept what your Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, himself told me is only a moral claim.'

"Let us take a look at this moral claim. In their first twelve months as a member of N. A. T. O. the Germans have done almost nothing about their army.

"They have spent exactly £20,000,000 on it compared with our £1,500,000,000 Defence Budget.

"Moreover, while we are forced to keep a two-year period of military service in order to maintain our four divisions in Germany, the Germans still have no conscription.

"Dr. Adenauer, the eighty-year-old German Chancellor, is still considering whether the period should be eighteen months or twelve—or whether he can do without conscription altogether.

"Surely, then, if the Germans are getting their defence so cheaply, we are morally entitled to ask them to shoulder part of our financial burden.

"But talk about moral claims seems laughable to Dr. Schaeffer . . ."

(R. H. Crossman, London Daily Mirror, 4-17-56)

A BRITISH VIEW

"Sir Anthony has scored a remarkable triumph in his handling of the Krushchev-Bulganin visit . . .

"Her Adenauer, who dismisses the talks as a failure and scoffs that 'you could read through the communiqué backwards without finding anything in it.'

"What Dr. Adenauer means of course is that you could read through the communiqué without finding anything for Germany in it.

"But why should there be anything for Germany?

"Let no one feel concern over Dr. Adenauer's disappointment. Rather, let there be fresh consideration of this problem which, more than anything else, still prevents us from reaching a full understanding with the Soviet.

"Why should it be regarded as so intractable? Why should Germany continue to be a source of friction?

"Why not accept the right and obvious answer and let Germany stay divided?"

(Sunday Express, 4-29-56)

End of an Illusion

by T. H. TETENS

Mr. T. H. Tetens has devoted more than thirty years to the study of German geopolitics and its world-wide ramifications. He has written extensively on this subject and is the author of "Germany Plots With The Kremlin" published in 1953. The article which we print below, is based on his own studies of current developments and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Society.

The world is stunned by the unprecedented rapid change on the stage of international affairs. Since the new Soviet team, Bulganin and Krushchev, took over the reigns from Malenkov and Molotov in February 1955, the frozen fronts of the cold war have steadily melted away. Topping Stalin's traditional peace offensive with the warm sunshine of "Operation Smile," the Soviet leaders have scored impressive gains with their strategy to end the cold war.

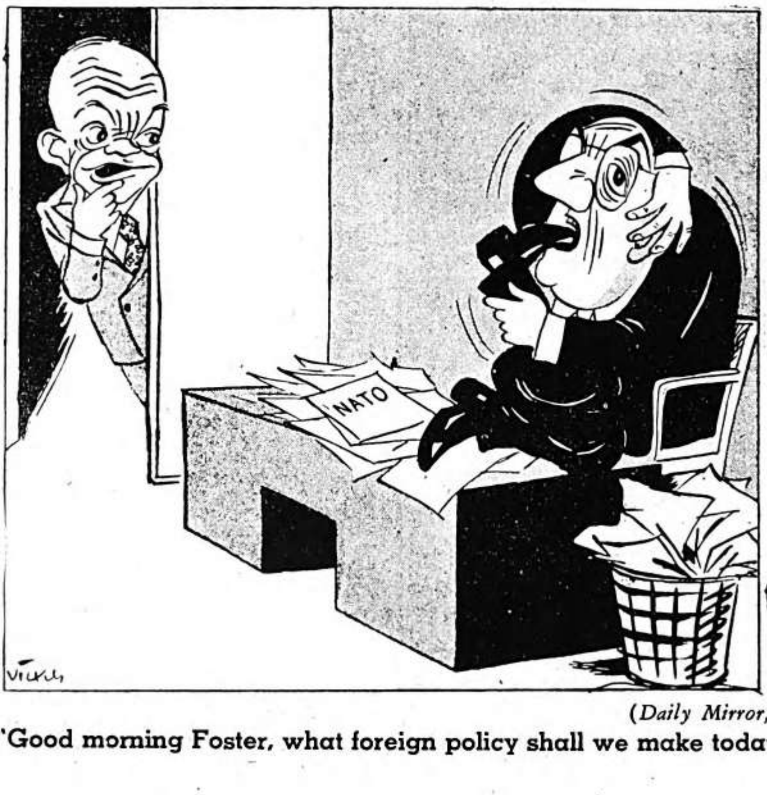
There is general agreement in the capitals of the world that during the last year the East-West tension has been considerably diminished. The eagerness in London and Paris to settle the differences with Moscow and to end the costly armament race, has led to hectic diplomatic counter moves by Bonn aiming at the continuation of the cold war. During his recent visit to Washington, Dr. Adenauer once again asserted that the Soviet Union should prove its peaceful intention by agreeing to the reunification of Germany. President Eisenhower, in a message to German Bundespresident Dr. Heuss, expressed his "very great hope that action could be taken which would promote the liberation of 17 million Germans that are now under Soviet Communist rule."

The Adenauer-Dulles policy statement produced a sour note in Britain. N. Y. Times correspondent Drew Middleton reported (6-16-56) that the British are *"aggravated over the results of the United States-West German policy discussions"* and that *"the references to the liberation of East Germany have an air of singular unreality."* The British, Middleton reported, *"would like to know who is going to do the liberating."* British leaders, says the report, were not moved by Dr. Adenauer's "insistence that Germany's 1937 frontiers must be restored." Then, the Times correspondent summed up Britain's bitter reaction: *"The conclusions reached by Britons is that the West Germans expect someone else to do the liberating just as they expect someone else to defend their frontiers . . . Many Britons in positions of influence think the United States, if not Chancellor Adenauer, should realize that 'cold war' theories on German unity must be discarded . . . The blessing given the West German dreams by Washington is what really worries the British. They see them as damaging diplomatic efforts to establish greater economic and later political influence in East Europe and as symbolyzing an outdated approach to the Soviet problem."*

There is an irreconcilable difference in the diplomatic evaluation of international affairs between London and Paris on the one hand and Bonn on the other. The British and French statesmen have openly acknowledged far-reaching changes in Soviet foreign policies, whereas Dr. Adenauer and Secretary Dulles have shouted from the housetops in recent weeks that no fundamental changes have taken place. Adenauer maintains that Moscow's diplomatic maneuvers are only a device to lull the West into complacency. It is understandable that Dr. Adenauer has taken such a position because his only hope lies in the continuation of the cold war until a situation arises where he himself can strike a bargain with Moscow at the expense of the other Western powers.

Dr. Adenauer's Difficulties

There is little doubt that the German Chancellor is on the spot. It is of paramount importance to Dr. Adenauer how the political situation will look in the election year of 1957. The public mood in West Germany has undergone a considerable change since his election triumph in 1953. Adenauer's coalition is crumbling and he faces a strong opposition even within his own party. Times correspondent M. S. Handler recently reported (6-10-56) that the Social Democratic leader Ollenhauer "has a good chance to become the next Chancellor."



(*Daily Mirror, London*)

"Good morning Foster, what foreign policy shall we make today."

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The hopes of the German people in the "miracles" of Dr. Adenauer have vanished. There is a widespread apathy toward rearmament and an irrepressible desire to make up with the Soviets. The Germans have become more and more disillusioned with the Chancellor's policies and the press has taken a critical stand against Adenauer's attitude towards the cold war. Times correspondent Handler reported (6-17-56) that during Adenauer's visit in Washington, German newspapers "took a line that Mr. Dulles and Dr. Adenauer were alone in refusing to accept a relaxation of tensions."

In order to regain prestige, Dr. Adenauer must either show a substantial progress in his policy of European integration or he must strive to reach an agreement with Moscow and the East German Government on the issue of reunification. The outlook for better relations with Moscow is not very good at the moment. The Frankfurter Allgemeine (5-25-56) headlined a dispatch from Bonn: "Icy Atmosphere between Bonn-Moscow."

Under these circumstances Dr. Adenauer is desperately engaged in trying to give a new impetus to the cold war and thus to undo the easing of tension which has resulted in the improvement of Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet relations. If the Chancellor succeeds in bringing the present efforts towards better East-West understanding to an abrupt halt, he will have scored a tremendous diplomatic feat. He would gain time for adroit diplomatic maneuvers in order to bring himself back into a promising bargaining position vis-a-vis Moscow. All he has to do is to intensify the cold war and create a situation in which Moscow would lose confidence in the usefulness of further diplomatic talks with London. Therefore, Adenauer's diplomatic strategy is directed to put—via Washington—pressure on London in order to prevent the British from "going it alone." It is for this reason that, according to the Christian Science Monitor (6-14-56) *"the stern and venerable German Chancellor was out-Dullesing Mr. Dulles in his suspicion of Soviet intentions."* The Chancellor has emphasized again and again that this was not the time for the West to negotiate with Moscow. The Chancellor's urgent demand was for a synchronized foreign policy of all NATO powers whereby he himself would become the leading policy shaper for the West. In that case he could show the Russians that "der Alte" is still the strong leader of the Western coalition to whom they must turn if they wish to settle the cold war.

What if London and Paris failed to go along or if Washington dragged its feet? In such a case, says Time correspondent M. S. Handler, Bonn has given warning to the West that reunification must have absolute priority:

"It is the implied notice to the Western powers not to downgrade reunification. It is an implied warning that if pushed to the wall the Germans have an out. They can negotiate with the Russians as well as any of the Western Powers" (N. Y. Times, 4-29-56).

The Chancellor's Nightmare

The basic concept of the Western cold war strategy was to create a world coalition of free nations, and isolate the Soviet bloc countries as much as possible economically and politically. The chief requirement in the diplomatic strategy was that none of the Western powers should carry substantial trade with the Eastern bloc nor negotiate directly with Moscow. This solid cold war coalition of the West has been broken apart. The British and French decided to negotiate with Moscow on their own.

The Anglo-Soviet talk in London and the Mollet-Pineau visit in Moscow had a rather irritating effect on West Germany. Contrary to American opinion, the German press admitted that the Bulganin-Krushchev visit in London was highly successful. It is the German belief that the Soviet talks with Eden brought essentially an agreement of "peaceful coexistence" with the exclusion of the German question or, as the German press bitterly complains, a Soviet-British friendship at the expense of Western Germany.

In order to understand why Adenauer is pressing so hard to go back into all-out cold war, it is worthwhile to take a second good look at the Anglo-Soviet talks in London.

American newspapers and commentators have almost unanimously interpreted the Bulganin-Krushchev visit as a futile diplomatic venture. The New York Times termed it "Failure of a mission." The New York Herald Tribune spoke of "A Fruitless Journey" and stated that no commitment on any important issue was to be found "among the diplomatic platitudes." Time Magazine called the London talk "one of the great flops in modern diplomacy," and William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor-in-chief of the Hearst newspapers, cabled from London that the Soviet leaders "fell flat on their faces." In a round-up on the London talks, the New York Times of April 29 quoted an official Washington spokesman as saying: "The British handled this beautifully. The Russsians made no hay."

The plain fact is that the British and Soviet leaders agreed to use common efforts in order to bring the 10 year old postwar crisis to an end. The British and Soviet statesmen charted a diplomatic road map which, as Eden expressed it, might be "the beginning of a beginning" to end the cold war. Looking at their formula for peace, we find that the negotiating parties in London established themselves as a close partnership in the undertaking to prevent war and to secure world wide stability.

The joint communiqué makes it quite clear that the negotiations were determined by one overriding desire: to secure peace and tranquillity even if it would move in sidetracking the German question and to develop an international climate in which different social and political systems can coexist in peaceful competition.

A large part of the joint communication deals with specific plans to improve Anglo-Soviet relations. The new spirit is reflected in the following statement: "The representatives of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom recognize that the strengthening of the Anglo-Soviet relations in political, trade, scientific, cultural and other fields would be in the interests of the peoples of both countries. They were also convinced that this would help to consolidate general peace and security."

The Soviet offer of extensive long-term trade relations in the amount of $560,000,000 annually "is double valuable now in view of Britain's competitive difficulties in exports" (N. Y. Times, 4-29-56). The British believe that much will develop from further negotiations and from Eden's planned visit to Moscow. There was great relief in London that the Soviet leaders are backing the British peace efforts in the Middle East. William Randolph Hearst reported from London that "supporters of Prime Minister Eden were jubilant that B & K had bailed Great Britain out of its perilously exposed position in the Middle East." Russia's consent to abide by the UN decision was interpreted as a great diplomatic success. At the end of the visit Eden was reported as very optimistic. He stated in his radio address that the talks had ended in "an encouraging measure of agreements, greater than I expected when they began." In his farewell message to the Soviet leaders, Eden said: "I warmly reciprocate your wish that our friendship and work together will develop and further the common cause of peace and good relations throughout the world."

There is little doubt that Eden intended to have his "very exact" words well understood, not only in Britain but also in Bonn and in Washington. When the joint communiqué was published, the Germans immediately sensed the danger. They saw clearly that the London agreement had created an absolutely novel situation in the struggle between East and West.

The Anglo-Soviet agreement must be regarded as an important turning point in the cold war. The nightmare which Dr. Adenauer has suffered for many years, has finally come true. For the first time the British have side-stepped the diplomatic stumbling bloc of the German question in their search for a new solution.

The Old Scheme: A United Europe

Chancellor Adenauer has tried to counter the Anglo-Soviet agreement. He and Mr. Dulles insist that NATO should be firmly anchored around a unified Europe. That means a new try with an idea that once has failed under the hard realities of deep-rooted European traditions.

A united Europe is an old pan-German dream which was widely propagated before World War I, revived during the Weimar Republic, preached as a gospel by the Nazis, and is now again advocated by the industrialists of Rhine and Ruhr. In two world wars, the Kaiser and Hitler tried to conquer Europe as "Lebensraum" for the master race, but failed. After the second world war, Dr. Adenauer, an old-time politician and spokesman for German industry, tried to realize Germany's shattered imperialistic dream by applying the art of diplomatic "finesse." With the help of Mr. Dulles, Adenauer hoped to force France into a shotgun wedding with Germany. It was Mr. Dulles who proposed as early as 1947 a West European union around a strong German economy as the best solution for Europe. The clear objective was to reverse the military decision of World War II. The U. S. has invested billions of dollars in the efforts to realize Mr. Dulles' pet idea.

The German master planners came near their goal with the EDC (European Defense Community) which was finally killed by a vote in the French Assembly in 1954. Since then Chancellor Adenauer and his advisors have blueprinted a new plan and have devised a strategy for the "long pull." The objective is the old scheme: a German dominated Europe as a "Third Power Bloc" exploiting its balance of power position between the East and the West.*

How far has Dr. Adenauer succeeded in his new drive for European unification? In recent years he has held successful negotiations with Greece and Turkey. In Austria there are some pan-German politicians willing to play the game along the line of the old Berlin-Bagdad project. The Chancellor has also negotiated with Italy and Spain, the two former Axis collaborators in the Arab and Africa scheme. The Africa project has the support of certain industrialists and Vichy collaborators in France. Above all, Dr. Adenauer has the all-out backing of Mr. Dulles for his pet project.

The evidence shows that Dr. Adenauer's long range objective is still the old dream of a German dominated Europe, tackled from a new angle. Instead of infusing military strength into a dying NATO, the Chancellor with the support of Mr. Dulles, has embarked on the establishment of a gigantic economic and political combine under the pretext of European "unity." This time it runs under the name of "Euratom" and "Euromarket," two projects for which Mr. Dulles is expected to raise billions of dollars under the heading of "Foreign Aid."

After long and secret planning, the new Europe plan was first publicly launched in the fall of 1955. On November 13, 1955, Dr. Adenauer conferred lengthily with Belgian Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak who is praised as a "dynamic leader" and "a strong advocate of European union." Together with Jean Monnet, the leader of a European "Action Committee," they have formed a group "to push united Europe" (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 10-14-55). New York Times correspondent Sulzberger reported (11-19-55) that the aim is "to reinvigorate the European movement," that Dr. Adenauer has "long saught to breathe life into the European dream" and that he carries the blessings of Secretary Dulles. The Times dispatch adds that in the new European union "Bonn would play a dominant role."

Here are a few recent statements from leading West German newspapers: The Frankfurter Allgemeine (5-15-56) quotes the Vice President of the European Union (a German propaganda outfit), Dr. W. Beutler, as saying that the common European trading area is an "urgent necessity" and "the last chance for the unification of Europe."

Demonstrating the diplomacy of "the carrot and the big stick," the Frankfurter Zeitung (5-26-56) declares, "the United States offers effective financial aid for the atomic energy development in Europe only if the various countries are willing to join in a common project."

The Hamburg weekly "Die Zeit" (6-7-56) says in an article "New Step Toward A United Europe" that the start will be made with a "complete economic integration" which consequently will bring about "political unification as well as the incorporation of territories outside of Europe." This last statement refers to Africa which Dr. Adenauer and his geopolitical advisors have frequently termed the "Hinterland of Europe." Dr. Paul Henri Spaak is described as the "motor" in a new great drive to influence public opinion and to win over leading organizations in Western Europe.

Facts on Integration

The often advanced argument for unification is that the small countries in Europe need larger markets and that Europe needs a strong integrated defense. Both arguments hold no water. The theory that small countries cannot exist as national entities has no basis in fact as was shown by a recent GATT survey published in the New York Times (6-11-56). It was disclosed in this report that the smaller countries, such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland had a more satisfactory standard of living and were more vigorous trade competitors than the larger European countries. These small countries specialize in a few export products, they import from the cheapest sources and they all have low tariffs. Switzerland and Sweden, for instance, rather want to keep "their smallness and their freedom of action." The same would hold true with Belgium and Luxembourg.

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*Editor's note: The whole background story of Dr. Adenauer's plan for a united Europe can be found in Mr. Tetens' well documented book, "Germany Plots With the Kremlin," published in March 1953.

The alleged necessity of an integrated European defense was from the beginning used as a pretext to push the scheme for a comeback of Germany. Dr. Adenauer's mouthpiece, the "Rheinische Merkur" (7-23-54) admitted bluntly that EDC was "only a means to serve the great end of unification." Evidence shows that even Dulles used the EDC only as a means to help in the establishment of a German-dominated Europe. An article in the well informed U. S. News & World Report (12-25-53) stated the following:

"There are signs that the U. S. will be willing to wait a while for a German Army if France and others will move faster to create a United States of Europe . . . The U. S. has informed French leaders privately that it considers a political reconciliation of France and Germany more important to the defense of Europe through the coming years of tension with Russia than the re-arming of German troops. French leaders have been told that the U. S. is prepared to accept a six-nation United States of Europe first and a European Army later . . . This means that the door now is wide open to the French and other European to postpone German rearmament with the consent of the U. S. if they can speed creation of the political community . . ."

The real purpose of the European scheme was revealed by Dr. Adenauer himself. On December 13, 1950, he stated in a speech: *"Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European army is to be able to recover our Eastern territories."* In another speech at Essen in July 1951, the Chancellor declared: *"The creation of a Europe which is politically and economically strong is the only path leading to the recovery of Germany's Eastern territories which remains one of the essential goals of our activities."*

The real reason behind the present unification scheme are exactly the same as those once advanced by Hitler, General Haushofer and the German industrialists. Dr. Adenauer even uses the same terms and concepts. In a recent speech before leading German industrialists in Frankfor, Dr. Adenauer declared: *"the more we can increase our economic strength, the stronger. Gentlemen, will we become in our foreign policy."* The Chancellor furthermore emphasized the urgency of coordination in NATO, and in this connection he used the well known Nazi term "Gleichschaltung" (Frankfurter Zeitung, 5-30-56).

In a recent article about the relationship of "foreign policy and economic power," Dr. W. Beutler explained in the Frankfurter Allgemeine (5-24-56): *"A strong economic potential constitutes a high armament potential and this, in turn, gives increased military strength and a great influence in world power politics."* Therefore: *"World power today requires in the first place economic potential."* To acquire this, Germany needs *"a common European market and a common nuclear-based industrialization as precondition for a united Europe."* Thus, the German aim is stated with brutal frankness: military power, "Machtpolitik," and "Gleichschaltung" of Europe. Did not the free world fight two wars to defeat this German objective?

Geopolitics of the Middle East

European unification is in German eyes only the necessary first step on the way to a larger goal. The continent of Europe is too small and could by far not satisfy German geopolitical aspirations. The German master planners have set their eyes on Africa and the whole oil-rich Middle East.

The German press is gloating over the difficulties which the French and British encounter in North Africa and the Middle East. There is ample evidence to show how German agents have played a key role during the postwar years in Egypt and other Arab countries and how they have contributed in preparing the present explosive situation.

Whole books could be filled with evidence testifying to Germany's long range plans to bring Africa, the "Hinterland," under direct control of the big industrial combines of Rhine and Ruhr. Behind these aspirations are Dr. Adenauer's closest friends, the leaders of industry and finance, such as Dr. Fritz Berg, Dr. Pohle, Herman Abs, and Dr. Pferdmenges—the men who dream of Europe, Africa and the Arab world as a potential market with more than 700 million people forming a Third Power Bloc in the world. It was Dr. Adenauer himself who pointed out in the Rheinische Merkur (5-20-50) that the Schuman Plan would be "the beginning of a long range economic venture in Africa" which would realize the German dream.

The German scheme for the industrial exploitation of Africa is as old as the Pan-German movement which started 70 years ago. Well remembered are the aspirations of the big Mannesmann concern in Morocco where it wanted to grab the rich iron ore deposits and which nearly led to war both in 1905 and 1911. It was the Kaiser who then provoked the Western world with saber-rattling speeches and suggested that Germany should act as the protector of all Arabs. These aspirations came even sharper into focus when the Germans showed great interest in the oil regions around the Persian Gulf as soon as they were discovered. German imperialism was identified closely with the so-called Berlin-Bagdad project. Since then the Germans have consistently pursued the same line: the penetration of the Middle East.

Global political earthquakes do not erupt suddenly. They are prepared in long years of subtle plotting and subversion. This is especially true with the present condition in the Arab world. The whole Near and Middle East is loaded with political dynamite ready to blow into the faces of the French, the British and the Americans. Only the Germans are regarded as the true friends of the Arabs. The reason for this strange relationship can be found in the history of more than 60 years of intimate German-Arab plotting against the Western powers. Right after World War II some of the Arab countries, especially Egypt, became a haven for Nazis who had escaped the dragnet of the victorious Allies. Most of them have had important positions in the Nazi hierarchy and they were welcomed in Egypt as elsewhere as advisors and experts. These German conspirators employed every trick of infiltration and propaganda, trade rivalries and private contacts in order to stir hatred against the Anglo-Americans who were "responsible for the creation of the State of Israel."

There is a long list of names of former Nazis who, sometimes in close contact with the Bonn Foreign Office, have played important roles in the anti-Western conspiracy. In the early postwar years, Hitler's daring SS Colonel Skorzeny laid the groundwork for new contacts between Germany and the Arabs. He and other Nazis collaborated with the notorious Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in spreading the propaganda against "the terror regimes of the French and British imperialists." Hundreds of German officers and diplomats who were hired in Egypt as key advisors and experts, have worked systematically to create difficulties for Britain in Suez and the Middle East. The news magazine "Der Spiegel" (10-26-55) told the story of Dr. Wilhelm Voss (under Hitler President of the Skoda works) who was the main figure in the armanent's deal between Czechoslovakia and Egypt. Dr. Voss is described as "head of the Central Planning Board in the War Ministry in Egypt" under whose command "were employed more than 50 German military and armament experts."

Among the geopolitical experts pushing the Africa and Middle East project, are such former Nazis as Dr. Klaus Mehnert, Anton Zischka and Werner Otto von Hentig, the last one an old hand in Arab conspiracies who, two years ago, changed his diplomatic post from the Bonn Foreign Office to become top advisor of King Saud of Saudi Arabia.

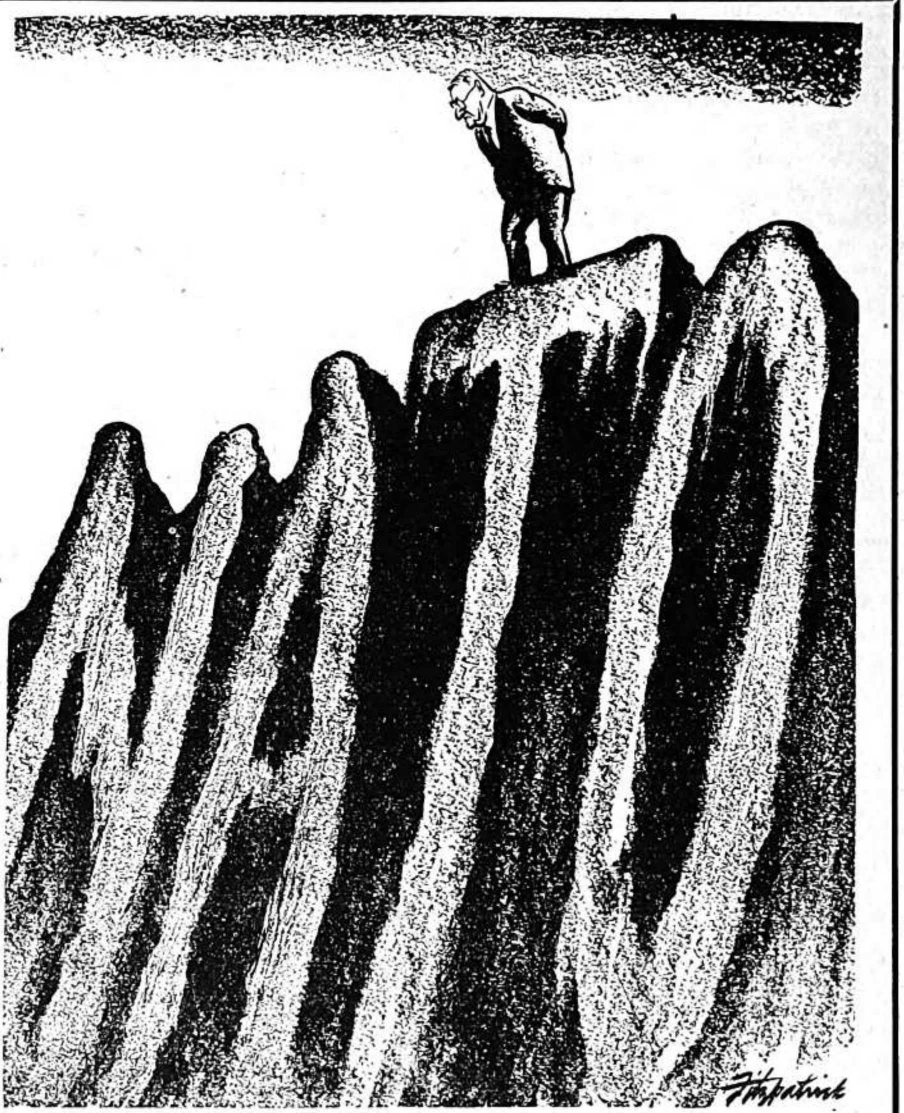
Dr. Klaus Mehnert negotiated in 1952 with French industrialists for a combined French-German Africa project. His idea was that "the Germans assist with experts, the French furnish the territory and the Americans do the financing" (Der Spiegel, 10-8-52).

In the Middle East the Germans have won a decisive victory, even if the Western world sees only the Russians in the headlines. The Germans do not appear to be disturbed by the present Soviet drive in Egypt which they helped to precipitate. It all works toward the deterioration of the Western position in Egypt and secures that country as an operational base for the Germans. The Germans will continue to undermine the Western position in the Arab world by a combination of skillfully directed intrigues, by Communist armament shipments and by a widespread propaganda on the Israeli issue. The Germans believe that the day is not far off when the French and the British will be pushed out for good. Countless articles in the West German press testify to the interests in the regions of Africa and the Middle East. Behind this interest is solid German Realpolitik. Once the British are out, the American oil companies will also be forced to give up. This will be the day when the Germans move in as "the friends of the Arabs." With 60 percent of the world oil reserves in their control, with the Arabs as allies and with Africa as Hinterland, the German dream of a Third Power Bloc will come true.

Distrust in France and Britain

Dr. Adenauer's thesis that increased economic power gives added strength in world politics has been made painfully clear to France and Britain. Western Europe is alarmed by Germany's economic offensive. Take, for instance, the case of Germany's armament combine, the Krupp works: Once convicted as a war criminal, Mr. Krupp is back in business and has launched tremendous projects in India, Indonesia, Egypt, in South Africa, Brazil, Morocco and many other places. Recently Krupp proposed a gigantic Asia-Africa plan for industrial development in which the U. S. will be allowed to participate with huge loans at low interest rates (N. Y. Times, 3-3-56). Add to this the tremendous expansion by other German firms and we have the picture of a world wide trade offensive similar to that of the Soviets.

The fact that Dr. Adenauer and West Germany are treated as the darling in Washington has stirred bitter feelings among our principal allies. Leading French papers have repeatedly spoken of a "Bonn-Washington axis." They see with apprehension how German blackmail tactics have constantly paid off in Washington. When the second drive for European union was launched in November 1955, Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, president of the Pan-Europe movement, wrote an impudent letter to the N. Y. Herald Tribune (11-13-55) which demanded either "a Franco-German union" and Western support for the "revision of the Oder-Neisse border" or *"Germany's temptation to decide against the West will be strong."* With amazing bluntness, Coudenhove-



YOU'RE ON ANOTHER BRINK, MR. DULLES

Kalergi hinted that a Germany disappointed by the West *"is bound to pay the Russian price for revision: to break with NATO, the Western European Union and the West altogether, thus preparing for a future axis, Berlin-Moscow-Peking."*

Ten years of cold war and the constant irritation by German threats have had a deep effect on the British and French peoples. They wonder what they have to expect from a reunified Germany of 70 millions. Insecurity in Europe will grow rapidly as soon as Germany is free to follow its time proven pattern of "geo-political dynamics." France will be forced into a collaborating role similar to the Petain-Vichy regime, and England will feel the full threat of a revived Greater German Reich. It is this feeling of uneasiness that compels the French and the British to negotiate with Moscow by side-stepping the German question. Why could Germany not remain divided if the smaller European states can exist comfortably? Two world wars were fought to make the world safe against future German aggression. Why, then, create conditions which inevitably must lead to another try for German world supremacy?

When Mr. Dulles insisted that Germany must be the number one issue at Geneva, N. Y. Times correspondent Drew Middleton reported (7-10-55) that *"France believes that some deal over Germany can be made with the Soviet Union . . . Neither the Government nor the people would weep if Germany were to remain divided."*

From the second Geneva Conference the N. Y. Times reported that diplomatic observers wonder why Germany should be reunified at all: *"German unity of any kind does not wholly appeal either to the French, who still fear a strong Germany, or to the British, who already feel the effects of German competition in world markets and would feel it far more if Germany were united"* (N. Y. Times, 11-3-55).

De Gaulle and the neutralist Le Monde have pointed out for years that the security of an independent France can only be obtained through a firm Franco-Soviet defense pact. The fear that the French and the British might seek a settlement at German expense has disturbed the Adenauer press. The weekly "Die Zeit" (3-12-56) declares that *"wide circles in the West, especially in France, have long come to the conclusion that the partition of Germany is not a threat to the peace of the world but to the contrary, a stabilizing factor to guarantee the status quo."*

The specter of German reunification also spreads fear in Eastern Europe and Austria. In the April 1956 issue of "Die Oesterreichische Nation" Dr. Karl Winter discusses the impact a reunited Reich will have on Austria's neutrality: *"At the moment the existence of two Germanies paralyzes the tendencies of German expansion. A reunited Reich, however, stretching from the Rhine to the Vistula River, would become even without an imperialistic program, a menace of greatest magnitude to Austrian independence and also a threat to the other nations in the Danube basin . . . Therefore, the division of Germany, not its reunification, must be regarded as a real blessing to Central Europe. Austria has no interest at all to see the two Germanies united. If, however, reunification becomes a reality, then Austria, in order to protect her neutrality, would be compelled to take precautionary measures in cooperation with her neighbors along the Danube."*

In Britain the feeling also prevails that a reunited Reich might upset European stability. At the end of the Anglo-Soviet talks in London, the conservative Daily Express wrote in an editorial: *"The Russians, it seems, maintain their attitude that Germany should remain divided. They would prefer her to stay disarmed as well . . . The Russians may believe that, in time, British opinion will come to accept the position and even rejoice in it. The Daily Express rejoices in it now. For us this is no disappointment."*

Here in the United States a few voices, such as Walter Lippman and James Warburg, have warned for a long time that Washington's cold war policy will fail. The Europeans will not buy unification in a package of camouflaged "Gleichschaltung." If, as the British say, the German problem cannot be solved, neither by diplomatic negotiations nor by war, then the only common sense solution is the recogntion of the status quo. Such a solution would be in the best interest of all European peoples.

The . . . most interesting aspect of the decision (to rearm) announced recently, is semi-political. It concerns the spirit of the new East German army, which is to be a blend of Prussian tradition and Communist ideology . . .

It would be very rash to laugh at this attempted blend of Prusso-German patriotic traditions (which also includes a tradition of Russian alliance) with those of twentieth century German Communism. The mixture has worked before; it is potent, and it is explosive. It appeals to something real in the East Germans who, after all, are the descendants of the old Prussians and Saxons and had a proud history at a time when the present West Germany was a mere conglomeration of petty principalities. It may appeal also, one day, to something in the mentality of West Germany's soldiers whose professional pride is inevitably bound up with the Prusso-German military tradition . . .

(Sebastian Haffner, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 2-15-56)

". . . The Germans, as in the 1920's, are refusing to pay the penalty of waging aggressive war—a refusal differing only in terms from that of the years following Versailles. Then it was reparation. Today it is payment for forces protecting Germany against attack from the East.

". . . And today Germany's position is stronger than in the 1920's. Then, with a barrier of new states between her and Russia, the threat posed to the West was economic. Today, with that cordon sanitaire in Russian hands, the threat is military. West Germany could turn toward the Communists and away from Nato in spite of agreements to the contrary. After all, she did violate her 1939 treaty with Russia. And turnabout might yet again be deemed fair play in the language of a people capable of falling under the way of Nazi-ism."

(Editorial, Halifax Herald, 2-24-56)

Renazification of the Federal Republic

A Broadcast

by **HELMUT HAMMERSCHMIDT**

Herr Hammerschmidt is a well known radio commentator in Western Germany. His commentaries on present day Germany have received much attention in the international press. The article printed below is part of a detailed broadcast which he made on the current signs pointing to the manifestation of neo-Nazism.

This analysis touches upon one of the most disagreeable phenomena of our times in the observation of which, I have become somewhat of a specialist. It is neither through whim nor resentment that I continue to call attention to these occurrences which so often in the past have proven so extremely important to our very lives. Rather, it is my feeling that as a chronicler it is my duty to observe closely a development only desired by a minority of our people and, though rejected by the majority, is hardly noticed by them . . .

I have compiled a small list for you. It is a relatively small list, both in scope and in content. I would have to keep on reading to you until tomorrow afternoon to just itemize an index to the 20 most important occurrences of the last three months, such as the hair-raising citations from verdicts in a number of trials, or quoting from approximately 40 periodicals or approximately 80 recently published books. I would have to mention quotes from speeches made at about 200 demonstrations and meetings and excerpts from the records of only the worst fiends in our midst since their release from Soviet imprisonment. Listen instead to an abbreviated compilation having the advantage of illustrating actual happenings—not quotations, but plain facts; then you can judge whom to reproach: those gathering such facts or those creating them.

Let's begin with some harmless events:

The Plain Facts

At Gadeland near Neumünster, the Minister for the Interior of the State of Schleswig-Holstein gave protection to a Bund meeting of the Victims of Denazification against counter demonstrations.

In Luechow, a memorial commemoration took place for the late Labor Service leader Konstantin Hierl.

In Wuerzburg, the Horst Wessel Lied was sung at a meeting of the Airborne Sharpshooters.

In Goslar, medals with the Swastika were worn at the Steel Helmet meeting.

In Munich, Hiag, the organization of former SS men, sent a threatening letter, to the Munich director of the police.

The presiding judge at the Huppenkothen trial in Augsburg also received threatening letters.

In Mannheim, the waiter of the 08/15 restaurant ordered colored students to leave. He said: "Our restaurant is no kraal (hut) for Hottentots, it is a restaurant for former German front soldiers."

In Berlin, the bank accounts of former Nazi bigshots, containing millions, were suddenly discovered, amongst them those of Goering, Kaltenbrunner, Ley, Goebbels, Frick and Ribbentrop.

Professor Carl Clauberg has returned. Proceedings against this man who had participated in sterilization experiments in concentration camps, were only instituted upon protest by the Jewish Council.

The Minister for Social Affairs in Schleswig-Holstein appointed a former Gau deputy of the Nazi Chamber for Literature as the administrative expert on art and culture.

A former co-worker of Himmler in the Reichs Commissariat for the Strengthening of German Ideals was appointed director of the Labor Office in Velbert.

The University of Munich appointed a close co-worker of Ribbentrop to the chair for International Law. For many years he was chief editor of the Nazi monthly Journal for Foreign Politics.

The former Minister President and deputy Gau leader Joel entered the Landtag. Amongst others active in the leadership of the Lower Saxonian Free Democratic Party, there are: a county leader, a chief labor leader, a Hitler Youth area leader, a Goebbels adjutant, an old Nazi of 1924, the Nazi Lord Mayor of Brandenburg and a Nazi group leader.

Sepp Dietrich, convicted to jail for life, was released from Landsberg. A Bonn press agency reports him travelling about the countryside in a luxurious American car.

Sixty-eight year old Dr. Ernst Lautz, former chief prosecutor for the Reich at the People's Court of Freisler, lives in Luebeck and receives a monthly pension of 1342 marks.

Nazi Lord Mayor Budde of Bielefeld was awarded supplementary payment of 21,000 marks.

Nazi Mayor Dr. Pagenkopf, Dortmund, former SA Head Storm Troop Leader received supplementary payment of 42,000 marks.

Walter Schroeder, Nazi Director of Police in Luebeck, later on SS General in Riga, receives a pension of DM 1,000.

Nazi Mayor of Osnabrueck Dr. Hans Wildgassen gets a monthly pension of DM 950.

Karl Buck, former commandant of a concentration camp, was released from Werl. For the time being he has received a repatriate identification pass from the president of the administrative district of Stuttgart.

Former Field Marshal General Schoerner is awarded repatriate indemnification by the Bavarian administrative court even before any criminal or disciplinary proceedings have been begun against him.

In Ansbach, SS General Max Simon, who shortly before the collapse confirmed numerous death sentences, was acquitted. His verdicts included death sentences for members of his own court martials who had refused to participate in this madness.

The disciplinary chamber of the State Administrative Court in Oldenburg confirmed that a former Nazi county leader, accused of having sent a number of people to concentration camps, qualifies as a teacher.

The Restitution Office in Luebeck told

a woman who had been interned in concentration camp Stutthof: "If you had not helped the foreigners by supplying them with food, you would not have been sent to concentration camp."

A Munich woman teacher practiced the letter "J" with the children of her class. As an illustration she used the sentence: "The Jews killed Jesus."

In a Bonn student paper, law student Klaus Petri, member of the "Deutsche Burschenschaft"—German students' fraternity—justified the concentration camps.

In 1955 the Federal Defense Ministry officially assigns General Foertsch, retired, author of the "Manual on Duties for Officers Loyal to Hitler," to NATO as collaborator on a multi-lingual book on NATO.

Hanns Johst, former President of the Reich Chamber for Literature, published his new novel "Blessed Fleeting Past" at Pandion Publishers, Frankfurt.

Plesse Publishers have released the Rosenberg Memoirs under the title of "Ideals and Idols of the Nazi Revolution."

Helmut Suendermann, former deputy Chief of Press for the Reich and managing editor, published a new political book.

The entire distribution of this publishing house which amongst other books released the scandalous volume of the Nazi Lord Mayor of Berlin and Editor-in-Chief of the Angriff, Julius Lippert, was taken over by the MUKO (Dr. Karl Hagendubel).

A periodical offers copies of Adolf Hitler's Memorial Essays for "promotional purposes" at 25 pfennings per copy.

Hans Steguweit again appears as a speaker at poetry recitals of the "Deutsche Kulturwerk" ("Action for German Culture").

Plesse Publishers in Goettingen, known through Herr Schlueter, demand legal action against those publishers who removed their exhibitor's stand in Frankfurt where the Memoirs of Messrs. Klagges and Diels were laid out.

SS Generals Gille and Steiner have filed suits against the legality of the implementations of the screening committee of the Blank Office, according to which former members of the Waffen SS Officers Corps are not to be reinstated.

On the Wenzelberg, in Langenfeld near Leverkusen, a monument to 72 prisoners of the prison in Luettringhausen murdered by the Gestapo, was desecrated. Basins were broken and bronze inscriptions were torn down.

Former Reichs stage designer Benno von Arent, 1932 SS Stormtroop leader, Nazi member since 1927, anti-semite and founder of the "Fellowship of German Artists" and member of "Fellow Combatants for German Culture" was commissioned by Bonn to execute a poster for the commemoration of of war prisoners.

As pointed out, thus far the list contains only a very small number of those incidents which have occurred in full view of the public. No mention whatsoever is made of behind the scene activities. . . .

Unmasking the Bonn Foreign Office

Now let me tell you how the Bavarian Radio got to investigate the personnel policies of the Bonn Foreign Office and to regard them as scandalous. Three years ago, a trial began before a German court against a former diplomat. The man's name was Rademacher; he was the Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Foreign Office. Already during the first week, the proceedings which, incidentally, dragged along lamely and almost tediously, produced a half-forgotten sensation: documentary proof of joint guilt of the old Foreign Office. For instance, it was proven on the basis of unequivocal documents and admitted by reluctant witnesses that the office in the Wilhelmstrasse was always questioned by the particular SS authority concerned when any sort of action was contemplated against foreign Jews. Do not think now of the small number of just 10,000 foreign Jews in Germany but of the Jews in all countries which were occuped by Germany . . .

I mentioned to you that the first week of the court proceedings against this former Secretary for Jewish Affairs from the Wilhelmstrasse were boring. But that changed all of a sudden. Of course, the witnesses were predominantly diplomats, some who had not yet been reinstated and others who were active again.

There was no significant difference on the part of either class in their capacity for remembering, but the defendant was already implicated by documentary evidence to such a degree that in all likelihood he could no longer be saved. The diplomats on the witness stand began to turn away from him. Some of them stated that the Section for Jewish Affairs was a sore on the otherwise clean body of the Foreign Office—as if it had not been proven that the other sections had participated too in numerous misdeeds. Then an incident happened. The defendant was just being questioned on the matter of the liquidation of a group of Hungarian Jews; a document showed the day and hour of execution. The Foreign Office had given the usual answer to the customary request that there was no objection to "Special Treatment." The accused Secretary for Jewish Affairs was confronted with this. He claimed not to have known the meaning of "Special Treatment." Then, suddenly, the prosecutor pulled a document from his mountain of papers and confronted the accused with a receipt for currency exchange in which Rademacher personally had confirmed that he had travelled to Hungary at the time in question. As reason (for the trip) he had made the notation: "Liquidation of Jews." . . .

After that, it became known that an observer of the Bonn Foreign Office had attempted to induce the prosecutor and the court to carry on the trial proceedings with circumspection.

We thereupon compiled the text of our broadcast. Condensing it to a few sentences, we at that time listed some two dozen people we identified by their full names and who were deeply implicated as we proved by documents. One had written the infamous Ribbentrop White Books; another, in his capacity as Legal Secretary, had the job to tie the anti-Comintern nations to the Jewish policy of the Reich. This man, by the way, upon his reinstatement was made a Secretary for Rehabilitation (of victims of the Nazi Regime) in the Foreign Office! There was one man who had to take care of correspondence with the SS leadership on matters of deportation and the shooting of hostages, another one personally prepared a gruesome proposal for deportations . . .

What, then, does this mean for practical purposes? The Foreign Office may serve as an example, a sad example, but we have a Ministry of the Interior, a Ministry of Communications, a Ministry for Displaced Persons in which conditions are not any brighter . . .

Other Cases

It seems evident that today the so-called stigma of the past has lost its meaning. It is rather the attitude and actions which must be judged. Exceptions, perhaps, are the key positions and those cases in which by the mass groupings of former party functionaries, it can be seen that the necessary precautionary measures were knowingly disregarded. An example is the Oberlaender Ministry. A number of people took exception that the Bavarian Radio reproached these former SA, SS and party functionaries by mentioning their past now, ten years later. But that was not the case. Not a word was said against these people although amongst them were a Hitler Youth Group Leader, an SA Stormtroop Leader connected with the top SA administrative office, a Gau (district) office chief, speakers for the Reichs Propaganda Ministry and owners of the Golden Party Insignia. As far as I know they are still holding their jobs. Actually, the attack was directed against Herr Oberlaender himself. It is he who has to make good for a lot of matters, and he should not have been permitted to summon an entire phalanx of former activists into his ministry.

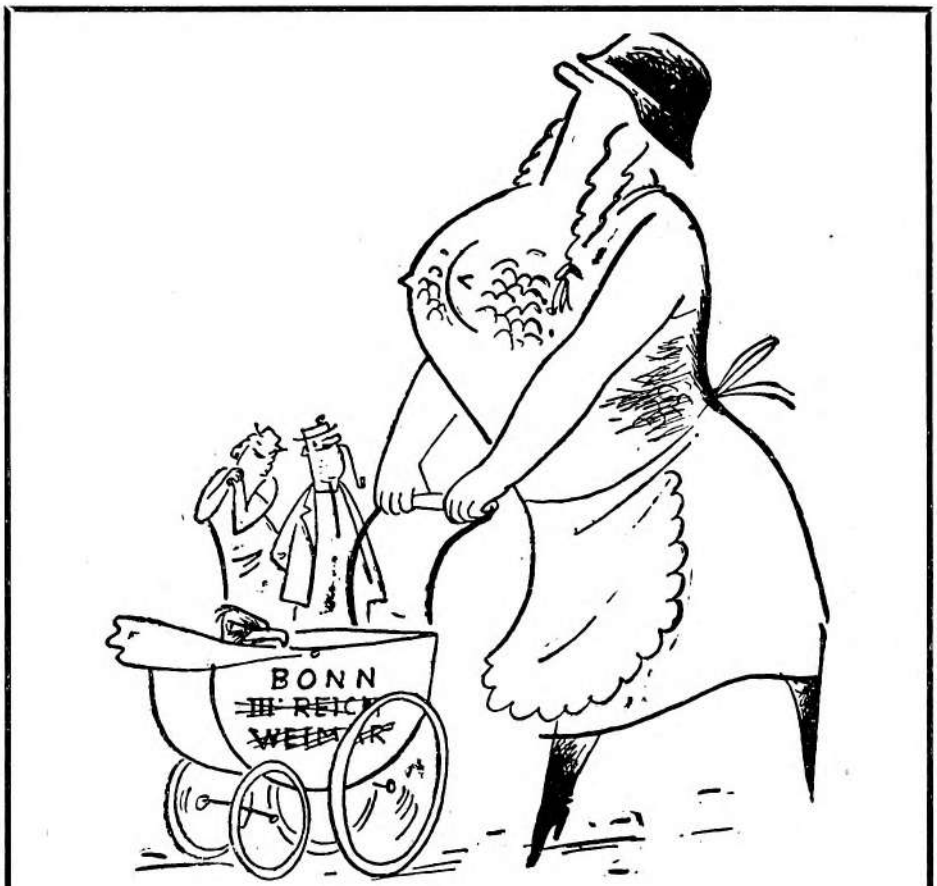
In this connection we have asked again and again: Who will claim that it is impossible in 1955, 1956, to locate a few thousand intelligent, politically clean men and women of steadfast character to fill our top posts? A few thousand from a people of 50 millions? Only a small fraction of our population was organized in the Nazi Party and even of these people the vast majority was not involved in any offense. Why, then, were predominantly such stigmatized co-workers picked for the reestablishment of a new government based on law and order? . . .

That "Certain Attitude"

For reasons of expediency, we have accustomed ourselves to attach certain characteristics to the concept of Nazism. In the first place, that is false and secondly, it is dangerous. Even the politically inexperienced will arrive at the conclusion that something must be wrong here because not even the former Nazis want anything akin to National Socialism again. The inexperienced person thinks of National Socialism only in the abstract. He recognizes its expression only in the already mentioned methods of terror. What is really meant is a certain attitude which existed long before Nazism. In fact, Nazism grew out of it. And it is this ttitude which we encounter once more, just as we did in the past. We all know : the German allegedly is more efficient than the Frenchman, more honest than the Englishman, more cultivated than the American, more civilized than the Russian and the peoples of the East, more broadminded than the Swiss, Dutchman, Dane and the nationals of all the other small countries. He is more hardy than everybody else put together: nevertheless, he senses inwardly that he is not more humane than they. But that is of no concern to us, we leave day-dreaming humanitarianism to the others.

We have to have uniformity. Power and square kilometers are our idols which even in times of dazzling economic upswing can only temporarily be displaced with great difficulty. With us, my listeners, it is always possible to suppress humane aspirations by appealing to the so-called spirit of the front, the spirit of the state of emergency. We are always completely determined, even if we have no idea as to what we are determined upon. And order prevails. Are you acquainted with the five-year results of the Institute for Opinion Research? In this connection I would like to mention just two or three cases of the more than one hundred which have been proven to be accurate by numerous counter checks. What does the German say today about the Weimar Republic and the reasons for the Nazi successes of 1933? He says—a staggering majority says: Weimar was the government of disorder, of political party haggling, of corruption. Hitler brought order. I believe 90 percent of those questioned answered thus—amongst them subsequent opponents of Nazism. This argument is the very top one. For the sake of German yearning for order we became enmeshed in the greatest disorder in our history. And do not forget, these are answers which were given now. Almost no one argued against Weimar and for Hitler on social grounds, such as unemployment; and please note, not even one percent mentioned freedom! . . .

Here we encounter a danger which I have not mentioned at all so far, and which I want to point out very briefly only because its exact description probably would require a doctors thesis. It is the danger that our youth, who soon will replace two generations of our people, will be infected with the spirit of the past and also turn out to be narrow-minded.


BONN
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LA BONN D'ENFANTS

Infected by the so-called national schooling in the armed forces which we now want to create. Here, too, there emerges already a similar pattern to the one we observed in the establishment of our civil administration. The development began on a blank leaf, that is from scratch, without a clean separation of the offenders or those led astray by them, even without any abstract assertions of guilt.

My listeners, again and again I encounter unbelievably childish surprise even on the part of people who have proven their will to resolve the implications of the past, when I quote from documents, from German documents, which show the participation of high ranking members of the Wehrmacht in unequivocal criminal acts. Participation in deportations, mass liquidations, pillage, murder, all criminal acts which were even forbidden under Nazi military law. It certainly is not asking too much if it is demanded that such things should not be repeated, when it is asked that those guilty must be punished and that under no circumstances use should be made again of their services if the theory of the guilt of just a few should make any sense at all.

What of the Future?

If our youth, perhaps soon, will form the honor guards at the traditional commemorations of several hundred veterans organizations where the iron cross with the Swastika is worn, where men of the type of a Kesselring act to justify themselves, where the Viking call of the Waffen SS is circulated, where collections are conducted for the Breda prisoners because all of a sudden they are condemned prisoners of war, not murderers—tell me, what youth would remain unaffected and still be able to decide whether or not Adolf Hitler really did not go to the devil for the sake of Europe? The Communistic threat—also a potent problem all by itself—and the technical military training hold enough dangers. Thus too, anti-Communism, because it has long ago taken on collective traits and because its experts of yesterday felt sure of an early recognition of respectable legitimization for themselves. Military training is dangerous on account of its adherence to tradition, on account of the insane concept that knee-bends and right-about-facing can be turned into a philosophy of life . . .

Those, however, who want to ban this danger hold three important pawns in their hands: One is the fact that we, in contrast to let's say the Soviet zone, can openly discuss all matters tending to drive the nation on the road to injustice. The second pawn is the fact that the parliament is really striving to avoid old mistakes. This it does, in the third place, because it knows that a vast, imposing majority of our people in no way want a repetition, and that there are a sufficient number of people and institutions who enlighten this majority upon dangerous currents. This, it seems to me to be a duty for all of us so that in the future we will be able to call ourselves, without pride but also without shame, upright Germans in the full knowledge of our accomplishments and shortcomings.

"THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK" REGARDED AS POLITICALLY "DUBIOUS"

There will be nothing from the United States this summer in the Paris International Theatre Festival.

The American National Theatre and Academy and the State Department had originally proposed to send "The Diary of Anne Frank," generally regarded as the finest new American play of the season.

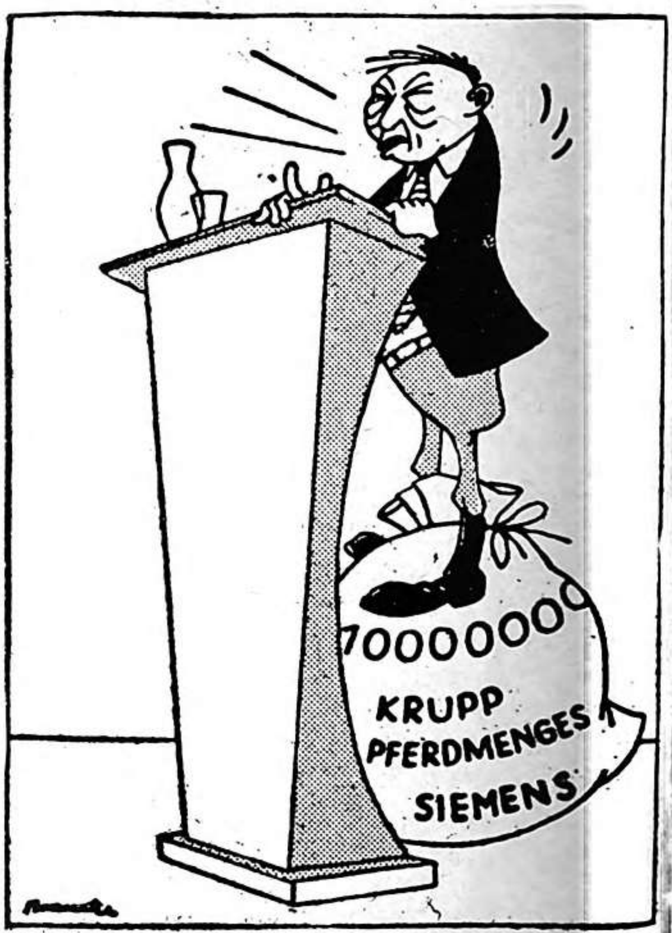
But this year some people in France have been unhappy about the prospect of being host to an American play based on the Nazi persecution of Jews. They have been afraid that "The Diary of Anne Frank" would tear open old wounds at a time when the French and Germans are trying to establish amicable relations. Since the State Department is also in the business of trying to maintain pleasant international relationships, it decided not to insist on sending "The Diary of Anne Frank" abroad. . . .

"The Diary of Anne Frank" has won the hearts of thousands of theatregoers because it is not propaganda but an evocation of spirit. . . .

Some theatregoers may wonder why the world should be drugged into forgetting the frightful slaughter of the innocents by the Nazis under Hitler. It was not something that can be filed away in a pigeonhole as an unpleasant accident. . . .

Not to be represented in an international theatre festival obviously affects the prestige of the American theatre. . . .

(Brooks Atkinson, N. Y. Times, 6-17-56)



(*Neues Deutschland*, Berlin)

Adenauer: "I speak in the name of millions. . ."

German Infiltration in Lorraine and Belgium

The Threatening Rise of Friedrich Flick

by

KURT KERSTEN

Eleven years have passed since Allied forces, with great sacrifices, drove Hitler's armies from the western countries and with them the profiteers of Hitler's conquests. At that time, the Friedrich Flick combine had to get out of the Rombachwerke in Lorraine which it had exploited on the basis of agreements arranged with Hitler. This was a serious breach of the Hague Convention and the man most responsible in the matter, Friedrich Flick, was sentenced at Nuremberg to a prison term which he served in part in Landsberg jail.

Since then, Flick quickly reemerged as an important and influential man in the Federal Republic. He took up his activities again at the age of 67 and today, at 73, he is one of the powerful men of Germany . . . Now he is back in Lorraine; this is so amazing and disconcerting that it is of utmost importance to talk about it. For it is a more depressing symptom than those neo-Nazi developments about which people get excited, while the return of a powerful German industrialist with all its sinister consequences is overlooked—perhaps purposely overlooked in order not to lose faith in the naive belief of a democratic Western Germany.

Today, eleven years after the war, the Flick interests are ensconced again in Lorraine after having acquired 25 percent of the shares of the "Neuves Maisons" mill which maintains its own ore mine as well. The old German dream, of the fusion of Ruhr coal and Lorraine ore, comes true, the dream for which three bloody wars were fought between 1870 and 1945. The Frankfurter Rundschau, in a detailed article with a wealth of material on the Flick operations, rightly states that for the first time since 1914 a German industrialist has secured ownership of property in Lorraine. Nothing illuminates so glaringly France's current difficult situation, the ascendence of the Federal Republic and the shift of power in Western Europe, as the industrial and financial acquisitions which Flick managed to attain in so short a time.

He has also gained a solid foothold in Belgium, something never yet achieved by a German industrialist. For Flick acquired 20 percent of the shares of the Hainaut-Sambre combine. Flick's connections with French enterprises go even further, for he owns the German license for the French transport plane "Norstatlat," which is to be built for the new German air force, and Flick has already fused his "Siebel ATG, GmbH" with Krupp and Blohm companies into a new firm which will build the plane.

Getting out of the Landsberg jail, Flick lost no time in going to work to rebuild his companies . . . The man who once abetted Hitler's election campaigns with sizable amounts of money and, as stated in the verdict of Nuremberg, "contributed to Hitler's program of plundering," availed himself of the opportunities afforded by the Montan-Union plans at that time; and sold and rebought. Thus, he let "Sidéchar," a combine of ten French mining companies have the Harpener Bergbau A. G. for 180 million marks after negotiations with the German Federal railroads broke off due to price differences. However, half of the sale price Flick credited to himself in France, was not invested in the Federal Republic. Mannesmann acquired the "Essener Steinkohle" from Flick and thus Flick acquired 170 million marks in cash within a short period of time. Flick immediately complied with the Allied request for liquidation of the trusts by turning over to his two sons three additional enterprises in equal parts! And thus he put over the big deal in Belgium and Lorraine with his ready cash about which the waves of excitement are so high in France and Belgium.

As reported by the Frankfurter Rundschau, the news of Flick acquiring sizable shares of French and Belgian companies, has impressed French and Belgian labor like a bombshell. These are many of the very same workers who had once been deported to Germany as forced laborers and were compelled at that time to work for Flick. A delegation of workers protested inquiring if the "war criminal Flick" actually was co-owner of Belgian and French enterprises and a protest strike was prevented only with great difficulty.

Thus, Flick is on top again. This is the same Flick who, in 1931, succeeded in selling to the Reich his Gelsenberg shares at 90 percent of their value after they had gone down to 22 percent. Our older people will well remember this outrageous "Gelsenberg scandal." He is the same Flick who later gave money to Hitler and increased the production of his steel works by 72 percent under the Hitler regime. He was one of the great profiteers of the Hitler regime and was one of the grave diggers of German democracy. Today he is again in the front ranks of the game, this time as a profiteer of the much talked about German "economic miracle," the Montan-Union and also the "United Europe" idea which Flick would like very much to pin to his banner (Courtesy, Aufbau).

"It is no longer a secret to any foreign office that Adenauer set out to conquer the Soviet leaders, but was instead conquered by them. He had privately assured the Western Allies he would not establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union unless it gave ground on reunification. He publicly assured his own people on this point. But the question of reunification was never even raised at the Moscow conference. Adenauer settled for the return of 9,626 prisoners of war . . ."

(M. S. Handler, N. Y. Times Magazine, 6-10-56)

Items of Interest

THE THAW

"A West-German deputy, Hermann Schwann, announced that he wants to undertake an unaccompanied trip to Red China to make an attempt at 'breaking the ice' there.

"Schwann is 57 years old, a farmer, and is a member of the opposition group of the Free Democrats. From 1934 until 1945 he belonged to the Nazi party. Schwann said it was his own decision to undertake the trip and that he would bear the travel expenses himself. He will leave Bonn July 24th and will remain in Red China for eight weeks, visiting Moscow upon his return trip."

(California Staatszeitung, 6-18-56)

* * *

DULLES' RE-OCCUPATION PLAN!

"As regards NATO, Secretary of State Dulles recently inquired in Paris, how France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg would react to a plan of stationing garrisons of the German Army within their territories. Due to the proximity of the Federal Republic to the borders of these countries, it was considered to station West-German troops in depth. On May 12th, the French representative at NATO answered negatively and pointed to 'domestic political considerations'; even at the anniversary parade of NATO at Fontainebleau in which a few German soldiers participated, wide circles of the French population indicated an 'unexpected and regrettable attitude.' The Luxembourg representative at NATO gave the same answer as the French on May 13th, as did the representatives of Belgium and the Netherlands on May 15th."

(Der Spiegel, 5-30-56)

* * *

FOR SERVICES RENDERED

"3.3 Million DM are disbursed as pensions annually in West Berlin from federal funds to 288 former generals and high-ranking officials of the Hitler Reich or to their heirs. The individual pensions in some cases reach 2500 DMarks and average about 1500 DMarks monthly. During the inquiry in the house it was ascertained that the recognized victims of Fascism during the Nazi regime in West Berlin receive only a meager monthly pension of 170 to 180 marks."

(Deutsche Volkszeitung, 12-10-55)

* * *

OUR GERMAN FRIENDS

"German landlords began serious pressure this week for return of German dwellings still occupied by the American military forces.

". . . At Schweinfurt, landlords with houses still requisitioned have formed the Association of Victims of Occupation Powers. This group has decided to send out eviction notices to all families occupying their dwellings, and to bring up vans on May 5."

(The Overseas Weekly, 4-1-56)

SALES PROMOTION

"The Government has been informed of a plan to send a delegation of West German bankers and industrialists to Peking. The visit will be under the auspices of the Federal Association of German Industry, provided the Government raises no objections and the Chinese authorities extend an official invitation.

"Promotion of German-Chinese trade has been repeatedly discussed with representatives of China in Berlin, but German industry was told that the conclusion even of a semi-official trade pact would require the presence of a German delegation in the Chinese capital. . . ."

(London Financial Times, 4-27-56)

* * *

LENDING A HELPING HAND

"To make it simple for Germans to invest in the United States and Canada, shares in a new investment trust, Uscafonds, are being offered to investors in Germany by a group of German, Swiss and Dutch banks.

"Uscafonds is the first company of its kind to be licensed by the Bank Deutscher Laender under a recent ruling permitting German nations to buy foreign securities.

"The New York City private banking house of Brown Bros. Harriman & Co. will serve the new company as financial agent, custodian and investment adviser. . . ."

(N .Y. Times, 5-31-56)

* * *

ANOTHER BROKEN PLEDGE

"The Roechling family have withdrawn their agreement to sell the Saarland Volklingen steel mill to the French and West German Governments.

"The Roechling family agreed last April to sell their shares to France and West Germany equally as part of the Franco-German settlement for the Saar. Under the agreement, they were to receive payment of about £16.6m.

". . . Family sources said the Roechlings considered the offer to sell was out-dated by the rejection of the Saar Statute. . . ." (Reuters, 4-26-56)

* * *

SEPP SEEKS ABSOLUTION

"The former head of Hitler's bodyguard, Nazi Gen. Sepp Dietrich, whose parole as a war criminal last October was widely criticized, has applied for a West German certificate attesting to the fact that he is politically 'acceptable.'

"Dietrich at first was sentenced to hang for the massacre of at least 115 American GIs at Malmedy, Belgium, during the Battle of the Bulge.

"Dietrich's present activities were reported by H. Sperber, former chief U. S. Army interpreter at the Nuremberg war crimes trials, on his regular WATV weekend program, 'Foreign Press Report.'

"Dietrich, who now lives at Ludwigsburg, has received 6,000 marks ($1,428) from the Bonn government as 'homecoming pay.' "

(N. Y. Post, 6-11-56)

"PICKING UP THE PIECES"

"German industry seems determined to rebuild its prewar combines:

"Alfred Krupp, the prewar steel magnate, is agitating to keep his steel and coal properties—despite Allied directives designed to break up the Krupp holdings. Krupp has hired Struve Hensel—former general counsel to the U. S. Defense Dept.—to plead his case here.

"The three postwar companies that inherited most of the I. G. Farben empire seem to be putting the combine together again. They are picking up the smaller Farben successor firms by bits and pieces. And they have plans to divide markets and share their research.

"The three banks that are successors to the Nazis' Grossbanken already have operational unity (BW—Sep. 3, '55, p. 120). Now only a tax gimmick is holding up complete fusion—expected before the end of the year. The three banks already are an important source of credit for German exporters.

"Paradoxically, the whole reconcentration process stands to get an added boost when West Germany's anti-cartel law goes through—probably by the year's end. This law, which will replace Allied directives, has so many loopholes that it will, in effect authorize recartelization.

(International Outlook, Business Week, 3-31-56)

★

OUR JAPANESE FRIENDS

"With the Government's financial backing and tacit approval, Japan's steel mills are launching a secret cartel assault on the U. S. scrap market in direct defiance of the U. S. anti-trust and fair trade laws.

"Operations of this disguised cartel also threaten to disorganize domestic buying of scrap from small but key supply units by the big U. S. steel mills."

(London Financial Times, 5-7-56)

★

POLITICS

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union today called for the release of 148 German war criminals held by the Western powers. 'This problem is no longer one of justice,' the party said. 'This is now a political and human problem.'"

(N. Y. Times, 1-17-56)

★

A HERO

"Erich Raeder, 79 years old, former Nazi Grand Admiral who was condemned to life imprisonment for war crimes, has been reinstated as an honorary citizen of Kiel, the former German naval base. He was released for health reasons in September."

(N. Y. Times, 3-8-56)

★

A NAZI SUES

"Dr. Werner Naumann, a former Nazi propaganda official who was arrested in 1953 on a charge of sedition, sued the West German Government for alleged injury to his business and reputation. He asked for 95,000 Deutsche marks ($22,610)."

(N. Y. Times, 4-6-56)

DEUTCHLAND, DEUTCHLAND!

To the German People!

"We German Togolanders, united in the Bund of German Togolanders, wish the German People good luck and blessings for the New Year, 1956.

"We Togolanders, aware of our German heritage, feel our ties with Germany in spite of all hardships and live on in the sincere hope that Germany in this time of its recovery will not forget its former model colony 'Togo' in West Africa.

The Directorate of the Bund
(signed) Joh. A. Agboka

Lomo, Togo, December 20, 1955."

(Nation Europa, 2-56)

★

NOT TO BE NEGLECTED

"The West Germans are not neglecting Russia and the Soviet satellites in seeking markets. A pact doubling trade with Czechoslovakia has been negotiated. The trade target for 1956 is about $74,000,000. The Germans are already building fishing craft for the Soviet Union, and with diplomatic relations established, a trade pact is expected."

(Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald-Tribune, 3-18-56)

★

HITLER'S VETS

"West Germany's Assn. of Former War prisoners called on three American veterans organizations today to support release of war criminals held by the U. S.

"The association sent letters to the American Legion, the Jewish War Veterans and the Veterans of Foreign Wars asking their backing for the release of the 21 held at Landsberg prison."

(A. P., 5-7-56)

★

A FAMILIAR RING

"With Government backing, Japanese industrialists are planning an independent, all-Japan policy of trade expansion in South-East Asian markets, supported by technical aid and offers of co-operative 'partnership' with South-East Asian interests.

". . . The powerful Japanese Federation of Economic Organisations—Keidanren—and the Asiatic Society—Ajia Kyokai—are the driving force behind the new campaign. A joint committee of both bodies envisages a central organisation like Japan's pre-war South-East Asian Development Corporation, which opened the way for the notorious Greater South-East Asian Co-prosperity plan. . . ."

(London Financial Times, 5-18-56)

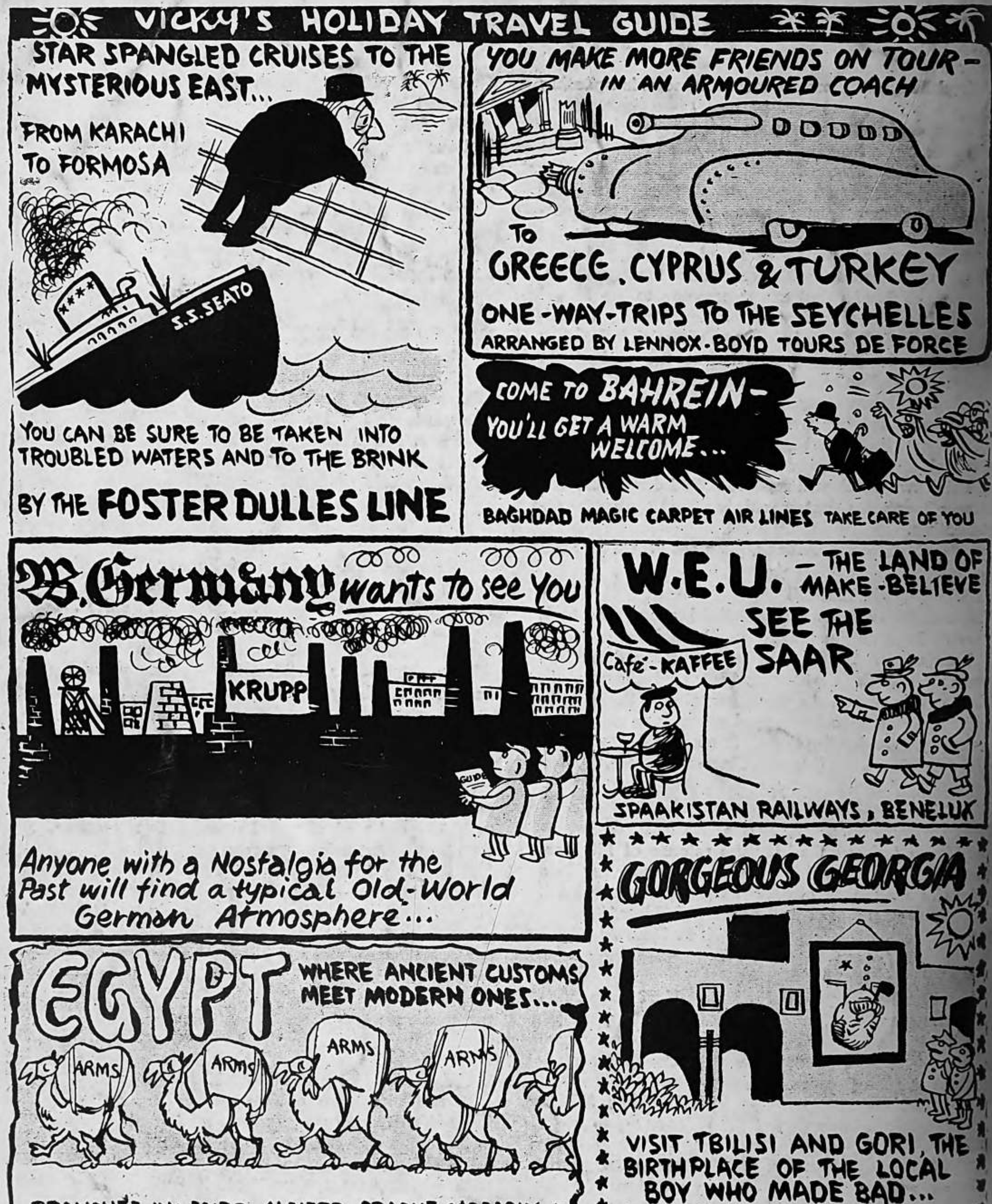
★

THEY WANT TO BE "GOOD NEIGHBORS"

"Activities of Radio Free Europe, the privately financed American propaganda station at Munich, are becoming more and more an object of irritation for West Germany.

"The Germans are particularly galled that though they are sovereign now they still have to provide the facilities for a foreign cold war operation against their Communist neighbors.

(Larry Rue, Chicago Tribune, 2-12-56)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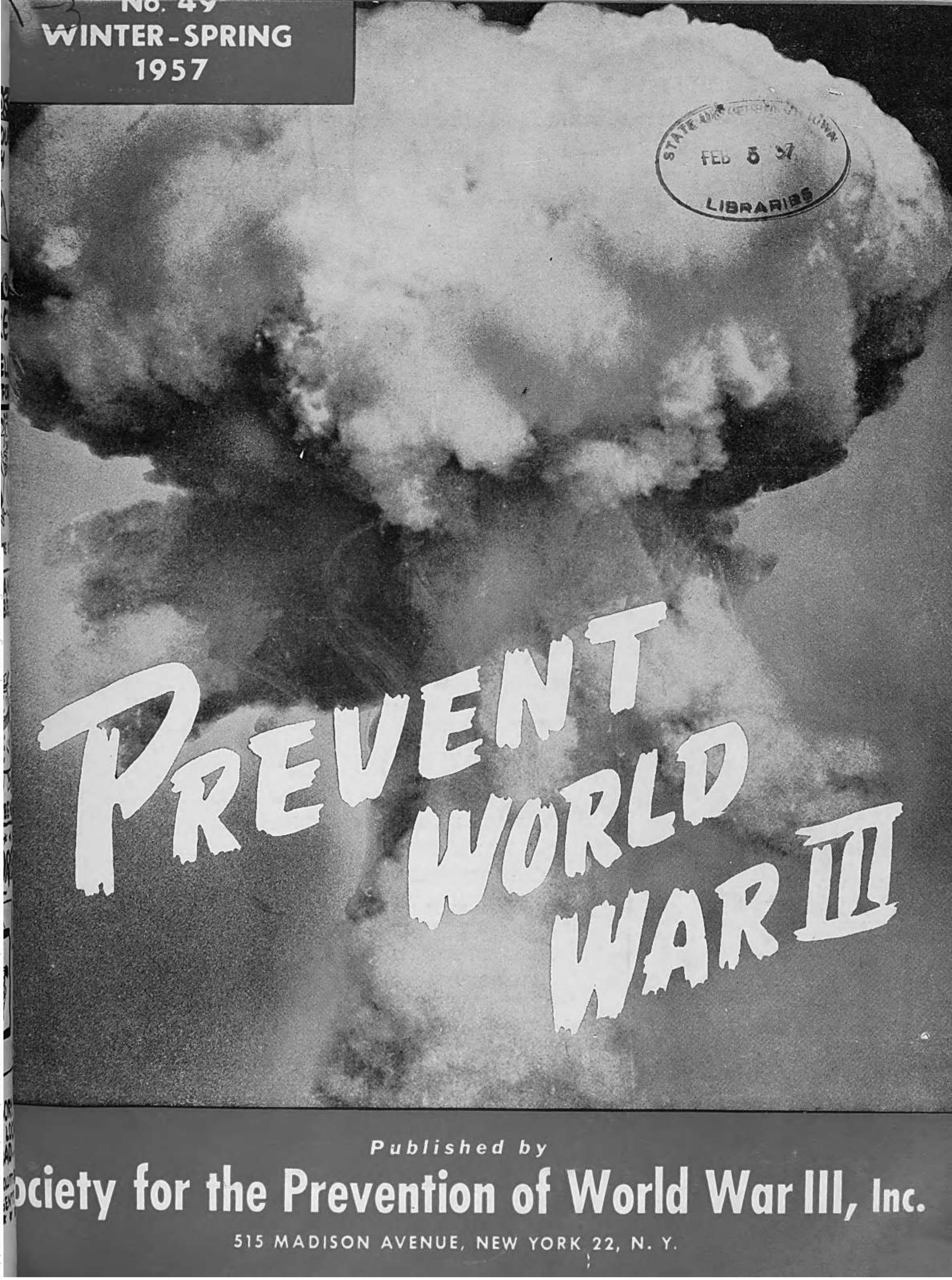
WINTER-SPRING
1957



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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.
Tel.: PLaza 3-4985

No. 49
Winter-Spring, 1957

Danger and Opportunity

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The spirit of freedom beckons the satellite nations of Eastern Europe. The death-like silence of the past 11 years has been smashed. The historic upheavals in Poland and Hungary show clearly that the peoples of these lands were never reconciled to the ruthless overlordship of the Kremlin. By their dauntless opposition they have unmasked the Soviet despotism and have given new hope to others who have shared their tragic plight.

However, candor compels us to state that we have watched the intrepid struggle of the Poles and the Hungarians with mixed emotion. We have been troubled by the thought that the sacrifices of these peoples may be in vain. Yet, we cannot help but feel that developments in Eastern Europe hold great promise, if only the U. S. and her Allies discard stereotype approaches to the problem of European freedom.

Current Allied propaganda seems to be characterized by an almost conceited belief that the only barrier standing between the Soviet satellites and their desire to seek friendship with the West are the Russian tanks. It has been made to appear as though a gigantic propaganda campaign, developed by our best advertising and public relations experts, is sufficient to "win over" the peoples of Eastern Europe and to relieve them of the intolerable Russian occupation. No matter how well conceived this propaganda may be in terms of techniques, it is at best a palliative and at worst may turn out to be a source of disillusionment which could strangle the cause of freedom.

The peoples of Eastern Europe need less of "moral support" and more of a realistic long-term policy by the Allied powers and in particular the USA. The struggle for freedom in Eastern Europe is not an abstract concept. Those who give their blood for this mighty cause must have a perspective, for in this fight the burning question inevitably arises: After freedom—what? It is to this question that our policy makers must devote their energies. They must be able to answer in terms that make sense to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Not so long ago these brave nations were languishing under the jackboot heel of German militarism and Nazism. Their lands were laid waste, their farms and factories wrecked, and millions of their kin incinerated in the hells of Auschwitz, Buchenwald, etc. History tells us how the "inferior" nations of the East were enslaved by the Prussian warlords. On other occasions The Russian Czars, operating under the guise of Pan-Slavism, tried to absorb them in their Empire. There were other times when the power of the German eagle and the Russian bear more or less balanced each other. In such instances the Kaiser and the Czar would join hands and carve up neighboring peoples in the name of "mutual interests." The Hitler-Stalin marriage de convenance was but the continuation of this latter policy.

What shall it be this time? Will the bright vista of freedom from Russian hegemony turn out to be the cloak for a new master, the Germans? Or will this "freedom" be "guaranteed" by the combined power and mutual understanding of the Russian bear and the German eagle. Whichever the case, it is obvious that the peoples of Eastern Europe would find themselves in chains again.

These tragic alternatives are by no means inevitable if the West, in the words of Walter Lippmann, discard the "old stale shibboleths about Germany and the satellite countries." The Society has frequently stated that the rebuilding of Germany's war potential and military might "strengthens the Soviet grip over her Eastern satellites whose peoples dread the resurgence of the German power which devastated their lands." ("German Realities," No. 42, Summer Issue 1953 of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, inserted in the Congressional Record by Senator Wayne Morse, 8-3-53.) It is precisely this contradiction—the desire to see freedom in Eastern Europe and rehabilitating the German powerhouse, which threatens to negate the sacrifices of the Hungarians, Poles, and the other peoples oppressed by the Soviet tyranny. The net effect of this dualism in US policy is to obstruct the growth of friendship and understanding between ourselves and the satellite nations. "To believe that the peoples of Europe will move closer to the US when they behold the rhythmic marching of a new Wehrmacht, is to expect a miracle." ("The Failure of Diplomacy," No. 45, Winter Issue 1954-1955 of PREVENT WORLD WAR III.)

Those who are under Russian subjugation today do not want a German master tomorrow. That is why freedom in Eastern Europe is in reality part and parcel of the general problem of European security.

Unfortunately, US policy under Secretary Dulles fails to see this truism. In October 1956 the State Department addressed a note to the Bonn Government which said in part that "a sound system of European security . . . can be achieved only if Germany is reunited." The facts of life do not support this contention. The unity of Germany is but one aspect of the problem of European security. We did not fight World War II for the unification of Germany but rather for the security and peace of Europe and our own country. That security and peace, above all, must first be assured. Secretary Dulles' position is precisely one of the shibboleths about Germany.

There is another shibboleth, namely, that a powerful Germany is the most reliable bulwark against Russian totalitarianism. History proves the reverse. When both, Germany and Russia, were relatively equal in strength, mutual agreements were reached always at the expense of the small nations of Europe.

The peoples of Eastern Europe earnestly want the friendship of the West, but let no one be mistaken that this desire will per se bear fruit. "If the United States appears in Europe as the sponsor of Western Germany, it will never achieve a new relationship with Poland or Hungary or Czechoslovakia. . . ." (Prof. Geoffrey Barraclough, professor of international affairs at the Royal Institute of International Affairs; The Nation,12-1-56.)

Walter Lippmann had this in mind when he wrote: *"A European policy is urgently needed to provide a framework of guarantees within which the occupied European countries can be made safe against their neighbors and safe for their neighbors. It is impossible to imagine the end of the military occupation, which remains from the World War, except within a European sytsem of security"* (New York Herald Tribune, 12-11-56). Toward the establishment of such a system of European security the Society proposed in the No. 46 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III the following steps to be taken with regard to Germany:

(a) That both East and West Germany be permanently demilitarized under United Nations control.

(b) That the territorial integrity of East and West Germany becomes the responsibility of the United Nations.

(c) That the United Nations shall establish armed force contingents to be located in the states bordering Germany for purposes of implementing that responsibility.

(d) That both East and West Germany shall pay in cash to the United Nations a sum in an amount roughly equivalent to the cost of any occupation forces, or any other forces, which would have to be sited on German territory for the protection of peace and the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. Such funds shall be employed to support the armed forces established by the United Nations for the protection of Germany's territorial integrity.

It is our considered judgment that an agreement on Germany along these lines would give concrete assurances to the peoples in Eastern Europe that the winning of their freedom would not wind up in the blind alley of a new tyranny. Indeed, it would rally them still further at this time to oppose the Soviet occupation.

The freedom, security and peace of all Europe was a fundamental aim in the fight against the German aggressors during World War II. We are convinced that the magnificent resistance of the Hungarians and the other peoples of Eastern Europe show that this goal can be reached by dynamic policies.

* * *

Through the years the Society has devoted much of its attention to European problems and their impact on peace and security. However, we have not for one moment discounted the other burning questions which confront the West. One of these is the Middle East which only a few months ago threatened to convulse the world in a new holocaust. Because of the gravity of the situation there, the Society made known its views to the United Nations, to the Government and to the press (see page 24, "The Middle East Crisis and the United Nations").

The Society's purpose in making this statement were designed primarily to stimulate action through the United Nations for a peaceful solution. In our opinion, the genesis of the Arab-Israeli conflict involves many complicated factors. Efforts to achieve a settlement will be seriously impeded if either side prefers to indulge in recriminations and accusations against the other. The Society's main concern has been to get both sides to sit down at the conference table and work out an agreement based on the civilized principle of "to live and let live." We mean this in the very literal sense of the word because millions of innocent lives are at stake.

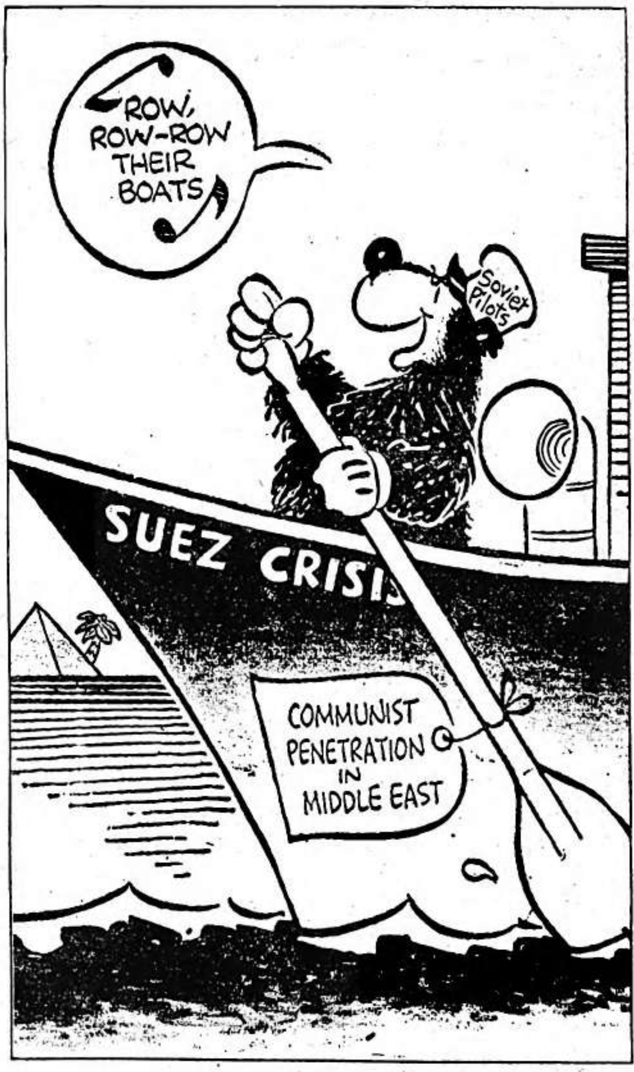
The Middle East is an area where great things have happened in the past. It has also been a region where backwardness, disease and poverty have plagued the inhabitants. Friendship and cooperation between the Arab states and Israel would cause "the deserts to bloom again" and bring a measure of prosperity to these populations who are entitled to their God-given right to enjoy life, free from fear and from want.

This is why we have supported the United Nations' efforts toward bringing about a peaceful solution. This objective can be reached more speedily by the renunciation of propaganda which enflames the emotions, maintains prejudices, and creates blind hatred. The atmosphere for negotiations becomes clouded when responsible leaders speak in a warlike vein. For example, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, Burhanuddin Bashayan, recently declared in a broadcast: "Israel as a state was built on aggression and cannot live but on aggression. Therefore, its removal from the Middle East is essential.... The time is ripe for regaining Palestine in a manner outlined in Iraq's note (of Nov. 13 to UN members). The Iraqi government insisted on the uprooting and removal of Israel from the Middle East and forcing the usurpers to return to where they came from" (Reuters, 12-5-56).

Such outbursts cannot contribute toward a solution of the present crisis. A leadership indulging in this type of abuse does not lend dignity or respect to a country which presumably seeks the good will and approbation of the civilized community. Indeed, it displays a deplorable irresponsibility in the conduct of foreign relations that can only lead to further aggravation of the existing dangers.

Those leaders who purvey poisonous propaganda help to create a climate of blind hatred which may prove to be uncontrollable among peoples who are kept ignorant as to the real state of affairs. As a result a change from a policy of hostility to one of peace and mutual accommodation becomes virtually impossible, even when the long term interests of the country concerned require it. When a people are infected by artificially whipped up hatred, those who are responsible for this state of mind become prisoners of it. They are no longer able to act in a statesmenlike manner which is imperative if the country's welfare is to be safeguarded.

World public opinion will never reconcile itself to perpetual hostility between the Arabs and the Israelis. Those who persist in encouraging tension and hatred in the Middle East are working against the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. That is why it is of the greatest urgency that responsible Government leaders the world over, as well as leaders of the major religious faiths, join together in the demand that Israel and her Arab neighbors settle their mutual problems by negotiations. We must all bear in mind the wise words of the noted Norwegian staesman, Halvard M. Lange, "Real world peace is inconceivable without peace in the Middle East. Peace in the Middle East is equally inconceivable without peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors."



"GETTING HIS OAR IN"

(*Graham in The Arkansas Gazette*)

Editorials

THE SOVIET GAMBIT

In November 1940 Berlin was the scene of intense negotiations between the Russians and the Germans. The Hitler-Stalin Pact of the previous year had set the stage for these conversations whose main participants were former Foreign Minister Molotov, Hitler and his Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop. Both, Molotov and von Ribbentrop regarded the Hitler-Stalin Pact as "good business" for initiating future cooperation on the basis of agreed spheres of influence.

In this connection von Ribbentrop spoke about Russia's opportunities in the "new order of things." He referred to the advantages Russia could gain "in the direction of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea." Ribbentrop assured Stalin's representative that other "aspirations" of Russia in this part of the world were also recognized by Germany. The delimitation of spheres of influence formed an important part of the conversations between Molotov and Hitler. The Fuehrer told Molotov that Russia's adherence to the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis Treaty would help to define the "special interests" of the powers concerned. Needless to say, Molotov liked the idea but he insisted that in such a pact the Russians be treated as an equal partner. Furthermore, he expressed the need for a more precise delineration of these spheres of influence.

Following his return to Moscow, Molotov outlined to the German Ambassador Russia's "aspirations" in more concrete terms. He said that Russia was prepared to accept the Four Power Pact provided, among other things, that it stipulated "that the area south of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf is recognized as the center of the aspirations of the Soviet Union."

It turned out, however, that the negotiations on this Pact became stalled in the growing climate of mutual suspicions between Hitler and Stalin. By the spring of 1941, the strains between the erstwhile partners increased and in June Hitler gave his signal for the invasion of Russia.

Recent events in the area of the Middle East show that the abortive partnership between Germany and Russia may come to life. For 200 years the Russians have dreamed of dominating the Middle East. Sixteen years ago they suffered great disappointment when their German partners turned against them. Today, the situation has changed with bewildering speed. The Russians are in the Middle East with both feet, so to speak and their influence is felt from Cairo to Damascus.

Russia's avenue for penetrating the Middle East was Egypt, where the Nasser Government, surrounded by Nazi advisors and well versed in dictatorial rule, welcomed the Soviets with open arms. In September 1955 Egypt announced to the world that it had completed an arms deal with the Soviet satellite state, Czechoslovakia. Nasser later revealed that the deal was, in reality, with Soviet Russia—Egyptian cotton for Soviet arms and tanks. Recent estimates place the figure of this deal in the neighborhood of $250 million.

While the Nasser Government hailed this agreement as a stepping stone toward Egyptian independence, it turned out that the Egyptian economy was virtually mortgaged to the Kremlin. What this has meant in terms of the welfare of the Egyptian people is seen by the fact that her national gold reserves have dropped by one-half billion dollars, while the average per capita income is about $5.60 per month by Nasser's own evaluation.

A report in the New York Times (8-26-56) stated that by reason of her barter arrangements with the Soviet bloc, Egypt has now placed her economy "in a critical state of dislocation." Nevertheles, Nasser continued to tell his people and the world that the deal with the Soviets was a triumph over "imperialism."

While the Egyptian people required economic help, Nasser gave them Soviet guns and spurred them on with anti-Western slogans. This was all to the liking of Soviet agents in Egypt. As far as the Russians were concerned their chance to convert the Middle East into a satrapy of the Communist empire was the main thing regardless of how this would be achieved.

With regard to Soviet policy Senator George H. Bender noted: "The Russians have everything to gain and nothing to lose by dealing with the Arab states. They would like to make Egypt a Russian Mediterranean base. Wars between nations are the Communists' meat. Whatever happens, no matter who wins or loses, communism is always waiting to claim the spoils" (Congressional Record, 6-4-56). The Senator warned that a war between Egypt and Israel would be the greatest calamity in that area of the world and urged that the United States exert its influence to prevent the realization of Russian intrigue.

Communist penetration in the Middle East involving arms investments supplemented by so-called cultural missions and the exchange of political leaders has made alarming headway. Communist China has become Egypt's largest customer. Egypt has concluded trade deals with most of the members of the Communist bloc. Russian economic aid pledged to Egypt includes the building of a nuclear laboratory in Cairo. The Soviet bloc has sent trade missions to various Arab countries, including Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen. Soviet technicians, politicians, trade, art, sport and religious leaders are being exchanged with the Arab countries.

Syria together with Egypt seem to be the major points of Russian concentration. The Syrians, following the example of Egypt, consummated a $80 million barter deal with the Russians for tanks, planes and guns. On March 6, 1956, the first issue of a Communist French-language paper appeared in Damascus. Shortly thereafter a Soviet "cultural" mission arrived in Damascus to present the Stalin Peace Award to the Syrian religious leader Sheikh Mohammed Al-Ashmar.

On July 25, 1956, the Syrian Prime Minister was quoted to the effect that Russian technicians were expected to arrive in Syria to advise on elevators and other installations in connection with the export of cereals.

One of Europe's best-informed correspondents, Sefton Delmer, wrote recently in the London Daily Express: *"In my many visits since the war to Syria and to its Arab neighbors in Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan, I have been forcibly impressed by the progress made by the Soviets in Syria since the war as compared with the other Middle Eastern states."* Mr. Delmer described Syria "as the most important secret satellite of Moscow in the Middle East" besides "the advent of Nasser in Egypt." Even the Greek Orthodox Church of Syria, according to Mr. Delmer, is receiving "subsidies from the Church in Moscow."

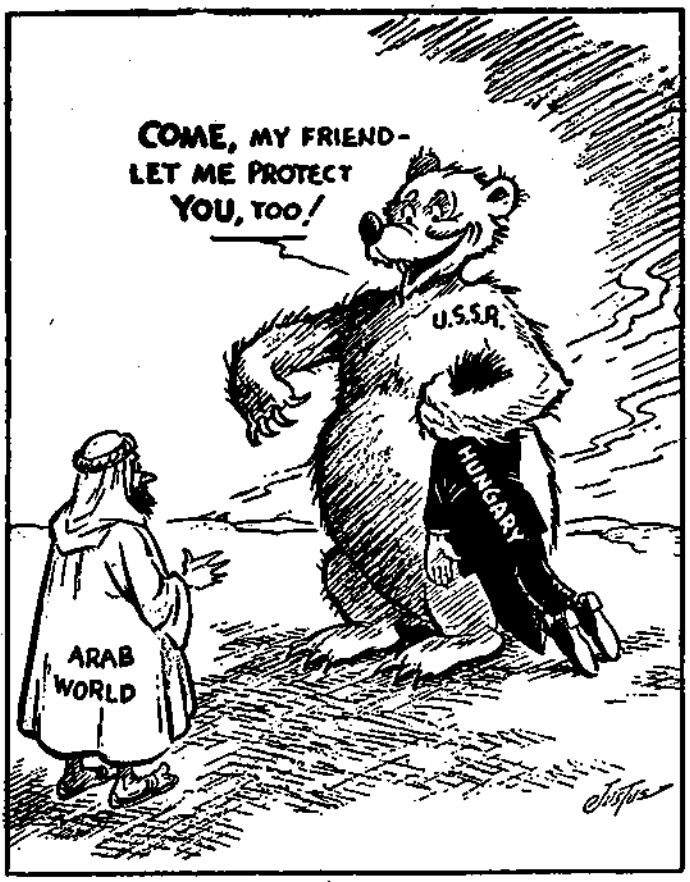
The intense preoccupation of the Russians with the Middle East is indicated by the fact that the Middle East Department of the Soviet Foreign Office is headed by the former Ambassador to the Nasser Government, Daniel Solod, a specialist in political warfare. The mutual attraction between the Soviet dictatorship and the Pan-Arabic leaders was recently described in an editorial by the well-known French newspaper Figaro: *"Birds of a feather flock together—the old proverb is still true—Marxist totalitarianism is attracted, as by a magnet, by the apparently opposite totalitarianism. Nobody in the world can deny that the Egyptian dictator has imperialistic ambitions. He has proclaimed them himself in his Philosophy of Revolution, the Bible of Pan-Arabism.*

"Hitler invoked the 'living space' necessary, so he said, to the Great Reich. He saw it, in part, in the most prosperous regions of Soviet Russia. But it does not seem that the projects openly exposed in Mein Kampf disturbed the master of all the Russias.

"Nasser has in his turn intrigued the successors of Stalin, even though he does not hesitate to claim for his own the Moslems living under Soviet law. They think, in fact, that for the moment this is only a side issue, and that the essential thing is to dissociate the Western alliance as much as possible by favoring Pan-Arab and Pan-Islam imperialism. If the poker playing of Farouk's successor succeeds, a wound which will perhaps prove fatal will have been dealt to the free world. . . . Two enormous continents, Asia and Africa, will have become the proteges of Moscow."

The Soviet penetration in the Middle East has had a devastating effect on the economic and political position of our main Western allies, Britain and France. The Russians are striving, according to Joseph and Stuart Alsop (12-5-56) to do *"everything in their power to eliminate British interests in the Middle East, thus reducing Britain to a third class power and destroying the Western alliance."* They warn that Bulganin and Khrushchev are banking on America's vacillating attitudes to undermine the strength of our allies—and if this is achieved, then the United States will find herself isolated and bereft of strong allies.

It has been said in defense of present policy that we must maintain the friendship of the Arab peoples as if such friendship is in contradiction to our historic bonds with France and England. Nothing could be further from the truth. We hold that peace in the Middle East, friendship between the Arabs and the United States, and the strengthening of our ties with Britain and France are essential to each other. One of the major factors militating against the realization of these objectives is the rapidly growing influence of the Soviets in the Middle East, thanks to those Arab leaders who hope to employ this influence as a leverage in their blackmailing tactics against the West, while not realizing that they themselves may become vicitms of their own game. Only joint Allied policies which are designed to defend the integrity of all of the nations in the Middle East and to uphold the basic principles of international law in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations will protect the national interests of our country.



JUST A GOOD NATURED HUG!

(*Courtesy N. Y. Daily Mirror*)

NAZIS IN WONDERLAND!

On October 1, 1956, a black limousine roared out of the Spandau prison gate, careened left and sped away down a side street. Newsmen who endeavored to cover the event, were surrounded by scores of menacing armed guards. German police threw a road block of trucks across the street to prevent reporters from pursuing.

The elaborate measures to assure the privacy and comfort of Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz were executed with clockwork precision. The entire military-like operation must have impressed the Admiral who had been chosen by Hitler as his successor to lead Nazi Germany. Perhaps Doenitz recalled another day when his movements and those of his Nazi associates were closely guarded by the armed retainers of the Third Reich. Whatever went through his mind as he relaxed in his limousine, this much was reality: he was a free man after having served ten years for war crimes and crimes against the peace.

Doenitz continued to avoid the searching questions of reporters after he had reached his destination in Düsseldorf. "My task," he said, "is to remain silent and to feel my way back to life." In other times Doenitz did not show a reluctance to speak out forcefully and with conviction. Thus, when he directed U-boat warfare resulting in the sinking of 15 million tons of World War II shipping, costing the lives of thousands of Allied personnel, he sharply commanded his officers to "kill and keep killing. Remember, no survivors. Humanity is weakness." At Düsseldorf he preferred silence.

Yet, in other times, Doenitz spoke up with authority and confidence. On the day when he was chosen by Hitler as the new Fuehrer of the Thousand Year Reich, he issued a declaration to the Nazi Wehrmacht: "German armed forces, my comrades. The Fuehrer is dead. Faithful to his great idea to save the people of Europe from Bolshevism, he had devoted his life and has died the death of a hero. With him one of the greatest heroes of German history has gone. With proud respect and sorrow we lower the flags for him."

It was precisely at this time when the Nazi regime was on the verge of collapse, that Doenitz together with General Keitel, hanged as a war criminal, initialed a top secret memorandum entitled "The Overcoming of the Catastrophe." In this document Doenitz calls for a postwar tie-up with Bolshevist Russia. Such a collaboration, the Doenitz memorandum stated, would have the following perspectives: *"A colossal bloc of world-dominating greatness, economic power, energy and numbers of population would be created from ocean to ocean. Not only would the danger of future wars for generations be eliminated from Europe but also from the double continent of Eurasia. The two great peoples, the Russians and the Germans, have extraordinary possibilities for development without collision of their interests. The chief emphasis in this bloc will shift more and more to the racially superior, intellectually more active, and more energetic (people), that means to Europe. Thus would be formed an alliance between the young Socialist forces against the old rotten entrenched powers of the West."*

Thus, Herr Doenitz who publicly posed as the new savior against Communism, secretly advocated an alliance with Soviet Russia at the expense of the West!

Doenitz' crimes were thoroughly catalogued at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. He was described by the U. S. Prosecutor, the late Justice Robert Jackson, as *"Hitler's legatee of defeat. He promoted the success of the Nazi aggressions by instructing his pack of submarine killers to conduct warfare at sea with the illegal ferocity of the jungle."*

Though Doenitz prefers the privacy of silence for the time being, his supporters—and there are many—hail him as the legitimate chief of the German nation.*

The Bonn Government has not dealt with this question but it has recognized Doenitz' claim for a pension. This pension will be granted to the Admiral, according to the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of his "rank and length of service." If the Ministry of Finance regards service to Hitler as legitimate grounds for receiving an annual pension that may run as high as $6,000, will the day come when his claim to speak for all of Germany will also be recognized?

One week following Doenitz' release, the German Defense Ministry announced that over 13,000 former officers in Hitler's Waffen SS had applied for posts in the new

The men who are running the anti-Adenauer campaign are sure of several things. The Russians will allow him to make no progress whatever toward reunification. The slowdown in economic expansion will continue and will become more noticeable as young men are drafted into the armed forces. German youth, already averse to military service and indulging in outbreaks of mild hooliganism, will tend ever more to look for political change.

The next year will be remarkable for the fact that there is a campaign to unseat Dr. Adenauer but no clear plan to put anything in his place. There is an unhappy suspicion that there is not a new generation on the march but a new gang on the move.

(The Washington Post, 10-14-56)

**Indeed, the Grand Admiral seems to have some enthusiastic adherents in the U. S. A. For instance, H. Keith Thompson and George Sylvester Viereck, whose pro-Nazi activities could fill many pages, sent a wire "to the legitimate President of Germany, Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz." They called his release "the day of the triumph of your steeled will over the plans of your vengeful persecutors . . ." While they hailed Doenitz, they denounced his trial as having been "brought about by the criminal co-guilt of the USA and world jewry . . ."*

German army. The month before, the Defense Ministry announced that all members of this criminal organization would be welcomed back to the fold after "screening." Several months prior to this declaration, the Defense Ministry stated that former Field Marshal Erich von Manstein had been given access to NATO military secrets. Von Manstein has been found guilty and imprisoned for war crimes committed in Italy during World War II. Now he was awarded an office in the German Defense Ministry and was asked by the Parliamentary Defense Committee of the Bundestag to serve as an advisor on the future organization of German armed forces.

The release of Doenitz, the reactivation of the Waffen SS, and the appointment of von Manstein mark a significant stage in the setting up of the "new" Wehrmacht. These events are not disconnected. They are part of the pattern of things to come as the German General Staff develops plans for the future. It is therefore surprising that the German Defense Ministry refused to recommend for use in army libraries the book "The Third Reich and the Jews"? This volume contains official German documents on Nazi war crimes and, apparently, this is regarded as bad for the morale of the "new" German army. On the other hand, German book shops are doing profitable business on the sale of such books as W. V. Assenbach's book, "Adolf Hitler: His Fight Against the Inferior Being."

In the face of these sinister developments the Chancellories of the Western Democracies remained silent. Replying to the Society's protest over the appointment of von Manstein, the State Department declared, *"These matters lie within the competence of the German Federal Republic, which has been a sovereign government since May 5, 1955."*

But what about the responsibility which our State Department owes to the hundreds of thousands of GIs who gave their lives for the cause of freedom and human dignity? And what of the generations of youth to come? Will they, too, be called upon to make the supreme sacrifice because we allow "these matters" to lie "within the competence" of the West German Government?

MALMEDY KILLER PAROLED

The American Legion today blasted American officials who had anything to do with releasing Nazi Col. Joachim Peiper, triggerman of the 1944 Malmedy massacres.

National Commander W. C. Daniel singled out Spencer Phenix, Chocorua, N .H., the American member of the board. In an open letter to families of the victims, Mr. Daniel said:

"I pledge to you—in what must be a moment of heartsick disgust and despair—that the American Legion will not rest until Spencer Phenix and all other government officials responsible for the release of the Malmedy murderers are removed from office and replaced by Americans who believe that the lives of your loved ones and of every American fighting man cannot be traded for a few years in jail."

Peiper, with his boss, Col. Gen. Sepp Dietrich, first was sentenced to die for machine-gunning 160 disarmed Americans at Malmedy, Belgium, during the Battle of the Bulge. Dietrich's parole last year aroused a storm of protest.

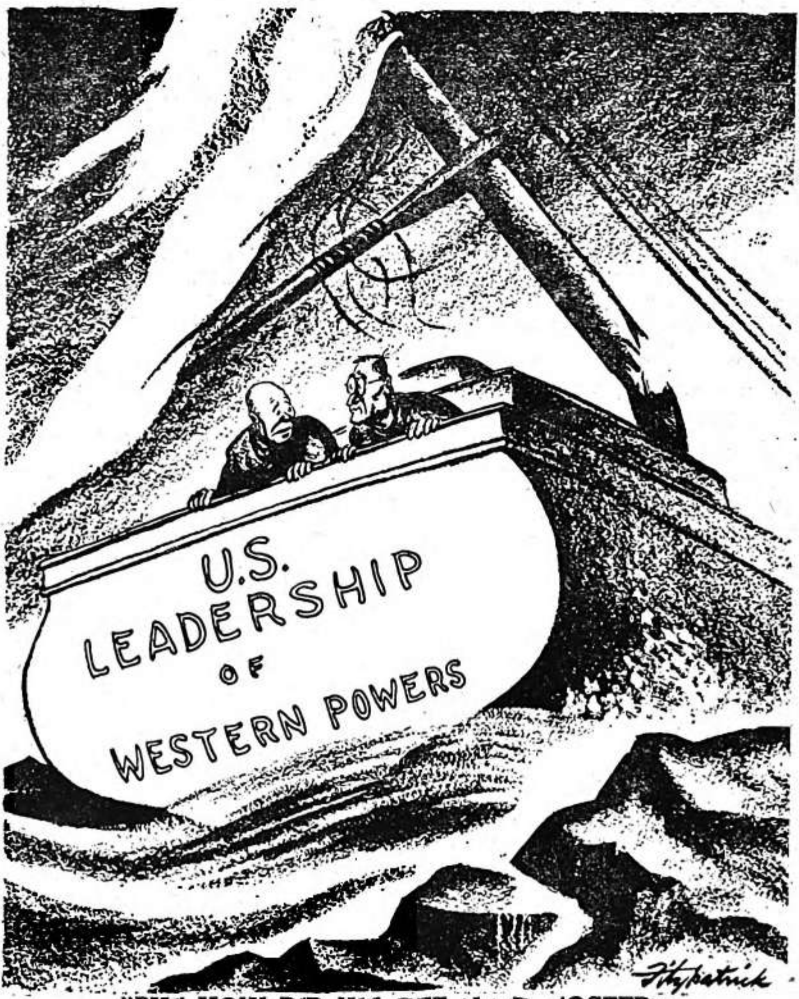
Peiper's release over the holidays apparently caught veterans' groups by surprise.

In his letter, Mr. Daniel called Peiper's release "the most sordid travesty on justice in the history of international law."

One of the few Malmedy survivors, former Lt. Virgil P. Lary, Columbus, Ohio, last year warned that Peiper's release would "dishonor" the nation's war dead.

"The screams of my men . . . still ring in my ears," said Mr. Lary.

(Jim G. Lucas, N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 12-29-56)



"BUT HOW DID WE GET HERE, FOSTER?"

(Reprinted from St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

The Strategy of Stalling

The maneuverings and motives surrounding West Germany's decision to renege on her NATO commitments shed new light on her value as an ally to Western powers.

Financial Veto

In the beginning of 1956 the Bonn Government declared that it would refuse to continue financial support for U. S. and Allied forces in Germany after May 1956. This decision was made known through the German press before word of it was sent to the Allied authorities. Through this unusual diplomacy the Bonn Government was able to trigger a campaign of slander and incitation against her NATO partners. The Western Allies including the U. S. were accused of looting the German Treasury and employing underhanded tactics at the expense of the well-being of the German people. This press barrage served as a preparatory assault for the official announcement that the Germans would refuse to pay for the support of the Allied forces.

The Bonn Government based its position on the Contractual Agreement which made no provision for German financial support of the Allied forces subsequent to May 1956. Though the Germans stuck to the letter of this agreement, it was patently obvious that they had violated its spirit.

The Contractual Agreement assumed that the Germans would cease financial support when they had sufficient armed forces of their own to take over the responsibilities which the Allies had shouldered for defending German soil. However, the German army was still in the blueprint stages in early 1956 and therefore the Allies were being asked to continue to protect West Germany without any costs to the Germans themselves.

The Society called this crucial issue to the attention of the Congress of the United States. We declared that the German decision threatened to undermine the NATO defense system. We charged that Germany's refusal to make a contribution and the dishonest and insolent attacks levied against the Western Allies was "not indicative of a government professing friendship with the West." We also raised the question as to whether this was a maneuver on West Germany's part "to force U. S. and Allied forces out of Germany with the view towards making a deal with the Russians on that basis."

Unfortunately, the Western Allies beat a retreat before the Bonn Government's brazen challenge. They agreed to a 55 per cent slash in the funds which were originally requested from the Bonn Government to support the Allied forces. As far as we know, the Allied authorities continue to accept the Bonn Government's professions of good faith. We, on the other hand, interpreted this episode as but a prelude to further efforts by West Germany to go back on her pledges.

Watering Down Conscription

Our suspicions were justified for by September 1956 Chancellor Adenauer announced that the period of military service for German conscripts would be fixed at one year instead of eighteen months. This decision, too, was made public in an unusual way. The Information Office of the German Federal Government issued a statement that Chancellor Adenauer had scrapped the eighteen months conscription plan when he had learned from American newspapers that American forces in Europe would be reduced under the so-called Radford Plan. This alibi was so fantastic that even the Social Democrats who opposed the idea of conscription described it as the "most grotesque explanation any federal government ever made to the public" (Christian Science Monitor, 9-28-56).

Diplomatic protocol was ignored by Herr Adenauer since the decision was made public through the German press before the Allies were officialy notified of it. Needless to say, the Western Allies were taken aback by Adenauer's bluntness. The decision was viewed by them as a gross violation of his pledges to supply necessary armed forces, as provided in the agreements between West Germany and NATO. The NATO Council stated flatly that "the NATO military authorities have made clear the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of accomplishing this objective with a service period of only twelve months." In this connection it is noteworthy that all of the members of NATO with the exception of tiny Luxembourg, have a much longer conscription service than that proposed by the Germans for themselves.

The "New" Army

However, this is only one aspect of the issue. It is now freely admitted by Allied military authorities that Bonn's decision will make inevitable the development of a professional army, the kind which always was the bulwark of German militarism. It is also of significance that together with the abolishment of the eighteen months plan for conscription Chancellor Adenauer approved the admission of former members of Hitler's Waffen SS into the new German army. It is a matter of record that the Waffen SS was one of Hitler's most notorious organizations. Its crimes helped to turn Europe into a vast graveyard. For its barbarous deeds it was condemned and outlawed by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Yet, it is precisely these professional cutthroats who will "be the backbone" of the new German army (Christian Science Monitor, 9-28-56).

As for the so-called Radford Plan, Adenauer admitted that he assumed its existence on the basis of reports in U. S. papers. The U. S. Government has officially denied that there ever was such a plan, but Adenauer, in desperation to justify his unilateral action, endeavored to give the impression that the unauthenticated press reports were tantamount to the official policy of the U. S. Government. In the face of Allied reaction to his alibi, Adenauer was compelled to speak with more candor. Thus, he told his party leaders that his government was determined to make it clear to the NATO Council that West Germany had "overcommitted herself with regard to the number of troops" (New York Times, 10-17-56). No longer was Adenauer able to hide behind the alleged Radford Plan. Now he had to admit that Germany had its own ideas about contributing to NATO. Of course, candor is not one of the characteristics of West German diplomacy, and that is why many of our policy makers seem confused over Germany's attitude. When

German rearmament policy is guided by a number of considerations which are masked by the plethora of platitudes which are found in Adenauer's speeches before Western audiences. Among these factors we cite the following:

(1) *Profitability:* Today Germany is enjoying an unprecedented economic boom. In no small degree this is due to the fact that the Germans are able to apply virtually all of their resources and energies to peacetime production while a substantial portion of the resources of the Western Allies is tied up in armament production. The New York Times (1-18-56) reported that the Ruhr barons find it more advantageous "for West Germany to continue to expand its civilian economy and use its surpluses for the purchases of armaments abroad." The views of this group are shared by top government officials and members of the German Parliament who believe that West Germany should "pay the barest minimum for armament compatible with its commitments to NATO." The Times notes that this position is based on the doctrine that armament "must not interfere with the normal development of the civilian economy and if it does, it is not worth having."

Some months ago the Minister of Finance Fritz Schaeffer delivered a speech in Bavaria in which he said that Germany was not anxious to build an armaments industry. He contended that it would be more profitable to purchase arms from abroad while "the Ruhr remains the workshop of peaceful industries" (London Financial Times, 8-27-56). In a moment of frankness Herr Schaeffer admitted that the Western Allies might not take to the idea that they shall devote money and plant space "for arms production while we (the Germans) utilize ours for export goods" (Time Magazine, 9-10-56).

While recognizing this difficulty Herr Schaeffer and the leaders of the German economy insist that the rearmament policy must be guided by the single standard of profit and loss. At times they will try to rationalize this position by the rather comical argument that Germany's most effective contribution to NATO would be to strengthen her peacetime economy and to widen her export markets.

(2) *An up-to-date Wehrmacht:* After World War I German rearmament proceeded at a slow pace because of the Versailles Treaty. Yet, Germany was able to turn the prohibitive clauses in the Versailles Treaty to her own advantage. While other countries were still employing relatively obsolete weapons and shaping their strategy accordingly, the German General Staff was able to proceed with deliberation and without overcommitting itself until "all of the returns were in." In short, Germany began to rearm in a big way only when the latest weapons of war were available. Many of these weapons had been created by other countries but Germany was in the position to exploit their possibilities to the fullest without going through the enormous expense of experimenting over a long period of time. This approach to rearmament was of decisive importance in producing the most modern war machine under Hitler.

After the defeat of Germany in World War II the decks were clean again. As in the past Germany had the opportunity to start afresh in developing the most modern weapons of war. This is the way the Germans have reconstructed important branches of their economy. For example, some months ago Franz Josef Strauss, former Federal Minister for Atomic Questions, declared that West Germany was faced with the task of "catching up with the progress made by other nations during the last ten or fifteen years" in the field of atomic energy.

In reply to those in West Germany who voiced concern over West Germany's backwardness in atomic energy,

WHO IS FOOLING WHOM?

Defense Minister Theodor Blank said West Germany would have 96,000 men under arms by the end of this year. He denied there was any lag in the armament program....

"At the risk of being called a liar later, I can assure you that we shall carry out our NATO obligations this year to the fullest extent," Herr Blank told a group of visiting United States editors and commentators.

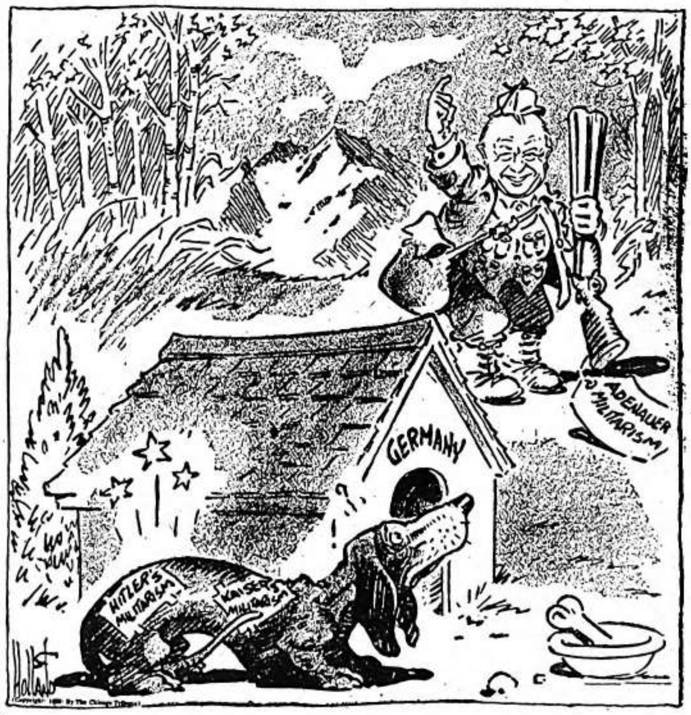
The West German armament program calls for the creation of a twelve-division, 500,000-man armed force as the Bonn Government's contribution to the Western defense forces.

(U. P., 3-27-56)

A West German spokesman today said the goal of a 96,000-man army by the end of this year will have to be abandoned....

As a result, the new Defense Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, will have to inform the North Atlantic Treaty Organization council in Paris later this fall that "certain delays" have arisen.

Mr. Strauss was named to succeed Theodor Blank yesterday in a move which suggests eventual abandonment of the goal of a 500,000-man "citizen-soldier" army. The former Minister for Atomic Affairs has favored a 300,000-man professional force armed with atomic weapons.... (Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Her. Trib.)



KINDA GUN SHY

(*Courtesy Chicago Tribune*)

Herr Strauss stated: "We shall build on the experience of other nations and turn to research and training in the field of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. We shall not, however, construct large-scale atomic power stations, which by the time they are completed in five or six years will become unprofitable and outmoded because of technical progress. It is not a matter of doing something fast but of doing what is necessary in the right way" (The Bulletin, 6-7-56). A similar line of thought has been expressed by the leaders of the German aircraft industry. The steel industry, too, has boasted that the destruction of plants has enabled the industry to reconstruct on the most modern basis available.

There is no doubt that this is the general position taken by German strategists in mapping Germany's plans for the future. Herr Strauss who has now been appointed Defense Minister, has made this crystal clear. According to the New York Times (9-23-56) Strauss warned "against the hasty building up of an army that might become obsolescent before it was fully formed." He was reported to have said that the army blueprinted five years ago for Germany "might produce only a second rate army today." Consequently, he urged that the Bonn Government "go slow now" so as to make sure that the new German army would be the most modern war machine possible. Time Magazine (9-10-56) in discussing Germany's reluctance to rearm as originally pledged, also referred to this factor: "Weapons are in a transitional state and Germans do not want to commit themselves to large scale production until the weapons of the future have taken clear shape."

The Chairman of the German Bundestag Defense Committee, Richard Jaeger, criticized what he alleged was the Allied attempt to load West Germany with outdated arms. "We do not want to pay for a false investment with the bones of German panzer (tank) troops," he said (New York Herald Tribune, 10-3-56). To repeat, the Germans prefer that the Western Allies devote huge resources to the development of new weapons so that Germany can ultimately reap the rewards.

(3) *Concessions from the U. S. A.:* The Germans are still hoping that they can extract additional bounties from the U. S. Treasury as their price for rearming. Chancellor Adenauer's Minister for Economic Affairs, Ludwig Erhard, assured the Bonn Parliament that defense expenditures would not exceed $2 billion annually. When he was asked what he would do if costs would be greater than this figure, Herr Erhard retorted, "then let the Americans pay!" (New York Times, 2-27-55). Finance Minister Schaeffer has also expressed the same view.

A New York Times dispatch (2-5-56) reported a statement by Schaeffer to the effect that "West Germany could not meet its commitments to NATO unless the U. S. were to meet the deficit." From time to time Chancellor Adenauer has also expressed this view, namely, that the major cost for German rearmament must be underwritten by the American taxpayers. The New York Times (1-25-56) ported that the views of the German political leaders were shared by all important groups in West Germany.

Besides the notion that Uncle Sam must foot the bill for German rearmament, the Germans are beginning to sound out our Government on a program that would, in effect, subsidize Germany's export drive. Indeed, this is the very heart of the so-called "Point 4½ Program" sponsored by the Krupp interests. While publicizing this plan as a move to help underdeveloped countries, Krupp hopes to be able to secure a dominating position in these markets. The Point 4½ Program is still in the preliminary stages of discussion and it remains to be seen whether the United States will grease the way for the Krupp venture via the U. S. Treasury. Unquestionably the Germans will show more sympathy to "rearmament" when and if they can milk Uncle Sam for additional billions. (See No. 48, p. 19.)

(4) *War Guilt and War Criminals:* The Society has frequently pointed out that Germany's top leaders including Chancellor Adenauer have resented the implications of the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. They are bitter about the punishment meted out to those who deny that they were war criminals in spite of all of the evidence to the contrary. In the past German leaders and militarists have railed against the United States for keeping in prison those who were "honorable" soldiers and politicians. The Allies have been warned and threatened that so long as one of these "heroes" remains in prison the German people will not show enthusiasm for military cooperation. At the rate that the Allies are freeing these criminals, one would expect that this factor would lose its importance. But one should not underestimate the other side of this question of war criminality, i.e., the role of the Allies in World War II.

There are powerful voices in Germany today who say that the Allies must admit that they were in wrong when they opposed Hitler who, after all, was only trying to save Europe from Bolshevism. If the past is any guide to the future, then we can anticipate that in due time "public opinion" in Germany will demand that the Allies must admit their "guilt" before the Germans will wholeheartedly cooperate with the Allied powers.

(5) *A German-Soviet Deal:* Of decisive importance in West Germany's calculations with regard to rearmament are her relations with the Soviet Union. There are many important leaders and groups who insist that West Germany go slow on rearmament for the sake of cementing her relations with the Russians. This position is held by two of Germany's most important parties, the Social Democrats and the Free Democratic Party. It is a view that is shared widely in West Germany. This is confirmed by the Christian Science Monitor's well-known correspondent in Germany, J. Emlyn Williams, who reported, "Most West Germans see remilitarization tied too closely to the Western powers as a hindrance (to German unification) because of Soviet objections" (9-21-56).

To the German military no less than to the big industrialists of the Ruhr whose mouths water when they think of the markets in the East, and to the growing number of politicians, the idea of a Russo-German deal is a worthwhile goal. If they could prove to the Russians that their military cooperation with the West is of a pro forma character, then the way could be paved for an understanding. This vision of an embrace with the Russians unquestionably enters into the disarmament picture.

(6) *German Assets:* From Chancellor Adenauer down, the Germans have been working overtime to regain the assets of I. G. Farben which were vested by the U. S. Government. Adenauer has publicly declared that the return of these assets was of the greatest importance in strengthening friendship between the U. S. and West Germany. On March 8, 1954, he said, "Any just solution of this question will strengthen the confidence

of the German people in the principles of the free world, will make fast the friendship between the American and German peoples and will relieve the German Government of a great worry." The Süddeutsche Zeitung (3-6-55) was more to the point about the "great worry" when it asked why German property should not be returned since the Germans and the United States have undertaken "military pledges of alliance to one another . . ."

A more blunt comment on the relationship between the return of the assets and Germany's military cooperation with NATO was made by Der Tag (3-5-55) when it stated, "The situation is more serious here in Germany than people in America realize. If Mr. Abs (Hitler's paymaster and leading German banker) does not win a satisfactory solution (for the return of the Farben interests) on his trip to Washington, General Gruenther loses a battle." To our knowledge, no paper in the United States reported this interesting comment. The voice of Farben, just as under Hitler, has special influence on Bonn policy and Herr Adenauer wil hardly move quickly to fulfill his pledges to NATO so long as Farben is not paid off.

"Anti-Militarism"

In assessing West Germany's attitude toward rearming at the present time one cannot ignore the factors mentioned above. Unfortunately, most commentators have evaluated the general slowdown in German rearmament as an indication of the growing anti-militaristic spirit in Germany. We do not deny the fact that there are many people in West Germany, particularly among the youth, who have no enthusiasm for a new German Wehrmacht. We do not even doubt their sincerity and we are even willing to concede for argument's sake that they are in the majority. However, a similar situation occurred after World War I. Then as now, most Germans were caught in the wave of disillusionment and embitterment toward the futility of war and militarism. This general feeling was symbolized by the great novel "All Quiet on the Western Front" by Erich Maria Remarque. Yet, there was a radical change of feeling at the beginning of the 1930s and those who shouted "nie wieder" in the 1920s began to echo the cries of the Nazis for revenge and for regaining the glories of the Fatherland.

As for today, we say that all encouragement should be given to these anti-militaristic sentiments but let us not confuse the immediate mood with the long-range factors and plans that are operating on the German scene. Even Krupp has publicly declared his disgust with war, but who would dare to say that Krupp has turned pacifist? The confusion on the so-called anti-militaristic spirit in Germany became even more pronounced when Adenauer fired Herr Blank and appointed Franz-Josef Strauss to the defense post. The New York Post writer, Theodore Kaghan, who is thoroughly familiar with the German problem, hailed the Strauss appointment as "a concession to the rising resentment toward rearmament throughout the country . . ." (New York Post (10-18-56). If it were only true!

The New Defense Minister

Who is Herr Strauss? According to published records Strauss is a Bavarian who, in his youth, distributed Nazi propaganda in Munich, the birthplace of Hitlerism (Time Magazine, 10-29-56), and during World War II served in Hitler's Wehrmacht as an artillery lieutenant. According to the Christian Science Monitor Herr Strauss "inclines much more toward the old military tradition" (10-16-56). In our lexicon this can only mean that he is an admirer of "the good old days" when the German General Staff reigned supreme.

Thus, Time Magazine reports that Strauss is determined to reestablish "a military planning group, tantamount to a German Geenral Staff." Strauss has insisted that the German army must be equipped "with the most modern weapons available including atomic arms . . ." (New York Times, 10-18-56). Parenthetically, it should be noted that when Strauss visited the United States in the spring of 1956, he gave public assurances that Germany would strictly adhere to her pledges that the Germans would not employ the atom in her military setup (Washington Post, 5-17-56). Time Magazine (l. c.) reports that Strauss demands "a national German army of professional soldiers." Moreover, he insists that the new German army must "be as independent as possible, because he felt that the NATO strategy was not in Germany's best interests."

In the face of these facts it is difficult to agree with the interpretation that Strauss' appointment represents a victory for anti-militarism. It is true that Strauss' army will not be large quantitatively. However, if it is organized along the lines envisaged by him, equipped with atomic weapons, its quality will make up for the shortage of numbers. The professional character of this army is indicated by the fact that it will be dominated by career soldiers, one out of every three being an officer or a non-commissioned officer.

The Atom

Strauss' insistence on putting atom bombs in the hands of his professional army has been fully endorsed by Adenauer. The story goes that, when Adenauer visited Belgium in September 1956 he asked the Western statesmen to support his request that Germany be equipped with atomic bombs. Adenauer's position "startled Belgium's Paul Henri Spaak" (Time Magazine, 10-8-56).

Certainly these plans of Adenauer and Strauss can hardly be regarded as furthering the cause of anti-militarism. Yet, the German bigwigs are pleased that there is an anti-militaristic feeling in Germany for this sentiment serves a twofold purpose: (1) to delay rearmanent on the basis of the factores outlined above, (2) to carefully plan the new German army so that it will be even mightier than that which fought for Hitler.

Therefore, while we are pleased to see that there is a wave of anti-militarism in Germany and believe it should be supported, we must beware of the fickleness of German sentiment as we must beware of the Krupps, the Kesselrings and the Doenitzes.

Some of our readers have interpreted our strictures against West Germany's failure to abide by her armament commitments as an indication that the Society favors German rearmament. Nothing can be further from the truth. As in the past we remain unalterably opposed to the remilitarization of West Germany and East Germany since we believe that the rearming of the former enemy will turn out to be a long step toward World War III. By exposing Germany's failures in meeting her NATO commitments we have tried to re-emphasize the fact that Germany's pledges to the Allies are not worth the paper they are written on, be it in military or other matters.

On U. S. Foreign Policy

by
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

(Excerpts from an address by Senator Humphrey at the Overseas Press Club in New York City)

We are almost at the end of the most momentous year since World War II. It has been a paradoxical year—one in which both the United States and the Soviet Union have suffered severe diplomatic defeats. The United States saw the North Atlantic alliance shaken to its roots when war broke out in the Middle East. And the Soviet Union lost its grip on the captive countries of Eastern Europe.

It is too soon to attempt to strike a balance as to who lost more. It is not too soon, however—indeed, we have waited too long already—to begin an urgent reappraisal, however agonizing it may be, of the world situation and of our own posture toward it.

Quite obviously, fundamental changes of enormous consequence have taken place. No man can foresee where they will end. The old, static condition has ended; conditions are more fluid than at any time since 1945. The cold war has changed from one of fixed positions to one of maneuver. This increases somewhat the dangers; but it also greatly increases the opportunities for statesmanship that is both wise and bold, imaginative and judicious.

Our first task is to assess the nature and implications of these changes that are taking place.

The first thing we must realize is that in today's world there can be no effective foreign policy without risks. There is no risk-proof insurance policy that will guarantee freedom and security in today's world.

One of the basic facts of our time is the spirit of nationalism which dominates the thinking of most of the underdeveloped areas of the world. We are all familiar with the manifestations of this force—the anti-Westernism throughout much of Asia and Africa and the irresponsible fashion in which the Soviet Union has tried to take advantage of this feeling and use it for its own ends. What we are now seeing is the re-emergence of this same spirit of nationalism in the Soviet countries of Eastern Europe.

Nationalism is challenging international communism on its home grounds, and the end is not yet. This points up, as clearly as anything possibly could, the truth of what many Americans have been saying for years—namely, that international communism is fundamentally inconsistent with nationalism and that it presents the most serious threat of all to the hard-won independence of the new states of Asia and Africa. . . .

One reason we need the U. N. is to provide a constructive focus for this tremendous force of nationalism which otherwise would be running wild. The U. N. does not control nationalism, but it does provide a framework in which nationalism can find its proper and responsible place in a world society that is becoming increasingly interdependent. The U. N. can likewise protect and encourage nationalism.

The problems we now face in Eastern Europe and the Middle East have little in common, but it can be said, I think, that the roots of the problems in both instances are nationalist in origin. The challenge, both before the U. N. and before our own government, is how we deal with these problems in a responsible manner calculated to promote the principles of the United Nations Charter, to advance the national interests of the United States, and to bring some greater measure of peace and freedom to the people of the areas concerned. . . .

The ferment in Eastern Europe obviously presents opportunities; but it also places a great obligation on us to act in a sober, responsible manner.

We should be prepared to discuss sympathetically economic aid with the independent governments of Eastern Europe, as, for example, Poland. . . .

Much can be done through other policies if we but have the wit to think of them. And we had better think of some pretty fast, because the manifestations of nationalism in Eastern Europe increase the urgency of finding some sort of security system that Europe can live with. In some respects, the obvious weaknesses of communism in the captive countries may well give the Soviets pause. But in other respects, this situation could trigger World War III—either as a Soviet tactic to re-establish control or as a consequence of some as yet more violent explosion in one of the satellites. . . .

We should continue, of course, to use every avenue available to put increasing pressure on the Soviets through the United Nations in regard to the Hungarian situation. By their arrogant defiance of the UN, they are increasingly isolating themselves from the rest of humanity.

The UN actions in regard to Hungary have not been as vigorous as I would have liked and the situation has dragged on longer than I would have liked, but by proceeding one step at a time we have been able to resolve some of the doubts that troubled many of the Asian-African states at the beginning.

It is my personal view, however, that the UN should go further in regard to Hungary. In commenting upon the UN action in regard to the Middle East, Vice President Nixon recently said that it upheld the rule of law—"the same law for the powerful and the strong as for the weak and the defenseless." What the UN must now do in regard to Hungary is to apply the same law to the scoundrels and aggressors as to the decent and honorable. . . .

Certainly the UN cannot content itself with condemnatory resolutions, no matter how strongly worded. We should not only take steps to insure against the return of the spurious Hungarian representatives who walked out of the UN last week; we should also give consideration to economic and diplomatic sanctions against the Kadar regime in Hungary and against the Soviet Union itself.

As of now, the Soviet Union and her puppet regime in Budapest have refused to let U. N. observers come into Hungary. We must continue to press hard to demand that these observers be admitted.

Even without observers, the world has learned several things from these recent horrors in Hungary.

First, these uprisings show that there still exists in satellite lands the same love of freedom which is the natural heritage of man everywhere.

Second, we have learned how totally unrealistic it is to assume that the people of the satellite countries will automatically support Moscow. That is a very important lesson.

Third, we have learned that you cannot easily crunch the spirit of liberty. It keeps glowing in spite of years of totalitarian repression and in spite of foreign armies.

Fourth, we have learned that even the youth brought up during such periods of repression still desire liberty and are willing to fight for it. . . .

We have also learned that food is tremendously important as a weapon—both in a cold and in a hot war, and this has become something of a hot war.

Our policy with regard to food assistance has not been clear. It is disgraceful that we should receive dispatches about food shortages, even in Austria, when we have adequate supplies, including supplies of milk, that we could easily have sent. We should dramatize the airlift which we're using to bring in refugees, by sending every plane back on the return trip loaded to capacity with powdered milk and other food supplies, so that our response could be immediately seen and our aid would be dramatic, and inspiring to those who are fighting for freedom.

We should also extend the use of American food to any country that takes refugees and needs such aid, besides Austria. . . .

Revelation of the Soviet oppression in Hungary has had the most damaging effect on the Communist party of anything since the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939. It has increased the chances of the breakdown of the Soviet empire and has contributed to the unrest of students and intellectuals in Russia itself. Now is the time when America should speak not only in terms of good-will, but in terms of definite actions—actions which may involve risks, but as I said before, there is no risk-proof insurance policy covering such things as freedom and security.

* * *

Turning now to the Middle East, we find an area where the problems are so many and so complex that one hardly knows where to start. It is now truly a power vacuum. Although Soviet influence has greatly increased, American prestige is also at a new high. As the Soviet threat makes solutions to the area's problems more urgent, so does the new American position, coupled with the new solidarity which has developed in the UN, offer hope of finding solutions.

The UN has an especially important role to play. It is dangerous for either the United States or the Soviet Union to try to be the dominant power in the Middle East; this is an area ready-made for the kind of international ministrations that the UN is peculiarly equipped to undertake.

As Germany is the key in Europe, so I think the Arab-Israeli conflict is the key in the Middle East. It is idle to expect peace ever to come to that unhappy area until some settlement of this conflict is reached.

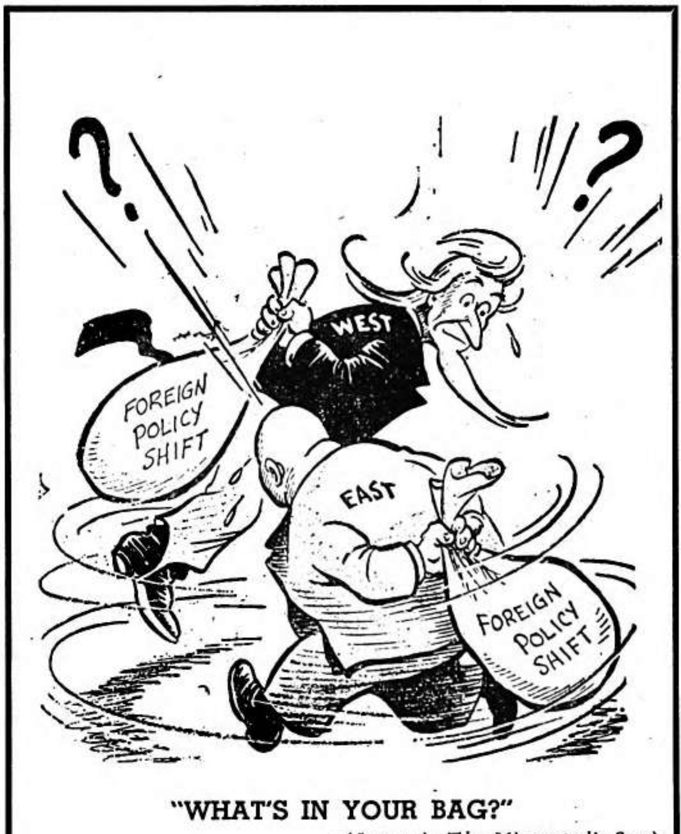
It has been amply demonstrated that the UN will not tolerate aggression in the Middle East. It is also, I think becoming increasingly clear to the states of that area that it is not in their own interests to rely on the Soviet Union. What we must now do is to make it still more clear to the Arabs and Israelis alike that it is in their own interests to reach a settlement, that they hurt themselves more than anyone else by stubbornly insisting that the world has not moved since 1947. In the last analysis, this dispute can be settled only by the parties concerned, and we cannot expect them to do that until they realize that they will be better off with it settled than with it unsettled.

The United States and also the United Nations must be firm and just with both sides. As we acted to halt the invasion of Egypt, so we should now take steps to halt persecutions of Jews in Egypt. We can certainly not stand idly by in the face of increasing reports of anti-Semitism as an official policy of the Nasser government.

In the best of circumstances, it will take at least a generation for the hatreds of the Middle East to entirely abate. The more each side retaliates against the other, the longer it will take.

It is unrealistic to expect an Arab-Israeli settlement to spring fullblown from any single set of negotiations. A settlement in the Middle East must be pursued one step at a time.

The first step is obviously to bring about a complete with-



"WHAT'S IN YOUR BAG?"

(Justus in The Minneapolis Star)

drawal of foreign forces from the area, in prompt compliance with U. N. resolutions.

The second step is a settlement of the Suez Canal problem over and above the physical work of clearance. Here the six principles unanimously agreed to by the UN Security Council offer a good starting point for reaching an agreement on the Canal's operation.

With these immediate issues out of the way and with a groundwork of quiet, careful diplomatic preparation, we can approach negotiations for a general settlement. There are other things, however, that we can also be doing in the meantime. What the Middle East desperately needs is economic development—not simply for its own sake but as a constructive endeavor to occupy the minds and energies of the people and their leaders. We have furnished a considerable amount of economic and technical assistance to the area; yet, with a few exceptions, it has not been particularly effective. We have tried very hard, and have failed, to get agreements on regional projects, such as the Jordan River plan.

The time may now be more propitious for such undertakings, and we should vigorously renew our efforts, not only to get the Jordan River and similar projects underway but also to get some action on the refugee problem.

It might be useful, in this connection, to consider establishing, under United Nations auspices, a Middle East Development Authority. Most of the economic, as well as the other, problems of the area are international in their scope. Most of them also require outside assistance, either in the form of capital, of technical aid, or of good offices. Why not, then, have an international agency to deal with them? The kind of Middle East Development Authority that I have in mind would have, on its board of directors, representatives of all the states of the area as well as representatives of the states furnishing capital and technical assistance. Ample provision could be made to protect national sovereignties.

In any event, it appears obvious that we are going to have to extend more aid to the Middle East—and do it more effectively.

Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the whole Suez affair is that innocent bystanders, both in Europe and in the Middle East, are getting hurt. All of Western Europe is suffering from oil shortages along with Britain and France, though none of the other countries in Western Europe can be charged with any responsibility for their present troubles. And in the Middle East, the oil-producing states are suffering from lack of markets, though two of the states—Iraq and Iran—had nothing to do with the events which brought this situation about. . . .

To sum up:

In the Middle East we must insist that the Canal be opened and cleared. We must insist upon the use of British and French and any other available equipment in helping achieve a purpose that is vital to all of us.

We must keep U. N. forces in the Middle East large enough to cope with any danger in the area, and as long as is necessary, until a permanent settlement has been worked out.

That settlement must be one which opens the Suez Canal and guarantees that it will remain open, free and unfettered, for the safe conduct of the shipping of all the world, including Israeli ships. The question of national ownership is secondary—but the effectiveness and enforcibility of these guarantees must be absolute.

In the end, an Arab-Israeli settlement must be brought about in Palestine. While the Arabs refuse to recognize the existence of Israel such a settlement is impossible. We must use every device available to American diplomacy, operating through the United Nations and otherwise, to overcome this intransigence, to make it clear that we expect to see a settlement reached, and that we insist upon an ending of the interminable border raids from either direction. Meanwhile we must move forward with a bold regional plan for economic aid, such as I have already outlined.

Political factors must not be allowed to prevent settlement of the refugee problem. Wherever these refugees came from —and there are Jewish refugees from Arab countries as well as Arab refugees from Palestine—they are all of them people, and our first concern must be to get these human beings settled and re-integrated as part of the permanent economy of an area in the world that is easily able to support them, given some sensible economic plan and reasonable assistance.

Now to conclude, the year 1957, which is almost upon us, is likely to be even more crucial than 1956. We have got to be both steadfast in principle and flexible in tactics. Today I have had time only to scratch the surface of some of the problems we face. I have raised more questions than I have answered.

I think we can find the answers, but it will take more imagination and courage, fewer platitudes and less blinking at facts, than we have shown heretofore.

People who have experienced the rise and fall of Hitler and the growth of the Muscovite Empire, know that in President Nasser's Cairo, Soviet and Nazi technicians are once more cooperating with all the intimacy inspired by their dead leaders' 1939 pact. Hence few men and women of the Old World can grasp the Administration's masochistic solicitude for Egypt's ruler. Nor can they understand the heartlessness with which Washington has been trying to use oil-hungry Europe's dire need as a means of diplomatic pressure, and showing not the slightest concern for NATO members who have been hurt at least as hard as the so-called "aggressors" in London and Paris. Mr. Dulles, or his successor, will somehow have to restore an Allied unity that, cordial words notwithstanding, U. S. deeds have denied. If the Secretary of State has succeeded in temporarily buying the friendship of Messrs. Nasser, Nehru, Sokarno and Tito—rulers of nations that lack the rudiments of democracy—his job now is to regain friends who are far more essential to the U. S. and whom he has insulted, humiliated and harmed economically.

(Barron's, 12-3-56)

The Soviet Menace in the Middle East

by
IRVING MILLER

We have reached a dangerous turning point in the Middle East, and a sweeping reevaluation of United States policy in that area has become essential. The future of the Middle East cannot be left to leisurely diplomatic maneuver in and out of the United Nations. It is now a matter of extreme urgency what that future is to be, because the survival of the free world hinges upon it. What is required at present is an objective reappraisal of the current economic and political forces at work in the Arab world and a determined effort to deal with them courageously.

Although some perennial optimists in the State Department try to gloss over the fact, it is absolutely correct to say that Gamal Abdel Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal on July 26 marked a crucial turning point, not only in relations between East and West, but also among the partners of the Western Alliance. Perhaps, as Britain's Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd put it with diplomatic tact, the rift between the U. S. and its British and French allies has as yet "developed no irreparable damage."

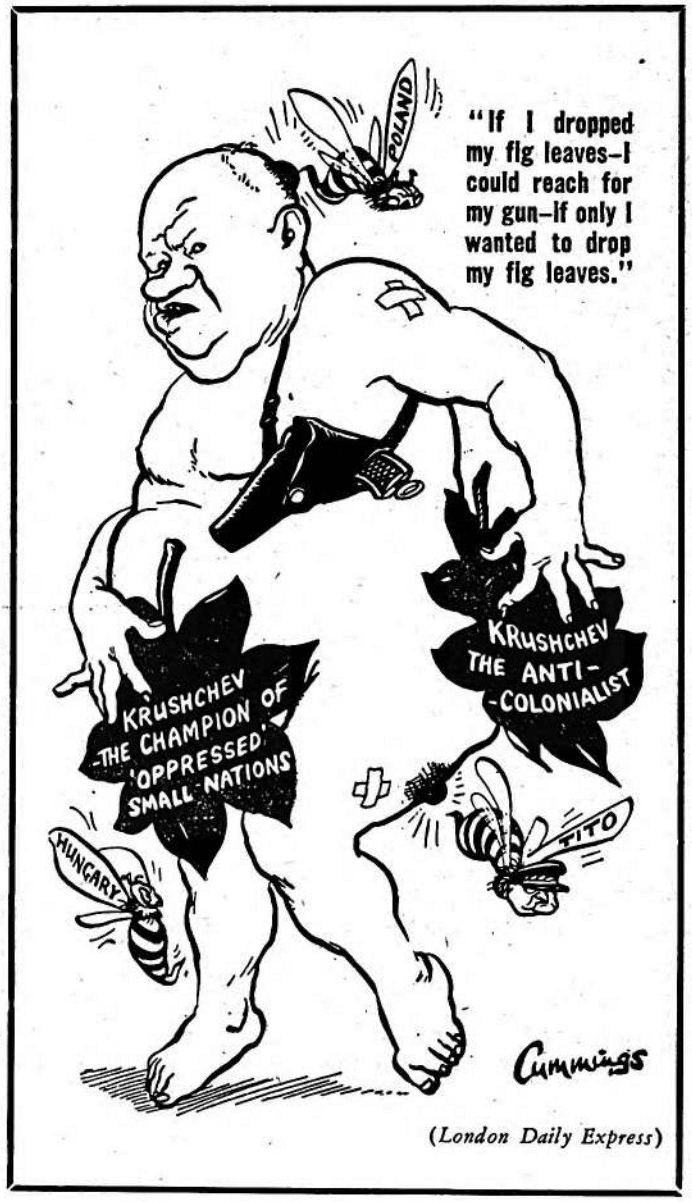
The tragic fact, however, remains that while the Western alliance is fraying apart, Soviet Russia is becoming the dominant power in Egypt, Syria, Jordon, and other parts of the Arab world. Lenin, Stalin, and their uneasy successors in the Kremlin were never able to achieve this on their own, through revolutionary intrigue, cold war strategy, or the smiling face of "peaceful coexistence." The Egyptian dictator has accomplished it for them through his policy aimed at the destruction of Israel and his seizure of the Canal.

At the most critical juncture in the development of the Middle East in modern times, Washington has found itself with no policy at all, or rather a "policy" based on wishful thinking about and complete ignorance of Soviet intentions in the Middle East. The Washington experts were so used to viewing world events from their own end of the spectrum that they completely failed to grasp the fact that in Nasser's wake Soviet penetration of the Middle East was increasing by leaps and bounds.

Washington hoped as usual to muddle through by ignoring the storm signals and refusing to see the Soviet menace. The State Department still naively believed that economic and technical assistance, increasingly resented by xenophobic Arab governments, accompanied by pious sermons about the virtues of democracy, would win corrupt and reactionary Arab politicians to our side and dispel the lure of demagogic Communism for disgruntled Arab intellectuals in search of a place in the sun.

While the U. S. was offering technical aid and Point Four loans, the Kremlin oligarchs, working through Nasser and his imitators in Syria and Jordan, tightened their stranglehold on the Middle East by lavish supplies of heavy arms. While we were offering them bread, the Soviet Union was presenting them with a sword and inflaming them with dreams of a Pan-Arab empire.

The present situation in the Middle East cannot be realistically appraised without some knowledge of Russia's past and present aims in the Middle East. Russian policy-makers, Tsarist or Communist, have long been convinced that the road to world domination runs through the Middle East into the heart of Asia. Once the Middle East and the rest of Southern Asia had been brought under Russian control, they reasoned, Europe would surely follow. Historical parallels are sometimes misleading, but there is a strikingly similarity between present-day Soviet policy and the aims that shaped Tsarist policy in the Middle East during the 19th and early


"If I dropped my fig leaves—I could reach for my gun—If only I wanted to drop my fig leaves."
POLAND
KRUSHCHEV THE CHAMPION OF 'OPPRESSED' SMALL NATIONS
KRUSHCHEV THE ANTI-COLONIALIST
HUNGARY
TITO
Cummings

(*London Daily Express*)

20th centuries.

In 1900, Tsarist General Kuropatkin described Russia's long-range plans in the Middle East as follows:

"When we gain control over the Bosporus (Turkey) and the entrance to the Mediterranean, we shall be able to tackle the Egyptian question with energy and make the Suez Canal our thoroughfare. When we have won this entry into the Indian Ocean, we can constantly threaten India. Russian competition on the world market will intimidate the highly developed countries of Europe and America . . . and we shall extend our tentacles towards the Atlantic."

Kuropatkin's ambitions were echoed by the Tsarist politician, Skobelev, who declared: "The stronger Russia is in the Middle East, the weaker England becomes in Asia and the more conciliatory she will be in Europe."

Contemporary Soviet interests match those of the Tsars. Forty years after Kuropatkin's blueprint for world conquest, Stalin and Molotov, in secret negotiations with Hitler in November 1940, made it clear that Soviet "territorial aspirations center in the direction of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf." Moscow's current policy in the Middle East presents an amalgam of "new" revolutionary slogans and tactics combined with century-old aims.

At the beginning of this century, Russian ambitions in the Middle East were held in check by the rivalry of Germany, Austro-Hungary, France, Italy, and Britain. However, at the conclusion of the second World War, Britain remained virtually alone as guardian of Western strategic and economic interests in the area and the sole bulwark of military power against Soviet incroachment. One of the basic assumptions of U. S. foreign policy—insofar as we had a clearcut foreign policy—was the preservation of British power in the Middle East.

We have now, through our cooperation on the Suez Canal question at the United Nations with Moscow and its European and Arab satellites, inflicted possibly irreparable damage on Britain's position, not only in the Middle East but in the world at large. With Britain no longer of military and political significance in the Middle East, and the United States maintaining, at least for the present, a policy of benevolent neutrality, the region has become a vacuum, irresistibly attractive to Soviet power, the influence of which is already felt.

Partisans of current Washington policies contend that the U. S. refusal to support Britain, France and Israel will disarm Communism's ideological weapons and weaken Soviet influence among the hungry and disease-ridden Arab masses. They ignore the fact that it was U. S. indecision and failure to take seriously Nasser's plans to wipe out Israel and the necessity of preserving the international character of the Suez waterway that brought about the rift in the Western alliance, and prompted Britain, France, and Israel to undertake military action against Egypt.

Until the crisis in the Middle East is resolved, one thing remains abundantly clear: the East-West conflict continues, the cold war is renewed, and the threat of Soviet domination of the free world is still a burning issue. This conflict cannot be ended by the temporary palliative of a UN police force, but only through the maintenance of the political unity and military preparedness of the Western alliance and by unstinting support—military, economic, and diplomatic—for the State of Israel.

Moscow is fully aware—even if the State Department is unconvinced—that today Israel is the main bastion of the free world in the Middle East and the sole barrier to Soviet domination of Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and probably of oil-rich Saudi Arabia. It is just because of this that the Soviet Union continues its vicious and unbridled attacks against Israel's right to exist.

(*Courtesy, Congress Weekly*)

BUNDLES FOR GERMANY?

I read with some dismay of the efforts of the Germans, with the apparent sympathy of the United States Administration, to recover some, if not all, of the German property seized in the United States.

By the Paris Act of 1946, the Allies undertook not to return the German property they seized. By the Bonn Convention the validity of the seizure was recognized by the West German Federal Republic, which undertook to compensate its nationals accordingly.

It is hard to understand why the United States should apparently be willing by a unilateral act to disregard such treaty obligations.

Moreover, what will be the effect on our European Allies? . . .

The Germans occupied these countries and subjected them to economic pillage and, as you reported in an earlier issue, the claims of Holland for the restitution of securities looted during the occupation are as yet denied by the Germans. . . .

(Roger W. Sewill, Director-General, Aims of Industry, The London Economist, 9-15-56)

West Germans are rounding out their most prosperous year since the war. . . .

The return of the Saarland on Jan. 1 will open a rich new market for German products. This border area has been controlled by the French since World War II. With its coal and steel production, the Saar will further entrench Germany's position as the leading economic force of West Europe.

The Middle East crisis may actually help Germany by opening markets long dominated by Britain and France. And the West Germans are clearly better off than most other West European nations in the current oil shortage resulting from the blocking of the Suez Canal. . . .
(AP, 12-22-56)

NEVER AGAIN!

Alfried Krupp today reiterated that he will never produce arms again.

The former munitions producer said through a spokesman that the firm would "not compete" for any orders connected with German rearmament. . . . (AP, 3-23-56)

* * *

The United States awarded Krupp its first military jet-plane license. (Look, 10-2-56)

The Great Danger

by

PETER MISKA

Once again we have more than two dozen garrisons, as well as tanks, armored infantry, navy and airforce schools and two officers academies. The great danger is not that recruits are being rigidly trained again. It lies elsewhere: At one of the new airforce training schools an instructor officer delivered a so-called lecture on civics before the future young pilots. The topic of the talk: "The Lost Homeland between Vistula and Memel." An officer of the Bundeswehr with the rank of battalion commander recently remarked to a civilian visitor: "Your apprehensions are all good and well but for me only one fact exists: the Russians have killed my father—I will never forget that."

Approximately 50 percent of the Bundeswehr officer corps originally come from East Germany. Of course, they do not talk all day about what was taken from them; but the concept of the lost homeland has already become part of the official schedule. The slogan "national injustice" is making the rounds amongst the troops. Intentionally or not, officers stir up resentments; knowingly or unknowingly, they do awaken thoughts of revenge. And therein lies the danger.

This danger is especially great because this time it does not apply to Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig and the Polish Corridor; rather, it concerns itself with half of Germany, with the "lost homeland" east of the Elbe and, because not only displaced persons but nearly every one of us is close to someone or something behind the iron curtain, even if it be a mother's grave. Though the attempt to liberate it is senseless, it is a holy cause. He who opposes it, is automatically branded.

The danger is great for, after all, there is a difference if the civilian Karl Schulze from Koenigsberg and his dear little spouse are still raving about beautiful East Prussia or if the Major of the Bundeswehr Karl Schulze indoctrinates his men with the thesis of the "lost homeland" and the "injustice wreaked upon us." The danger here is especially great because the thesis does hold some truth and because the men who are indoctrinated are just learning how and for what purposes arms are to be used.

Hardly do we have soldiers, and already we have again something for which—and against which—they could march. "Start marching to any place? Out of the question. That is technically impossible," say authoritative Bundeswehr strategists.

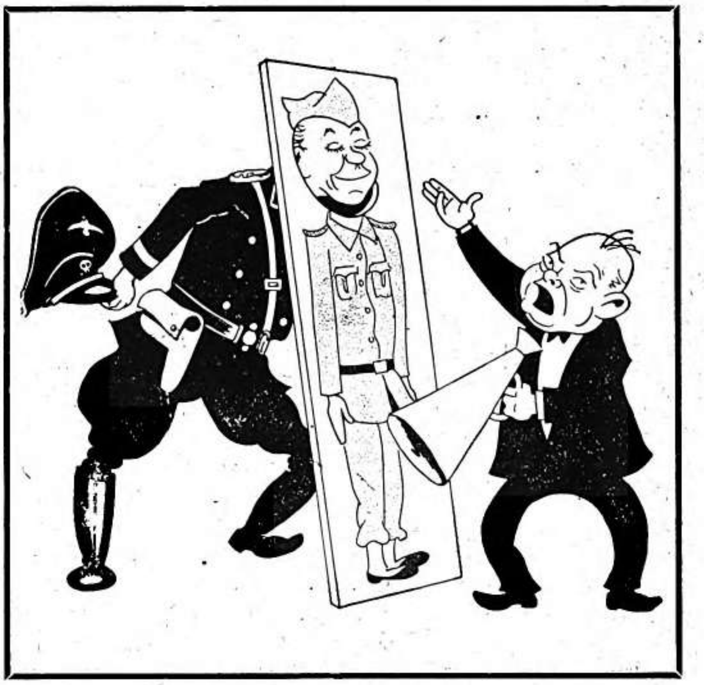
The objection betrays in which direction the military think. It is correct—that within this limitation *for the present* it is technically still impossible for us "to march." The Bundeswehr is still in its infancy, American and (a few) British soldiers are still stationed in West Germany and Soviet soldiers in East Germany. Some day, however, the Bundeswehr will stand in force, perhaps even—as per the Chancellor's order—in strength of 500,000 men; some day, the last companies of Americans here and Russians there will have left. It is unlikely that the West German officers who today speak already of the "lost homeland" and the "inability to ever forgetting" will then become more reticent. Whether the politicians will then be able to, or even want to, check the military is a question which, in view of some of our present political personalities, cannot readily be answered in the affirmative.

The people will not exactly rejoice if matters ever become earnest. But, rejoicing or not, as usual they will not be consulted but will just be called to the colors. Not all the regiments are in possession of their flags as yet but already the commandants and instructors are busily engaged in embroidering the battle cries upon them.

These are age-old battle cries, but they retain their appeal and will ever continue to do so. The most telling slogan will again be the "the fight against the injustice done to us and our people." This is enough to touch off warlike impulses even in the most pacifist German.

Of course: it has not come to this yet. But, "the future has started already." To express it in military terms, danger is in the offing.

(*Courtesy, Frankfurter Rundschau*)



"JUST LOOK HOW HARMLESS HE IS!"

(*Deutsche Volkszeitung*)

Egypt's Nazi Propagandist

by

MALKAH RAYMIST

A few months ago a Canadian journalist, William Stevenson of the *Toronto Star,* and a British journalist, Ann Sharpley of the London *Evening Standard,* were expelled from Egypt for getting around too much and too fast, but not before they managed to get some glimpse of the truth about the Nasser regime. The official reason given for their expulsion was that they had attempted to interview Egypt's ex-President Naguib who is held incommunicado under house arrest. But, in fact, they were ousted from Egypt for another reason, for having attempted—and succeeded—in interviewing almost as inaccessible, if free and even privileged, a personage, Professor Johann van Leers, a former top Nazi propagandist, who was and is probably still masterminding Egypt's anti-Jewish and anti-Israel propaganda campaign as head of a corps of Nazis reputedly numbering 200 in the service of President Nasser.

Professor von Leers was first smoked out by Ann Sharpley. She walked into his office and addressed him by name and then refused to swallow his attempts to conceal his identity. She confronted him with irrefutable facts and data about his past. When he realized that further denials about his identity were futile, the professor sought to dismiss his importance by asserting that his function was limited to translating for President Nasser articles in the world papers hostile to Egypt or the president himself.

What is the background of this shadowy figure who acts as adviser to Egypt's Minister of National Guidance and who occupies with his staff an entire floor in that ministry? Recently a Dutch newspaper *Trouw* published an incident in which Professor von Leers figured and which of itself is revelatory.

The story goes back to 1933. In that year, according to the newspaper, an attempt was made to revive the International Students' Organization by bringing together students from Germany, Britain, and France in order to influence them to help maintain peace in the world. The Dutch university city of Leyden was chosen as the meeting place. The Dutch delegation, acting as host, participated in the mainly Anglo-Franco-German students' conference.

Since the efforts of Britain, France and Holland were directed at influencing the German students to help maintain peace, the German delegation was naturally the focal point of attention. Its president became therefore the central figure of the conference. His arrival was deliberately shrouded in mystery by the Germans; his name was not disclosed until he appeared; and he arrived only after all the other members of the conference had already gathered in Holland. He turned out to be a jovial and affable young man with several university degrees attached to his name. The name was: Dr. Johann von Leers.

The conference proceeded fairly smoothly for several days. But then Dr. Huizinga, the Rector of Leyden University, urgently summoned the chairman of the Dutch delegation and requested him to find out whether the Dr. von Leers presiding over the German delegation was the author of a recently published virulent anti-Semitic pamphlet. It was titled *Die Juden Sehen Dich An* (Jews Are Looking at You). Among the many slanders contained in the pamphlet was the ritual murder libel, presented as an established fact.

Young Dr. von Leers was summoned and questioned by the Dutch hosts. He readily admitted that he was the author of the pamphlet. When asked whether he himself believed in the ritual murder accusation, he fidgeted and laughed nervously, "You see, that was written more than a year ago. It was before the general elections. The National Socialist party wanted something with a catchy slogan, something to get hold of the masses. . . . So they asked me to write a booklet with a strongly anti-Semitic angle. But really, between ourselves, there is no need to take it so seriously."

But the Dutch professors, not easily put off, insisted that he state whether or not he believed in what he had written. After this preliminary interview, von Leers was requested to appear next morning before the University Senate which was obviously determined to inquire into his views and activities. Dr. von Leers tried to avoid the issue, going off on a tangent and attempting to involve his interrogators in a lengthy argu-

HAILING HITLER

Bashir al-Auf, the editor of a leading Syrian daily, Al Manar, wrote recently:

"One should not forget that, in contrast to Europe, Hitler occupied an honored place in the Arab world. His name awakened in Arab hearts feelings of love and enthusiasm. . . .

"The Arab world should be congratulated on producing in its midst this Hitler who has shaken the world from end to end. . . . English and French journalists are mistaken if they think that by calling Nasser Hitler they are hurting us. On the contrary, his name makes us proud. Long live Hitler, the Nazi who struck at the heart of our enemies! Long live the Hitler of the Arab world who has opened the gates of victory and eternity for his people!"

ment. But they pressed him hard for an unequivocal yes or no, and finally he admitted that he did not believe in what he wrote. "No, of course not," he mumbled.

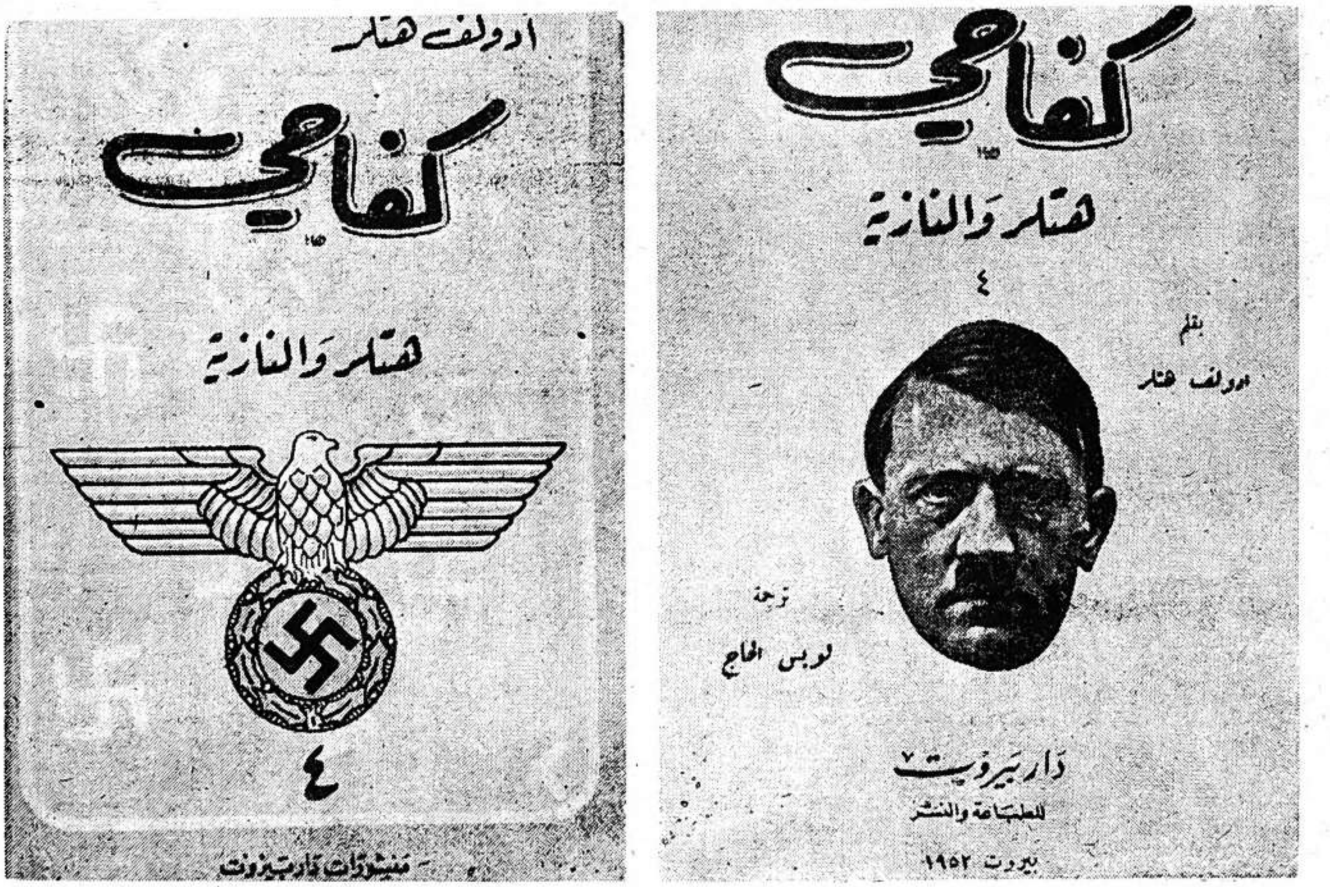
As soon as they heard this admission, the Dutch professors asked him point-blank whether he was prepared to correct his error publicly and in writing. He replied that it would be impossible since this would mean the end of his scientific career, and of his career altogether. On hearing this, Dr. Huizinga pointed to the door and exclaimed: "Out with you! such an individual does not deserve to breathe the air of Leyden!" (This was not forgotten. Dr. Huizinga became one of the first hostages immediately after the establishment of the Nazi regime in Holland.)

Johann von Leers, who is now 54 years old, was in his youth a member of the Freikorps Viking, one of the precursors of the Nazi movement. He grew with the movement and with the party and, as early as 1929, he was an official of the German Foreign Office and a member of the Nazi party. In 1932 he joined the S.A. Brownshirts and in 1936 became a member of the German General Staff with the rank of major. He became an important figure in the racial research department, headed the department of foreign policy in the Nazi Political College, and was the chief editor of the Nazi journal *Wille und Weg* (The Will and the Way) published by the German propaganda Ministry.

But in 1941 his star dimmed. He fell afoul of his chief, Alfred Rosenberg, the ideologist of the Nazi Party, and was sent in disgrace to Vienna, to fill the place of a professor who had been murdered by the Nazis. There he fell deeper into disgrace and was charged with plagiarism and tried by a court of teachers. But he survived all this and managed to emerge unscathed from the war and even from disgrace within the Nazi party. After World War II he returned to Germany and lived for some time in Bonn, but later emigrated to Argentina. It was there that he was discovered by agents of Nasser.

Von Leers is a prolific writer specializing chiefly in pseudoscientific pamphlets. He tries sedulously to imitate Goebbels but lacks the latter's brittle brilliance and shrewdness. He plods along in heavy fashion, and his pedestrian efforts at propaganda are joined to the bombast and violence that mark the Arab fulminations against Israel and Jews.

(*Courtesy, Congress Weekly*)



EGYPTIAN BEST-SELLER

Israeli forces found stacks of Hitler's "Mein Kampf," in Arabic, in Egyptian army camps in Sinai.

Now They March Again!

"The true Germany must still remain silent, but some day it will act." These words, rendered with screaming pathos, come from the mouth of former SS Gruppen and HJ Bannerfuehrer Kosche. He talked thus at the party convention of the German Reichs Party in Wiesbaden. For the time being the party is still desperately looking for some sort of democratic guise; however, the above quoted sentence is not the only indication that the German Reichs Party is nothing but the heir to the Socialist Reichs Party which, a few years ago, was characterized and prohibited by the Federal Constitutional Court as a subversive organization.

Also, some details in the make-up of the party convention point to the great "spiritual" pattern of the Nazi party of the Third Reich. For example, on the main wall of the largest auditorium in the casino there was a white eagle on a black backdrop. In its claws it held a black, white and red banner, above this the motto: "The Springs Will Flow Forever." Actually, this is the motto of Wiesbaden, the spa city and thus has nothing to do with politics. But the gentlemen of the German Reichs Party are not shareholders of the spa administration. For them other springs are more significant: warmer ones, much more potent and invigorating ones. They are the well-springs of the Third Reich, such as Hitler's "Mein Kampf," or Alfred Rosenberg's "Myth of the Twentieth Century," the theory of "Blood and Soil" by Reichsbannerfuehrer Walter Darré and, finally, the racist theory, a folly which developed into something more than just a plague for mankind. These are the "ever-flowing springs" of the German Reichs Party.

To continue with the outer signs, there was the so-called Saalschutz (bodyguard in the hall), admittedly also known to other parties and employed against "disturbers of the peace" (these are chiefly people of diverging views), but the Saalschutz of the German Reichs Party possesses distinctive earmarks. These are the riding boots, black shirts and field-grey riding breeches. . . .

But now we must introduce the Chairman of the German Reichs Party. He is Wilhelm Meinberg, formerly a Councilor of State under Goering, SS Gruppenfuehrer, Deputy of the Nazi Party to the Reichstag, Chief Reichs official for Food, and owner of the Golden Medal of the Nazi Party. However, the actual manager is the very young former Member of the Bundestag and now Member of the State Diet of Lower Saxony, von Thadden, who looks somewhat like a young gigolo but is possessed of immense shrewdness for, in spite of seeming so naive, he is an apt wirepuller and an effective speaker.

Is this German Reichs Party to be taken seriously? In any event, it proves through its party convention that these political circles are no longer confined to meeting in backrooms (a fact which was proudly pointed out at the convention by von Thadden). In our opinion, the situation is more serious. A seasoned politician of the Christian Democratic Union who recently returned from Lower Saxony, closed his remarks on the political situation in that state as follows: "The appeal of the German Reichs Party in the forthcoming Federal election should not be underestimated. It is very possible that the party will obtain five direct mandates and enter the Bonn Parliament with 10 or more deputies."

No: Neo-Nazism in Germany, as a "spiritual" manifestation, and viewed as a political fact, is definitely not dead.

(*Courtesy, Luxemburger Wort*)

Germany is the only place in the world where the armed forces of the two main antagonists are in close contact. . . .

In such circumstances, there would be no way on earth to isolate the explosion, as in Hungary. . . . The two Germanies would meld together, and somehow, somewhere—most probably in Berlin—the fatal first shots of the third world war should be exchanged between the American and Soviet forces.

There are responsible officials who believe—or perhaps hope is a better word—that this nightmare prospect is now as vivid to the Kremlin as to the American government, and that the Kremlin may really be searching for a way out. There are other equally responsible officials who contend that the Soviets will never, under any circumstances, withdraw the Red Army from East Germany, just because they know that the Communist Pankow government could not survive without it. . . .

(Joseph and Stuart Alsop, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12-6-56)

Those with keen memories, especially our GIs who helped liberate Buchenwald and whose nostrils captured the stench of the crematoria, must have recoiled as they read of the Nov. 1 night arrests of Jews in Egypt.

In the meticulous records kept by the Nazis, and especially in the minds of those who were the tortured victims, the nights of early September, 1935, when compared with contemporary events, the memories seem sadly reminiscent.

But what must stir the conscience is the apathy displayed today, just as it was when the world was warned that boxcars of human beings were being shipped from German cities to concentration camps. There were no special sessions called in the League of Nations just as there were no special sessions called in the UN as Israeli outposts were attacked by Arab marauders.

(Barry Gray, The N. Y. Post, 11-28-56)

Notes on a German Journey

by

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

In Bonn, contrast strikes the observer: the difference between the prestige Adenauer and his policies enjoy in the United States and the support they command in West Germany. While American editorial opinion greeted Adenauer with paeans of praise during his June visit to Washington, there was nothing but reserve, skepticism and outright opposition in Bonn. This negative attitude is by no means limited to the opposition; it is shared by members of the Cabinet, civil servants and members of the Chancellor's own party. The reasons for these contrasting attitudes are both personal and political.

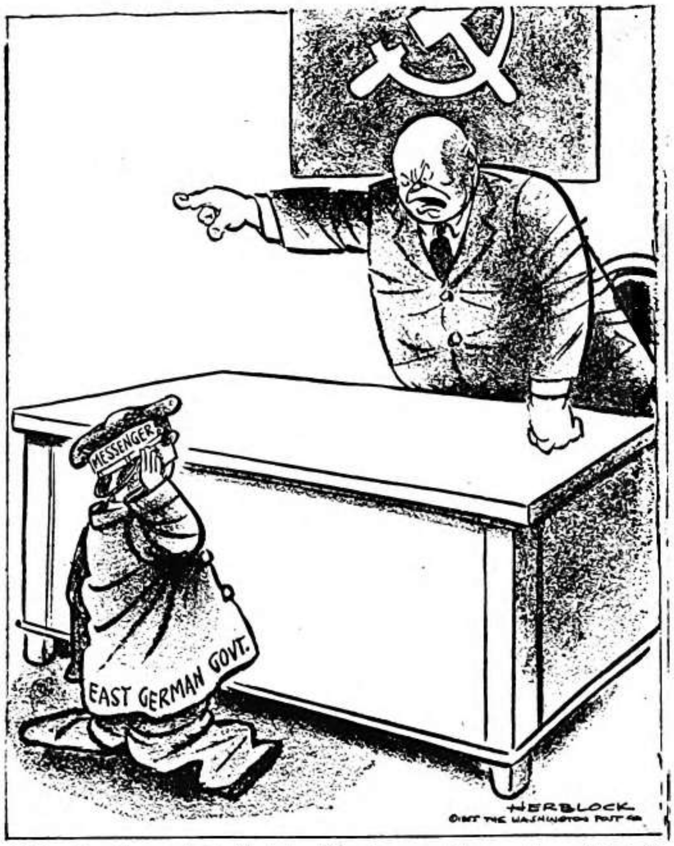
For Washington, Adenauer is first of all "our boy," the Western statesman who is most completely and reliably identified with United States policies. Other statesmen have recognized Communist China; more still would like to. Others want to trade with the Communist bloc or like to make neutralist noises; Adenauer is virtually the only statesman in the world who has done nothing to embarrass the State Department and who is most anxious not to. Thus we have taken him to our hearts as in the inter-war period we did "little Finland who pays her debts," the only decent, trustworthy fellow among so many doubtful customers.

Bonn sees in Adenauer primarily an old autocrat who is losing his grip and whose political days are numbered. There is something in the political air of Bonn which reminds one of Washington in the last year of a President who does not stand for re-election. There is impatience on all sides. The politicians and civil servants prepare for new alignments and mend their political fences in anticipation of a new distribution of power; they chafe at the reins which have kept them in place so long. The old Chancellor, feeling the pull and seeing the disorder, tries in vain to restore his authority. His public squabbles with the most prominent members of his cabinet, ending typically in an abject public apology on his part, have become notorious. Thus everybody in Bonn who can afford it tries to move toward the outer confines of the old man's orbit lest the new masters might find him too closely identified with the *ancien regime*. The press is encouraged to treat the old Chancellor with a lack of respect which, in view both of his exalted office and his obvious personal merits and political achievements, comes as a shock to the foreign observer.

But the malaise of Bonn and the disenchantment of West Germany have deeper roots than Adenauer's waning authority. They lie in the fiasco of Adenauer's approach to the overriding issue of German foreign policy: unification. The Adenauer policy has come up against a stone wall which forces it either to stand still without the slightest chance for advance or else to retrace its steps completely without any assurance of advance even then. The professed goal of Adenauer's foreign policy has been to negotiate with the Soviet Union from strength. The element of strength was to be provided by the German military contribution to the Western alliance. In actuality, however, Adenauer, or in any event his principal advisors, intended to use this military contribution in a bargain with the Russians. They figured that the Soviet Union would grant unification in exchange for the elimination, or perhaps the mere limitation, of the German military commitment to the West.

While Adenauer's professed policy was contingent upon the unconditional surrender of the Soviet Union, and hence doomed to failure from the outset, the recent radical changes in the technology of war have doomed the actual policy of bargaining as well. The Soviet Union has made it perfectly obvious that it is not West German rearmament that worries her but the Western orientation of a united Germany.

Adenauer and the main opposition parties are, of course, at one in refusing to have anything to do with the East German Government. Yet this cannot be the last word in the matter. For if it were, it would seal the division of Germany for the foreseeable future after the model of Korea and Indo-China. The Social Democrats try to convince themselves that there must be a loophole somewhere in the Russian insistence upon negotiations between East and West Germany and that only Adenauer's intransigence stands in the way of


MESSENGER
EAST GERMAN GOVT.
HERBLOCK
©1957 THE WASHINGTON POST Co.

"Go Back and Tell 'em You're a Sovereign State" a deal with the Russians. The leaders of other parties want to offer the Soviet Union economic and other concessions in return for unification. Some government officials play with the idea of offering the Soviet Union German renunciation of military ties with the West in order to test their intentions. One party has openly come out in favor of negotiations with the East German regime, provided two of its most notorious members be eliminated from public life.

All these proposals are borne by an undercurrent of fear, bordering on despair, which flows through all parties and groups, notably the Foreign Office. All recognize that Adenauer's policy has failed and unless West Germany takes the initiative for a new approach, Germany may again remain divided for generations to come. Yet what can be done? Is the core of the problem perhaps the elemental fact that the Soviet Union is more afraid of the power of a Germany united in freedom than of a divided Germany, diminished in power and limited in her freedom of action? How is one to reconcile the power of a united Germany with the security of her neighbors and of the world?

To that question the world has sought an answer for almost a century and has not found it. The men of Bonn, with the apparent exception of the Chancellor's office, earnestly grope for it today.

Nowhere in the world is there a more hardworking, conscientious, competent and uninspiring group of men than the parliamentarians and civil servants of West Germany. In their general intellectual and moral attitude to things political they are seemingly quite representative of the German people. But derision for them, either good-humored or spiteful, is well-nigh universal. Private conversations, even with chance acquaintances, the daily and weekly press, the political cabarets are full of it. I have still to find a German not connected with the government who would speak with enthusiasm, affection, or even decent respect of the Bonn regime. The Germans regard it as something to which at present there is no alternative, but which they would not have chosen if they had had a choice. No German knows what he would have chosen instead, nor does anybody worry much about it. For the German scene today is dominated by a fact which is not political but economic: unprecedented prosperity.

All the vital energy, passion and singlemindedness which in former times were absorbed by politics now go into work. To produce, to make money, to own and to travel—such seems to be at present the compass of Germany's national purpose. The main issue between the German unions and management is not shorter hours of work, higher wages or fringe benefits, but the opportunity to work overtime! However, that concern with the production and enjoyment of material things is not likely to be permanent. It is rather like an unexpected and surprisingly ample feast after a long period of scarcity. Furthermore, business curves have a way of going down as well as up. And the direction the German national purpose will take when it can no longer find full satisfaction in the production and enjoyment of material things worries the more thoughtful leaders of German opinion. I shall not soon forget the tone of urgency in the voice of one of the ablest and most genuinely liberal German leaders when he asked me to tell America to come to the aid of German democracy at the first sign of a business downturn. Such a downturn would be the first real test for German democracy, and he doubted that it would pass it.

But this is certainly the opinion of a small and submerged minority. Hardly anybody in Germany is willing to admit the determining fact of recent German history: that Nazism was not a philosophy, political system, and way of life imposed from above upon an unwilling or, at worst, passive German people, but the fulfillment of their intensely held aspirations, a true mandatory of the national will, enthusiastically supported in success and still maintained with stoic faith in the face of disaster. For most Germans, Nazism has become a disembodied thing, an instrument of fate, not to be associated with living human beings. However, that association, not as an historic recollection but as the actual experience of the present, stares one in the face at every turn. Proven anti-Nazis, people who risked their lives for their convictions, suddenly use a phrase or make an observation whose underlying values bear, without their being aware of it, the marks of the intellectual and moral revolution which Nazism has wrought upon Germans, friend and foe alike. An American student who studies Romance Languages at a German uni-

A BRITISH OPINION

Russia believes that her ultimatum decided the issue, and hopes the Arabs will be duly grateful. America thinks *her* action decided it, and that, afraid of Russia, the Arabs will gratefully lean towards America. We shall see who is right.

Both America and Russia think Anglo-French influence has been destroyed in the Middle East, and, for quite different reasons, both think that to be desirable.

Eisenhower's point of view is that his action was entirely justified because the rule of law has been violated. He also thinks that it is still possible to do business with the Soviets, and that if he is allowed to cultivate the Peace Party, which he is convinced exists and includes Malenkov, Bulganin, and Khrushchev, he can organise a lasting world peace as a result of America's having proved herself to be a disinterested upholder of law—even against old friends.

Britain says that Egypt was the true aggressor and that Israel merely retaliated to a whole series of aggressive acts which U.N.O., and its supervising commission under General Burns, had been incapable of stopping.

Britain says that Egypt, armed by Russia, was soon going to strike still more strongly and in wider spheres. The result would have been the loss of the whole area from Casablanca to Kabul. If France and Britain did nothing it would be too late, unless, after long discussions at U.N.O., America then intervened with all her forces. By that time, however, Russia would be fully committed and the result would be world war. France and Britain were fully convinced that if American wishes had been followed nothing—repeat nothing—would have stopped events from leading to a general war within a short time. They think that if they have been allowed to finish the job without American opposition, if not with support, the danger of a world war over the Middle East would have been greatly reduced.

It seems impossible to reconcile those sharply opposing views. America thinks France and Britain broke the law and were aggressors worthy of punishment. Britain and France think they did not break the law but that America, voting with Russia, and threatening punitive action, has come very near to wrecking all hope of peace.

The Hungarian situation has made Britain still more angry. Russia is clearly an unprovoked aggressor in Hungary and America admits that to be true. Britain asks why America has not threatened Russia with punitive action over Hungary, whereas she did threaten France and Britain over Egypt? Bitterly angry people in London ask whether it is because America is afraid of Russia but was not afraid of Britain and France? If so, is that the rule of law? These angry questions are widely asked.

The overall British reaction is that America will find out that Eden was not either so foolish or so bad as he was painted and that, in consequence of American policy, a far graver situation will shortly arise in the Middle East.

(Courtesy, Weekly Review, London)

versity told me that his professor distinguishes between Aryan and non-Aryan French writers as a matter of course, the distinction being accepted by the students as a matter of course.

I had myself an experience which illuminated with the sudden impact of a great and lasting shock the presently hidden abysses of the German mind, which are no less real for the reluctance of most to recognize their reality. One evening, I sat in the Cafe Kranzler, the most elegant cafe of Frankfort, when my attention was drawn away from Verdi's music toward an animated conversation, carried on by the two men at the next table. The man who did most of the listening was an elderly, distinguished-looking gentleman who, as the conversation revealed, was a retired businessman from a neighboring town who had just made the acquaintance of the other man by sitting down at his table. This man, who did most of the talking, must have been in his middle forties; he was of striking appearance and impressive bearing, elegantly dressed, obviously intelligent and well educated. This man told a story from his student days. One evening, he and five of his fellow students had gone to a neighboring town to drink wine. When they boarded the train for the return trip, they found one compartment holding six people half occupied while in the next one they found two passengers who happened to be Jews. They decided to ask the Jews to leave. When the latter refused and one of them rose with a threatening gesture, the students opened the two windows of the compartment and threw the Jews out. "We threw them out, luggage and all, mind you, out of a speeding express train, and in a matter of seconds it was all over. Of course, anybody else but Jews would have left without a fuss."

What is remarkable in this story is not only its content and the fact that it was told at all, but also and in particular the way it was told and received. It was told with animation, care for picturesque detail, and unemotional detachment. To call the narrator an anti-Semite is to miss the point completely. For the narrator, a Jew was no more the possible object of hate or, for that matter, any other human emotion than a mosquito. The foreordained destiny of the Jew, as of the mosquito, was to be killed. Only at one point was there a trace of emotion in the narrator's voice: when he pointed with a sense of pride to the speed and technical neatness of the operation. Even the criticism of the Jews' refusal to move was added in a matter-of-fact way as an afterthought, which really had no bearing upon the issue.

It would indeed be most hazardous to draw any general conclusions from such an incident. However, the fact that it occurred at all and the circumstances under which it occurred give one pause. I shall not tell a total stranger whom I just met, say in a parlor car, a story about myself which is likely to evoke his moral indignation. To the contrary, I shall tell him a story which will put me in a good light. Most certainly our narrator would not have told his chance acquaintance that he had cracked safes as a student or run a disorderly house. But he did not expect moral disapproval for his participation in the killing of two Jews, and the listener did not disappoint him.

There are men in all walks of German public life—government, universities, press, and literature—who are aware of the moral chasm which Nazism has opened between Germany and the rest of the world. My two neighbors in Frankfort were not aware of it. How many more like them are there? On which side does the weight of opinion lie? In which direction is opinion likely to move? Answers to these questions, more than to questions more concrete and seemingly more urgent, if we but had them, would tell us much of the story of Germany's future.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The New Republic)

A disturbing example of the Eisenhower Administrations' failure, in the field of foreign relations, is revealed in the handling of landing rights awarded to international air carriers. Our State Department awarded the rights to Germany's Lufthansa Airlines in New York, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles. This gives them precious leave to land, sell tickets, and originate flights in those metropolitan areas. The Japanese Airlines, and Iberian (Spanish), have landing rights on both coasts.

In contrast, the Holland air carrier, KLM, world's largest purchasers of American-made aircraft, was turned down when they made a simple request, namely, the privilege of landing and refueling in Los Angeles and Houston.

Holland, a member of NATO, our former ally, and the first and only country to tell the U. S., "thank you for World War II help—but now we wish to finish without charity—and stand on our own feet." This is the nation shut out by the U. S. while we hand $1,000,000 privileges to German, Japanese, and Swedish airlines. I have no wish to see the latter suffer. But I hope the Dutch get their delayed "good conduct" award.

(Barry Gray, The N. Y. Post, 9-24-56)

Twice in our time, America's youth has been killed and mutilated by the instruments of war produced by an extremely knowledgeable and efficient outfit called Krupp Industries of Essen, Germany. Krupp has now come to the United States with an elaborate idea for getting taxpayers' money to finance this huge, rich company in its expansion in underdeveloped countries.

The plan—which has an attractive surface gloss—will be presented to three branches of government, including a Presidential Committee on Foreign Aid headed by Benjamin Fairless, former president of United States Steel, and the Foreign Affairs Committees of both the Senate and the House. . . .

Currently, Krupp is engaged in construction of major installations in Asia and Africa. . . .

This, essentially, is merely a way for Germany to increase its exports, with the United States footing the bill. There are other friends in Europe, also struggling with the export problem, who would get no such help from us.

There is no reason to hit the United States taxpayers with an added bite for a particular company in Germany.

(Donald T. Rogers, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-25-56)

The United Nations and the Middle East Crisis

It is the considered judgment of the Society that the Middle East Crisis constitutes a major threat to world peace. Bearing this in mind, the Society sought to acquaint the United Nations with its views on this crucial problem. For the benefit of our readers we publish below the complete text of the Society's statement.

Introduction

We respectfully call your attention to the enclosed statement on the Middle Eastern crisis issued by the Society for the Prevention of World War III. The Society is a non-governmental organization accredited to the United Nations and unreservedly supports United Nations efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement.

Among the major purposes for which the Society was founded in 1943, are

(a) "to prevent the occurrence of another world war by creating a permanent body of experts on international politics and economics to search and study the impelling forces and causes which have led to two world wars . . ."

(b) "to observe and examine changing conditions in world politics and economics and possible causes which might lead to a third world war"

(c) "to announce and publish its findings, conclusions and opinions . . ."

In accordance with these aims the Society deems it a duty to make known its views on some aspects of the Middle East crisis. We seek an objective evaluation of the decisive ingredients which have turned the Middle East into a caldron of hatred and strife.

The Society's search for the truth and its endeavor to prevent World War III are the sole standards by which we discuss the critical situation in the Middle East.

The United Nations and the Middle East Crisis

Dedicated to the cause of a just and lasting peace, the Society for the Prevention of World War III supports unreservedly the efforts of the United Nations to master the present world crisis. At this dangerous moment, the United Nations possesses an unmatched opportunity to fix firmly its moral and material authority as the guardian of world peace.

The immediate focal point for United Nations action lies in the Middle East where the flames of war threaten to engulf the world in unprecedented catastrophe. The root cause underlying the ever growing discord in the Middle East is the failure of the states in that area to conduct their external relations on the basis of mutual respect and good will. If the United Nations succeeds in normalizing conditions in the Middle East, it will have a profound effect on lessening tensions and strife throughout the world. On the other hand, if the United Nations cannot prevent further deterioration, the danger of World War III will increase.

In making these observations the Society hopefully assumes that the realities of the Middle Eastern situation will no longer be masked. For years it has been politically expedient for statesmen to pretend that there was peace in this vital area. By maintaining this false front, the forces of war have been encouraged while the United Nations has been inhibited from taking positive and effective action.

The Society does not pass judgment on the relative merits of Israel's case against her Arab neighbors or vice versa. We seek an objective evaluation of the decisive ingredients which have turned the Middle East into a caldron of hatred and strife. The Society's search for the truth and its endeavor to prevent World War III are the sole standards by which we discuss this critical situation.

The State of Israel born under United Nations' aegis found itself in a region turbulent with social discontent and militant nationalism. The populations of this area, however they strove to live in peace with their neighbors, have been caught in the maelstrom of ceaseless warfare. At first they were the victims of a war launched by the Arab governments to destroy Israel. Subsequently, the warfare became more subtle although in many ways deadlier. It was warfare based on terror and attrition. It involved hit-and-run raids, skirmishes, infiltration, sabotage, subversion and blockade. This "new type" of warfare was powerfully stimulated by hate inciting propaganda. Reason and self interest were terrorized into silence by artificially whipped up passions.

The blockade against Israeli shipping in violation of the armistice agreement of February 24th, 1949, and Security Council resolution of September 1st, 1951, signified continuation of the war by other means.

On March 23rd, 1954, eight members of the Security Council voted for a resolution to reaffirm the previous resolution of September 1st, 1951. This was vetoed by the Soviet Union while the Egyptian Government continued the blockade.

The determination to continue the blockade of Israel is seen by the fact that, after Egypt had seized the Suez Canal, it again refused the freedom of passage of Israeli ships and of shipping bound for Israel. The New York Herald Tribune (8-29-56) quoted President Nasser as stating, "since the Suez Canal runs through three Egyptian cities, the vessels of Israel with which Egypt is technically at war, are excluded." Thus, President Nasser publicly admitted that his Government was at war with Israel and that the blockade policy was part of the war strategy.

The war has taken its toll of human lives and property. Thus, incursions, into Israel from July 1949 to October 1955 resulted in the slaying of 1039 unarmed Israeli men, women and children. In addition, a total of 2231 armed attacks by Arab forces upon the Israelis took place (Congressional Record, 6-4-56, Senator George H. Bender). In this connection, the Israeli Government more than a year ago, pointed out that the Mixed Armistice Commission had registered 1006 violations of the Armistice Agreement by Egyptian forces within a 7 months period.

The ceaseless ambushes against the Israeli population are symptomatic of never ending war. Prominent in these raids were forces called "Fedayeen" encouraged and organized by the Egyptian Government. On May 28, 1956, President Nasser publicly declared:

"The Fedayeen, the Palestine army, which started as a small force of 1,000 men last year, is today great in numbers and training and equipment. I believe in the strength, the ability, the loyalty and the courage of this army. Its soldiers will be responsible for taking revenge for their homeland and people."

On August 31, 1955, the official Cairo radio declared:

"Egypt has decided to dispatch her heroes, the disciples of Pharoah and the sons of Islam, and they will cleanse the land of Palestine. Therefore, ready yourselves; shed tears; cry out and weep, O Israel, because near is your day of liquidation. Thus we have decided and thus is our belief. There will be no more complaints and protests, neither to the Security Council, nor to the United Nations, nor to the Armistice Commission. Nor will there be peace on the border because we demand vengeance and the vengeance is Israel's death."

"The Egyptian Fedayeen have begun their activities inside the territory of Israel after repeated clashes on the border during the past week. The Egyptian Fedayeen have penetrated into Jewish settlements spread out in the Negev to Beersheba and Migdal Ashkelon at a distance of 40 kilometres from the Egyptian border, and have taught the aggressive Israelis a lesson they will not forget. The Egyptian Fedayeen sowed fear and consternation among the citizens of Israel."

The character of the propaganda deluging the Middle East is also indicative of the never ending war. It goes beyond the normal practices of exhortation to patriotism as it whips the minds of the people into a state of blind hatred. Through this ceaseless barrage of hate-inciting propaganda the war psychosis is maintained at fever pitch. At that point the enflamed passions of the people merge with the physical assaults perpetrated by such armed forces as the Fedayeen. It is total war.

The Cairo Radio, 9-17-54, broadcasting in Arabic to the Arab world, said:

". . . we repeat Salah Salim's slogan: 'There would be no Egypt, no Egyptian revolution and Egyptian Army if Egypt would make peace with Israel.' Let all of us, O Arabs, repeat it once more: 'There would be no Egypt, no Egyptian revolution, and no Egyptian Army if Egypt would make peace with Israel.' "

On September 21, 1954, the Cairo Radio, broadcasting in Arabic to the Arab world, declared:

"The UN General Assembly opens its new session today. Each time we examine the UN Charter, we read its seemingly plausible effort to free peoples, to bring them happiness through peace, and to protect them from destruction . . . The Voice of the Arabs wishes to tell you today not to believe in the United Nations, not to be deceived by its charter, and not to expect any good from it."

The Cairo Home Service (12-27-55) quoted Col. Anwar Sadat, Egyptian Minister of State:

"Our war against the Jews is an old struggle that began with Mohammed and in which we achieved many great victories. Today, we fight them in Gaza and in Sabha and everywhere. It is our duty to fight the Jews for the sake of God and religion, and it is our duty to end the war which Mohammed began."

On January 12, 1956, the Cairo Home Service stated:

"Peace between us and the Jews is impossible. As far as we are concerned the problem is a matter of life and death and not a dispute over frontiers or interests. Nor is it a difference of viewpoints which require mediation for settlement . . . This part of the world, that is, the Middle East, cannot hold both of us. It is either we or they. There is no other solution . . . Thank God that our leaders . . . know that poems will not achieve our aims. It is steel and bullets which will realize these objectives."

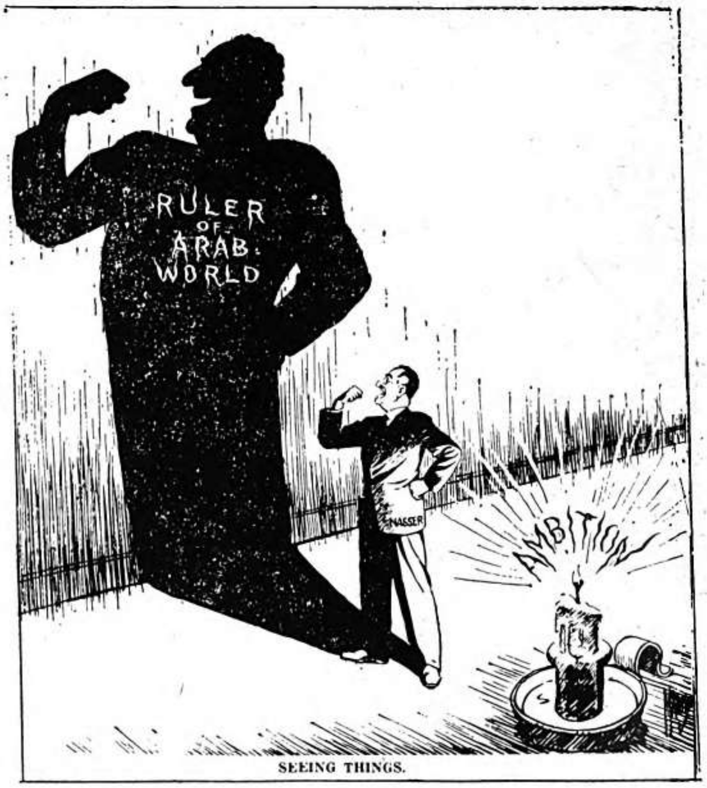
On April 9, 1956, the Cairo Radio broadcast:

"The Arabs are determined to stress one fact, even by bloodshed: Israel must be wiped out."

It would be a disservice to truth were we to ignore the fact that the tone and content of this type of incitement have been continuously employed by the leaders of the various Arab countries. We cite below some examples:

President Gamal Nasser as quoted in "Al Ahram," Cairo, 10-15-55:

"I am not fighting solely against Israel, but also against World Zionism and Jewish capital. My task is to deliver the Arab world from destruction through Zionism intrigues which have their roots in the United States, and which receives aid from Britain and France . . . The hatred of the Arabs against the Zionists is very strong and there is no sense in talking



SEEING THINGS.

(*Courtesy N. Y. Times*)

about peace with Israel. There is not even the smallest place for negotiations between the Arabs and Israel."

President Nasser in a cable to Syrian President Kuwatly:

"Egypt will be glad when both her and the Syrian armies meet on the ruins of this treacherous people, these Zionist gangs, so that our dead may rest in peace with the knowledge that our countries have been liberated of all foreign encroachment" (Near East Arab Broadcasting Station, Cyprus, 12-18-55).

President Nasser:

"The Palestine Army (Fedayeen) raised by Egypt has become a powerfully armed and trained force, and the duty of its soldiers is to take vengeance for their land . . ." (Radio Cairo, 5-20-56).

President Nasser (7-26-56):

"The fight in which we are now engaged is against imperialism and its supporters and against imperialistic methods. It is a fight against Israel, the tool of imperialism created in the heart of the Arab world to obliterate our nationalism. But we will all defend our freedom and Arabism and will struggle to see the Arab Motherland extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf."

King Hussein of Jordan:

"Jordan will fulfill its mission of vengeance in Palestine to the very end" (Radio Ramallah, 1-23-56).

"We swear before Allah and history to sacrifice our property and everything dear to us for the sake of Palestine, to guard all her holiness and Arabism. We will not lay down our arms until we regain our rights completely" (Radio Ramallah, 3-9-56).

On October 11, 1956, an official Iraqi spokesman stated:

". . . They (the Arabs) must fight Zionism and its ally, the new imperialism, with the same spirit they fought before . . . Iraq and the majority of the Arabs consider that the question of fighting the Zionist cancer should come first, because this constitutes a great danger to the Arabs" (Radio Baghdad, Home Service, 10-11-56).

President Shukeiri El-Kuwatli of Syria:

"The present situation demands the mobilization of all Arab strength to eliminate that state which has arisen in our midst. Israel is like a cancer, not only satisfied to feed on her own manpower but is also assisted by world Zionism." (Address before delegation of Lebanese Moslem youths, 4-2-56.)

President Camille Chamoun of Lebanon:

"The Egyptian revolution was the beginning of the end of Israel. My belief is that Israel will not be eliminated except by military states that are prepared to destroy her. Egypt today is a military state of the first magnitude and I think that she alone can eliminate Israel. I hope in the near future all the Arab states will be organizationally and militarily prepared in a similar manner to Egypt. Then will we be able to say—openly and with certainty—that Israel has arrived at her inevitable end, and not just at the beginning of her end." (Akhir Sa'at, Cairo, 10-12-55.)

King Saud of Saudi Arabia:

"The Arab nations should sacrifice up to 10 million of their 50 million people, if necessary, to wipe out Israel. . . . Israel to the Arab world is like a cancer to the human body and the only remedy is to uproot it just like a cancer. . . . We don't have the patience to see Israel remain occupying Palestine for long." (New York Times, 1-4-54.)

Emir Fahd Saud:

"Israel represents western imperialism and world Zionism. Both are a cancer which has to be cut out of the body of the Arab nation. My opinion is that the Palestine Army will fulfill its task." It will achieve that which Abdul Nasser said about it: "I desire that the Palestine Army will write the most glorious page in the history of Palestine." (Al Ahram, Cairo Daily, 6-27-56.)

The facts mentioned above do not detract from the problems besetting the Arab peoples. Economic backwardness, disease and illiteracy weigh heavily on them. Such conditions breed unrest and do not create a climate conducive to peace. These factors form the backdrop of Arab attitudes towards other vital issues. For example, they strongly resent the plight of Arab refugees, victimized by the Arab war against Israel. They have noted with apprehension some extremist voices in Israel urging expansionist policies. Yet, it is a matter of record that extremist views have been categorically rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Israeli people and by their government.

By grossly exaggerating the importance of these voices, Arab propaganda has tried to depict Israel as an "interloper," a tool of "Western imperialism" whose main purpose is to exploit and humiliate rather than to deal with the Arab peoples on an equal basis.

No matter what shortcomings may be ascribed to Israel's statesmen, they recognize that peace and progress for the whole Middle East depends in the first place on solid understanding with the Arab countries.

The Israelis know that the great economic and social problems including poverty and sickness in the whole Midle East can only be tackled on the basis of friendly cooperation.

On May 14, 1948, the independent state of Israel came into being. Its first proclamation was an offer of peace to the Arabs.

"We extend the hand of peace and good neighborliness to all the neighboring states and their peoples and invite their co-operation and mutual assistance. The state of Israel is ready to make its contribution to the joint effort towards the progress of the Middle East as a whole."

On May 11, 1949, upon Israel's admission to the United Nations, its Foreign Minister told the UN:

"The pursuit of peace is a treasured part of the Jewish heritage . . . That pledge becomes an earnest and urgent appeal when addressed to our closest neighbors, the Arab states, and other nations of the Middle East . . . We are not aware of any serious conflict between us and our neighbors which could not today be resolved by peaceful negotiations."

On May 8, 1950, Israel's Foreign Minister told the Palestine Conciliation Commission:

"I wish to reaffirm categorically that the Government of Israel is willing to negotiate with any state which announces its readiness to conclude a final settlement of all outstanding questions with a view to the establishment of permanent peace."

On September 21, 1951, Israel informed the Paris Conference of the Palestine Conciliation Commission of the United Nations that:

"We are prepared here and now to extend to each and every one of the Arab states the offer of a pact of non-aggression. We should see in acceptance of this offer a real token of

the Arab states' willingness to work toward the essential goal of this Conference—the restoration of peace in the Middle East."

On January 2, 1952, Israel's representative at the United Nations told the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly:

"My Government instructs me to reiterate that a formal understanding with the neighboring Arab states remains a central objective of its policy . . . We sincerely invite the Arab world at this important juncture in its modern history to reflect carefully upon its decisive choice. If it desires, it can establish with Israel the relations which normally govern the intercourse of civilized states."

On September 28, 1953, Israel's representative told the United Nations General Assembly:

"My Government continues to uphold the vision of the Middle East at peace with itself, uniting all efforts of its two kindred peoples to heal the wounds of aggressive violence and reawaken the rich potentialities of the region for political, economic and cultural progress."

On May 10, 1954, the Foreign Minister of Israel told the Parliament:

"Israel is ready at any time to enter into negotiations with any of the neighboring states concerning either a final and comprehensive peace settlement, or any partial or interim arrangement aiming at paving the way towards peace."

On July 24, 1955, Israel's Prime Minister told a United Press correspondent:

"If there is any Egyptian statesman who is ready to meet me to consider ways and means for the improvement of relations between Israel and the Arab states, I am ready at any time or place . . ."

On January 3, 1956, the Prime Minister of Israel before the Knesset said:

"We believe the maintenance of peace is preferable even to victory in war. We know that any war, even war in which we gain the upper hand, involves ruin and destruction for both parties and intensified hatred between nations."

CONCLUSION

The United Nations must succeed in bringing together both sides to the conference table where they can in dignity agree to a peace based on mutual respect and good neighborly relations. Such a peace must do away with the past relations in the Middle East which were attuned to the exigencies and strategy of incessant warfare.

Peace in the Middle East must establish normal political, economic and cultural relations among all the states and be in complete harmony with the Charter of the United Nations.

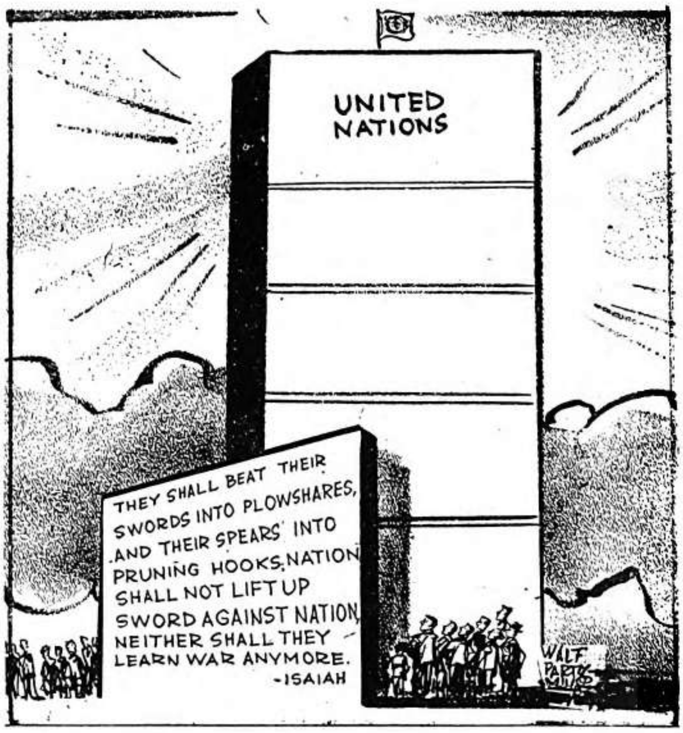
The intolerable conditions which have preyed upon the populations of the Middle East should be completely eliminated. The United Nations' efforts must be based on this premise if a just and lasting solution is to be found.

The United Nations cannot afford reversion to the conditions which have obtained up to the present and have blocked the establishment of peace.

If the United Nations fails on this crucial issue, then its effectiveness as a leading institution for world peace and security will have been gravely impaired. The establishment of peace in the Middle East would radiate its beneficent effects upon a tense and troubled world, and greatly contribute to the prevention of World War III.

The notion that the United States could succeed in winning the long-term sympathies of the Arabs may be a short-lived one. Quite apart from the fickleness of the Arabs if tomorrow, for instance, the United States quarrel with Communist China over the Formosa Strait should reopen—and the likelihood is that it will—then Arabs and Asians will very quickly forget the favors the United States has done them. Britain and France may be well advised to let the United States lead if she is willing to do so, and be satisfied with a silent partnership in the Middle East, but in the process the United States must not forget that to sacrifice Britain in the Middle East would have its inevitable repercussions on the European security system. Stalin was not quite right when at Yalta, during the discussions about the veto in the UN Charter, according to Churchill's memoirs, he predicted that Britain and France would want to use the veto to prevent Egypt from bringing the Suez Canal question to the United Nations. Egypt, as it turned out, grabbed it without asking. But he may prove right in his prediction that the capitalist nations will destroy themselves by fighting among themselves—over the Middle East.

(Harry Brandon, The New Republic, 10-3-56)


UNITED NATIONS
THEY SHALL BEAT THEIR SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES, AND THEIR SPEARS INTO PRUNING HOOKS. NATION SHALL NOT LIFT UP SWORD AGAINST NATION, NEITHER SHALL THEY LEARN WAR ANYMORE. -ISAIAH

THE HOPE FOR THE WORLD

(Courtesy Gazette and Daily, York, Pa.)

The Free Democratic Party's Future

Though the West German federal elections are many months away, the contending political parties are losing no time in the race to gain the favor of the electorate. Even at this early date it is clear that the parties intend to employ the same stratagems and tactics which characterized their behavior during the 1953 election campaign. Depending upon the specific circumstances, the German political parties will be found flirting with each other or sharpening their knives for a sudden thrust at their political rivals.

Needless to say, these flirtations sometimes make for strange bedfellows. Thus, the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party, which are ideologically poles apart, have been speculating on the feasibility of a so-called "black and red" coalition. Yet, neither party will allow itself to be committed fully to such a deal. Therefore, we find the leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Chancellor Adenauer, toying with the idea of making a bargain with the Free Democratic Party, the largest of West Germany's constellation of minority political groups.

In this connection the Christian Science Monitor reported that on September 14, 1956, a meeting took place between Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Dehler (leader of the Free Democratic Party) at the house of the former's banker friend, Robert Pferdmenges, to reopen "discussions for the purpose of finding a common platform before the elections." When the public got wind of this secret confab, the faces of the participants turned red with embarrassment and they tried to deflate the significance of this meeting.

Meanwhile the Free Democratic Party and the Social Democrats have also been exchanging "love notes." The jockeying for advantageous positions continues and at this moment it is not altogether certain how the final political lines will shape up. Though there are many imponderables, we can predict with a reasonable degree of certainty that all of the parties will do their best to attract all kinds of elements, irrespective of ideological or economic considerations. This means, of course, that each of the parties will be wooing Democrats, nationalists, Pan-Germans, neo-Nazis, Communists, etc., etc. This is the way the 1953 election was conducted and there is no evidence that the political parties will not repeat this performance.

Facts About the FDP

There is, however, a special factor in the present election picture which ought to command the careful attention of the Western Democracies. We refer to the strategic political position of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and its future role in the development of German policy. The FDP is supposed to represent the ideas of liberalism in politics and laissez faire in economics. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the FDP is not a homogeneous body. On the contrary, it is plagued by factionalism involving bitter struggles between powerful extreme rightist groups and less influential liberal elements. Indeed, while the FDP poses as a party of liberal tradition, it is in reality controlled by groups that have little in common with democratic principles.

In the spring of 1947, the so-called liberal parties of all the four zones of Germany were loosely organized into a sort of "Working Committee" similar to that of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Socialist Union. The two co-chairmen of this "Working Committee" were Theodor Heuss, now President of West Germany, and the late Dr. Wilhelm Kuelz for the East. The liaison broke down toward the beginning of 1948 and by December of that year the members of the Western zones formed the Free Democratic Party.

Following the setting up of the West German Government, the Free Democrats were brought into Chancellor Adenauer's coalition. The appeal that the Free Democratic Party had among Germans in those early postwar years, was described in an analysis prepared by the U. S. Military Government: *"There is no doubt that many Germans now vote for the FDP (and for the CDU, too, for that matter), simply because there are no parties further to the Right, for whom they would actually prefer to vote. Consequently, there is a natural tendency for the FDP to yield to the pressure from nationalist elements in order to win votes."*

The fortunes of the Free Democratic Party began to fade as Adenauer's popularity grew and his successes mounted both in international as well as in domestic affairs. The Chancellor's triumph in reestablishing Germany's prestige and power reduced the popularity of the FDP and in no small way contributed to the rising resentment and jealousy among FDP politicians.

Times have changed. The Adenauer policy seems to be reaching the point of diminishing returns. Important voices in West Germany are beginning to regard the Adenauer policy as a liability both politically and economically in terms of Germany's long-range requirements. In short, developments in Germany are ripening for change. It is more than just a question of substituting one political party for another to take over the affairs of government. The whole problem of the direction and orientation of German policy is involved and it is precisely here where the FDP may be coming into its own.

The FDP Leadership

To understand the FDP's future role it would be helpful, we believe, to familiarize ourselves with the key leaders of the FDP. Perhaps the most articulate of them all is Dr. Thomas Dehler who was Minister of Justice during the first Adenauer Coalition Government. Herr Dehler is a lawyer by profession. He does not appear to have played any significant role one way or the other during the Hitler regime. However, in 1946 he came into prominence when he founded the FDP Branch in Bavaria. Subsequently, he was a member of the Parliamentary Council in Bonn from 1948-1949. Herr Dehler, according to available information, was not a member of the Nazi party. On the other hand, his ideological affinities and views predate Nazi doctrine, that is to say, he is a German nationalist and has not hesitated to sound off on the glories of the old Reich whenever the opportunity presented itself. It was probably his "bull-in-the-china-shop" approach which finally alienated him from the more subtle Chancellor Adenauer.

On November 22, 1952, the New York Times reported Herr Dehler as denouncing what he called "the decentralized state" of Germany. "The time must come again," he warned, "when Prussia is a reconstituted German Reich, once again fulfilling its duty of maintaining German culture in Central Europe." Dr. Dehler's apologies for Germany's military excesses and war guilt was expressed in a speech in Hamburg in 1950. "Hitler," he cried, "is to a great extent the consequence of the Versailles Treaty," and "Germany is no more guilty than France for World War I." This statement caused a furor among Allied officials and Herr Adenauer was visibly embarrassed although he was careful not to call his Minister of Justice to account.

In view of Herr Dehler's fervent nationalism, it is not surprising that he showed a marked sympathy for German war criminals. Utilizing his strategic post as Minister of Justice, he boasted publicly that the Bonn Government had spent at least $12,000 in the defense of seven Nazi war criminals (JTA, 5-31-52). As a leading spokesman for the Free Democratic Party, Dehler made the cause of absolving Germany's war criminals a special duty of his party. The FDP has publicly asserted trat Germany's "so-called war criminals" committed no more serious misdeeds than American soldiers in Korea (New York Times, 6-5-52). The Times reported that U. S. authorities were convinced that the statements emanating from the FDP press, were part of a deliberate campaign and "a sly attempt to justify the actions of the Germans who were condemned as war criminals." The FDP made it a special point to whitewash all of Germany's war criminals in the effort to obtain their freedom. Dehler's Ministry of Justice told the press that 90 percent of the so-called war criminals were "simple soldiers who happened to be caught while guarding concentration camps."

Herr Dehler has never been an enthusiastic supporter of a pro-Western policy. On one occasion he asserted that West Germany must begin to dicker with the Kremlin because it was there and not in Washington where important decisions are made. His attitude toward the Allied occupation has been one of contempt. The Western Allies, he once said, were totally ignorant of the problems facing Germany today. There could be no democracy in West Germany, he warned, so long as the High Commissioners—the "Three Holy Kings"—grasp power in their hands (ONA, 9-14-50). Four years later he denounced the sovereignty status granted to West Germany. "Every German," he once stated, "must be pained at the thought that changes in our constitution still depend upon the will of the Allies" (Christian Science Monitor, 4-26-54).

More recently he accused Chancellor Adenauer of "bearing the historic guilt for the bad outcome of the German unification problem" (Reuters, 6-23-56). This is a significant charge in view of the fact that the FDP under Dehler's personal guidance has reestablished political liaison with the so-called Liberal Party in the East German satellite state.

"Lesser Lights"

Another influential member of the FDP is the German diplomat Georg Pfleiderer. Herr Pfleiderer was one of the earliest advocates of rapprochement between West Germany and the Soviet Union. His activities in this respect have been analyzed in detail in the No. 48 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III (see page 7, "Scapegoat Tactics"). According to the columnist Marquis Childs, Pfleiderer is reported to have had close

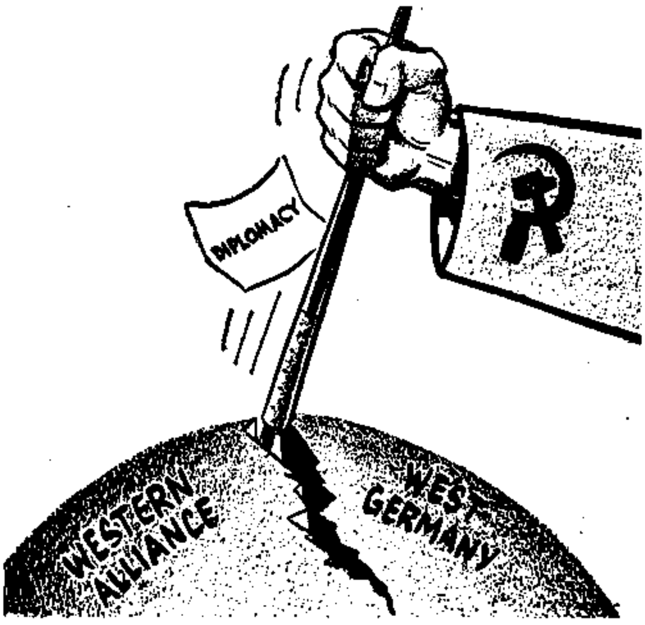
Not even West Germany's unparalleled prosperity is a sure brake against a slide into disaster. The ambition to get ahead financially and socially is the most compelling single force today. But the West German has become so engrossed in his material well-being that he ignores his political and moral responsibilities. So democracy remains fragile and untested. A new demagogue might strangle it. Repeated polls show that a majority of West Germans do not even condemn Hitler.

(E. M. Korry, Look, 10-2-56)

Impetus for the present movement toward European unity has come principally from Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany. . . .

What we are evidently seeing is a revival of the talk, widely current at the end of World War II, that Europe should be reconstituted so as to exist as a "third force" between the United States and communism. The threat to America implicit in any such arrangement is that a revivified Europe would adopt the attitude of "a plague on both your houses," and, whether Mr. Dulles is pleased or not, would stand clear of attachment to the United States as well as to communism.

(Chicago Tribune, 10-6-56)



"NEW LEVER?"

(*White in The Akron Beacon-Journal*)

connections "with powerful Rhineland industrialists who want to expand their sales in both Russia and China." He is regarded as the chief expert on foreign affairs for the Free Democratic Party and has taken on many a secret mission in connection with Russo-German relations, with the blessings of Adenauer himself. In his present post as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Pfleiderer continues to work for his goal, i.e., an understanding with Moscow. Herr Pfleiderer is a leading exponent of the so-called Third Force idea which envisages a German dominated Europe cooperating with the Soviet Union. According to one of Chancellor Adenauer's trusted associates, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, Pfleiderer's plan is in harmony with the long range objectives of Chancellor Adenauer (Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10-27-52).

Dr. Erich Mende is also a leading figure in the FDP. Herr Mende has been "the most persistent petitioner in the Bundestag for the release of war criminals . . ." (New York Times, 3-21-53). He seldom neglected an occasion to whitewash these criminals and to discredit the justice of the verdicts handed down at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. In 1952 he wrote a letter to Adenauer (which was more of an ultimatum) declaring that the German war criminals must be freed before the ratification of the EDC Treaty by the Bonn Government. Indeed, it was Mende who was instrumental in stalling West Germany's final ratification until satisfaction was given to his demands.

As a former officer in Hitler's Wehrmacht, Mende told the New York Times (8-25-52) that he would never agree to the ratification of the EDC agreement until the war criminals Field Marshals von Manstein and von Kesselring were freed. They were among the 146 criminals whose freedom Mende demanded. Von Manstein and von Kesselring had been found guilty of inhuman crimes during World War II, but Mende boasted that they were his "favorites." Like all of the FDP literature on whitewashing the war criminals, Mende too parroted the slander that many German war criminals had been imprisoned for acts which he alleged were not different from those committed by UN forces in Korea. It is interesting to note that in more recent times Mende has tried to belittle the military challenge of the Soviet Union. We shall have more to say about this angle.

Another influential personality in the FDP is Hermann Schwann. From 1934 until 1945 he was a member of the Nazi party. Since then he has worked diligently on behalf of close ties with the Soviet bloc. In June 1956 Schwann declared that he would undertake "an unaccompanied trip" to Red China at his own expense "to break the ice." He stated that after his sojourn in China he would visit Moscow (California Staats-Zeitung, 6-18-56). Herr Schwann lived up to his promise with the blessings of the FDP. Parenthetically, he must have had the tacit blessings of Chancellor Adenauer's Government too, because German travellers must obtain the necessary foreign exchange via the government.

The Peiping radio announced Schwann's arrival in the Chinese capital in August 1956 where he was duly received by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of China, Chen Yi, and the Deputy Chairman of the Permanent Peoples Parliament Committee Huang Yen Pei. During his stay there Schwann discussed "existing possibilities for trade between the Federal Republic and China" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 8-28-56).

As Schwann indicated in his earlier announcement he visited Moscow after leaving China. When Schwann returned to the Fatherland, he was far from silent concerning the future. Germany, he declared, must set up proper economic relations with Communist China. He expressed his determination to create a "German-Chinese Association" and said that he intended to return to China in the spring of 1957. Though Schwann originally said that he would go alone to China, he actually had a companion traveller, Wolfgang Schenke. PREVENT WORLD WAR III has already exposed Schenke as a former intelligence agent for the Nazi High Command in China, working in the guise of a German journalist (see No. 48, page 10, Dr. Wilhelm Haas—Ambassador Extraordinary). Herr Schenke was described in flattering terms by the Soviet publication "International Affairs" (February 1956) as "the prominent West German orientalist." His views on neutralism were quoted approvingly by the Soviet publication.

Professor Noack

Recently the FDP welcomed into its ranks Professor Ulrich Noack. Prof. Noack is unfamiliar to most Americans but he is an important personality in West Germany. If Prof. Noack intends to pursue the same line which he so articulately supported following the end of World War II, then his membership in the FDP will undoubtedly add new significance to the future role of that party. He was an active German propagandist when he lived in Norway in 1938. At that time (the year of Munich) he published a book, "The Ethics of European Diplomacy" in which he glorified Hitler's diplomacy and belabored the theme of a "Greater German Lebensraum." When war broke out, he returned to Norway to continue his activities on behalf of the Fatherland. At the trial of Vidkun Quisling, the Norwegian traitor, it was revealed that Noack had participated in organizing Quisling's trip to Germany. Indeed, Norwegian officials charged that it was Noack who introduced Quisling to Hitler in 1939 at which time the invasion of Norway was discussed. These officials have further stated that Noack was chiefly responsible for the course of events in Norway in 1940. As professor of German at the University of Oslo he misused his office to spy for the German Embassy. Reliable sources report that Noack had been a member of the Nazi party since 1939 (Neue Zeitung, 11-7-49).

Following the defeat of Germany in 1945, Prof. Noack became a celebrated public figure when he announced his program for the "salvation" of Germany. The essence of his plan amounted to immediate ending of the Allied occupation of Germany and the establishment of a strong centralized German government. The tone and aim of the program was decidedly anti-Western and sought to salvage Germany's economic and political power by playing up to the Russians. He talked about a so-called neutral Germany, but behind the word neutralism Noack strove to save Germany from the consequences of her crimes and aggressions. There was nothing in his program which showed a sense of contrition. It was purely a device to enable Germany to take a commanding position in Europe which, after all, had been the aim of Hitler himself.

Prof. Noack developed many of his ideas following frequent visits to the Russian military headquarters in Berlin. It was in 1947 that he organized the Nauheim Circle, named after the resort where he had preached his gospel. The Circle was composed of elements representing all colors of the political spectrum. The following year Noack's movement attracted more influential groups throughout West Germany. His slogan "Out With the Occupation Troops" appealed to "Communists, Nazis, pacifists, professors, students and industrials from both East and West" (AP, 11-26-48). In November 1949 Noack convened a congress of his supporters. German politicians from the satellite East zone indicated their enthusiasm for the meeting. Important personalities from the Western zones also supported the movement. In this connection Noack had the ear of many prominent Ruhr industrialists whose mouths watered at the idea of profitable trading with the East.

Generally speaking, Noack attracted politicians, diplomats, intellectuals and industrialists on both sides of the Iron Curtain who maintained their loyalty to the Bismarckian tradition of close understanding with Russia vis-a-vis the West. While his activities were glorified by the Communist controlled press in the East zone, he was described in the West as "the most dangerous man in Germany." One American high official noted that Noack's program "is more effective than the Communists's because it is not clearly identifiable with the Communists." He freely admitted that his movement attracted the extreme right and extreme left. "How do I explain that Communists from the East zone and rightists from the West are all in my camp? It is simple. They all believe in Germany unity and the withdrawal of the troops" (New York Herald Tribune, 11-27-48).

Noack's Mentor

The pro-Russian orientation of Noack's Nauheim Circle was not an isolated case. His movement was part of the overall line pursued by a former German Ambassador to Moscow, Rudolf Nadolny. Count Nadolny was also a disciple of Bismarck and a faithful student of Germany's master geo-politician, Dr. Karl Haushofer. Nadolny pioneered in reestablishing friendly relations with the Kremlin after 1945. In that year Marshal Zukhov appointed him to the post of Special Advisor on German Questions. In this strategic position and with the complete backing of the Russians, Nadolny began to organize small groups of influential personalities to develop long-term plans for a Russo-German understanding.

Unlike the Noack circle, Nadolny's following was smaller in numbers and less noisy but where it lacked quantity it had the power to reach into the highest circles of German society. Among his admirers one could find persons who today are associated on the most intimate political terms with Chancellor Adenauer and his government, including Hermann Abs (Hitler's chief paymaster and financial advisor to Adenauer), Ludwig Erhard, Adenauer's Minister of Economics, Andreas Hermes, one of the founders of the Chritsian Democratic Union. There was a firm relationship between Nadolny's small group and the Nauheim Circle. Ruth Fischer, an expert on German Communist affairs, wrote that the Noack movement was "Nadolny's direct offspring" (This Week, 11-6-49). The French journal Franc Tireur (11-5-49) reported that Nadolny was "in liaison with Noack." Indeed, the New York Times (3-13-49) noted that Nadolny was a member of the Nauheim Circle in Hesse. Thus, the evidence shows that the "circles" created by Nadolny and Noack had close ties with each other and had a common purpose, i.e., the reestablishing of a Greater Germany through an understanding with the Soviet Union at the expense of Western security. That Noack should now regard the FDP as his political home helps to clarify the hopes and ambitions of the FDP leadership.

Nazi Connections

It is true that the FDP is a minority party but where it lacks mass support, it attracts individuals whose voices carry weight in German affairs. In this connection, the FDP is receiving the support of many of Germany's leading publicists. For example, Paul Sethe, a leading journalist and writer for the German newspaper Die Welt, has expressed sympathy for the FDP cause. Gieselher Wirsing, another prominent writer for Die Welt, has also gone over to the FDP. Wirsing was the author of many anti-Semitic books during the Hitler regime. Today he attacks Israel while he lauds the Nasser dictatorship in Egypt.

FDP politicians have been preparing for the coming elections for some time. They are out to round up a big vote even if it takes a good Nazi propagandist to help them. Thus, they have employed Gunther Kaufman, former editor of the Hitlerite periodical "Wille und Macht" (Will and Power), to do a smear job on their political opponents.

Playing ball with former Nazis does not deter the FDP from flirting with the Social Democratic Party. In the State of North Rhine Westphalia the FDP joined hands with the Social Democratic Party to overturn the government of Karl Arnold. In an informative article on the growing influence of the former Hitler Youth in the FDP, Terence Prittie, noted English journalist, reports that they are not even satisfied with Dr. Dehler who may be a bit too cautious to suit them. Mr. Prittie reports that these ex-Nazis "want a direct German approach to Moscow in order to win German reunification, East-West all-German talks and the re-emergence of a 'German role' as arbiter of Europe's fate" (New Republic, 6-2-56). These young Hitlerites, Mr. Prittie writes, have a profound contempt for democratic principles. They are anti-Western and regard Germany's association with the Western powers as a long term liability although they recognize that Western financial and political support helped Germany to regain a position of power. Like their Nazi forebears they hope to exploit the discontent of the various social groupings of Germany and dream of the day when their voice will determine Germany's fate.

Accommodating the Russians

Recognizing that the Social Democrats have gained considerable political advantage due to the declining vigor of Adeneuer's following, the FDP is desperately trying to overtake their rivals. Dr. Mende has publicly declared his support for a military detente along the lines which the Russians have been pushing.

In May 1956 the FDP congress supported Mende's plan which called for a united Germany, a breaking up of NATO and the establishment of an independent German army. Mr. Prittie observes that Mende's plan has provided the Free Democrats with a new line of thought. "Small professional armies on both sides of the iron-curtain frontier which runs through the middle of Germany could be amalgamated after reunification; they could even encourage reunification by the threat implicit in their existence. Behind these professional armies—which will revive the glorious memories of German arms—will be 'national militias' to be used for local defense only. Their role should suggest that no German any longer considers armed aggression as a quick way of settling arguments." As Mr. Prittie points out, the Mende plan is almost an exact counterpart of the ideas put forth more than a year ago by Colonel von Bonin who was a leading military advisor in Adenauer's Defense Ministry. Von Bonin was dismissed because on the surface at least, the Bonn Government disapproved of his ideas which were regarded as playing into the hands of Russian strategy. Now the FDP which has close connections with former members of the German General Staff, has taken over the von Bonin plan as its own. (Ironically, it appears that Adenauer's Government is now working toward the same end.)

Planning for "The Day"

Thus, the FDP today is not merely running an election campaign. From all of its deeds and the statements of its leaders, the evidence points to the fact that the FDP regards itsef as THE party which is destined to deal with the Soviet Union and to bring about the Fourth German Reich.

On more than one occasion the Society has emphasized that the Kremlin was not so much interested in communizing all of Germany, for the present time at least, as it was in helping to create a Germany which would dissociate itself from the West and deal with the Russians "realistically" on all levels.

The Russians find it more profitable to deal with the Krupps than they do in supporting isolated and discredited German Communists in West Germany. The FDP seems to understand this too. The top leaders of the FDP including Dehler, have reestablished their liaison with the so-called Liberal Democratic Party of East Germany. The New York Times (10-9-56) reported that West Germans placed little significance on this get-together because there "was little community of principle" between the two. From other accounts of the meeting it would seem that the West Germans as quoted by the Times are wide of the mark. While the participants in the meeting admitted that there were divergencies of opinion, " a common approach was secured over practical matters for achieving German unity." What these practical matters are has not been spelled out although they agreed in principle to exchange speakers!

Commenting on the results of the meeting the Manchester Guardian (10-11-56) declared that the FDP's action in seeking common ground with the Eastern party must not be regarded as an isolated affair. "It would turn out," the Guardian writes, "to be a turning point in postwar Germany. The guiding thought behind it is the belief that a concerted effort must be made to secure reunification and that all other questions, including close association with the West and a place in a united Europe, are subordinate."

The meeting between the FDP and its Eastern counterpart recalls to mind the views expressed by Herr Dehler two years ago when he advocated Russo-German talks and indicated the willingness to go himself to Moscow. He told the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (10-5-54) that for years the project of a journey to Moscow had stirred him more than a trip to Washington "because what is going on, what is planned and worked out in Moscow is more important than that what goes on in the Western world." He declared his opposition to what he called anti-Soviet politics and said, "Russia is a realistic power, it is necesasry that we dicuss and come together in a peaceful way." A couple of weeks later Herr Dehler returned to this same theme and predicted that it was "simply a matter of course that we Germans will some day enter into conversatons with the Russians on unification" (New York Herald Tribune, 10-19-54). The FDP today is still planning with all its energy for that day.

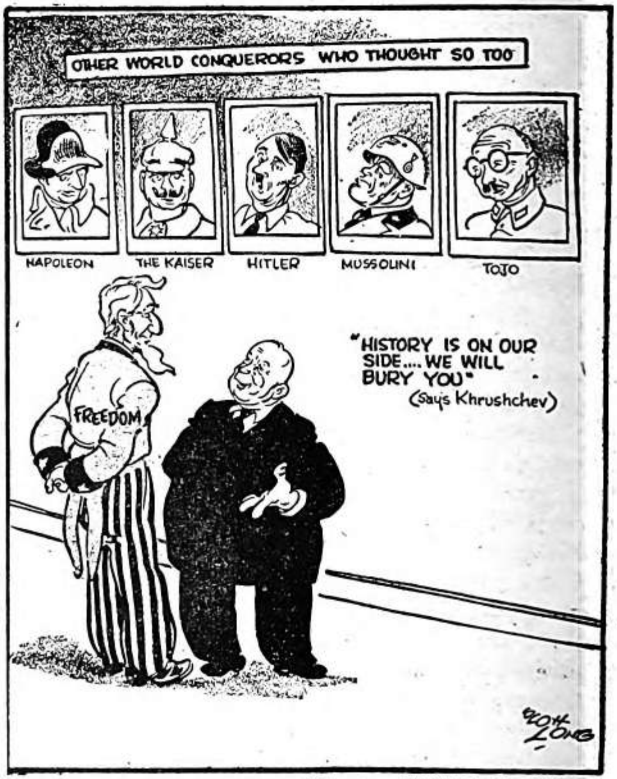
The problems of the past already have given way to new problems. The shift of Poland from satellite status to independent Titoism, and of Hungary probably much further, raises a very serious question about how Central and Eastern Europe are to be reorganized. There may soon be a power vacuum in Eastern Europe. If the Soviet Union is expelled totally from it, the historical course would be for Germany, in competition with France, to attempt to occupy it. Yet this would rebuild the substance of the old German Empire.

(Joseph C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor, 10-30-56)

A Western Germany fully capable of defending itself with modern weapons and armies would again offset the balance of power in Europe. That has been the fear of the French in particular. The rest of Europe concurs. . . .

Germany's tremendous economic upsurge came while the rest of Europe fulfilled its NATO commitments. The British are certain that Germany would not have moved so spectacularly if Bonn had the same obligations as the United Kingdom. France joins in with this argument.

(Curtis J. Hoxter, N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 11-3-56)


OTHER WORLD CONQUERORS WHO THOUGHT SO TOO
NAPOLEON
THE KAISER
HITLER
MUSSOLINI
TOJO
FREEDOM
"HISTORY IS ON OUR SIDE.... WE WILL BURY YOU"
(Says Khrushchev)

(Courtesy N. Y. Daily Mirror)

German Realpolitik in the Middle East

The fishing season in the Middle East is on with a vengeance. *"Soviet and Nazi technicians (in Egypt) are once more cooperating with all of the intimacy inspired by their dead leaders' 1939 pact"* (Barron's, 12-3-56). Though Soviet and German "fishermen" eye each other with suspicion, they find it mutually advantageous for the present to exchange hooks and bait. Reports concerning the "catches" of the Russian anglers have been widely publicized, both here and abroad, but, strangely, comparatively little has been told about the big "hauls" of the German fishing enthusiasts. This seems to be all the more inexplicable in view of the fact that the German "fishing" tradition in the Middle East covers two world wars and has produced such "expert anglers" as Kaiser Wilhelm II, the Mannesmann Brothers, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel and his Commander-in-Chief, Adolf Hitler.

We do not mean to imply that the Middle East Crisis with its threat to world peace can be readily explained solely in terms of the Russian and German "fishing" expeditions. Yet, if we minimize the importance of their exploits, we shall be ill equipped to deal with this crisis in a realistic way.

German Agents At Work

In the Nos. 41 and 48 issues of PREVENT WORLD WAR III we provided pertinent details regarding the postwar activities of the Germans in the Middle East and their impact on Arab policy toward the West. For example, we brought out the fact that hundreds of neo-Nazis, Pan-Germans, and war criminals found a haven in Egypt shortly after World War II. They were able to infiltrate important positions in Egypt's economy and military setup. They served as key advisors to Nasser's predecessors and, of course, they continue this role under the present Egyptian dictatorship.

It is not without significance, we believe, that key German agents in Egypt are reported to be in close touch with Bonn Government officials including Adenauer's chief diplomatic aids, Dr. Blankenhorn and Prof. Hallstein. Even Der Spiegel, a widely read German magazine, had to take cognizance of these facts (10-26-55): *"Adenauer's leading diplomats have laid themselves open to the charge that they must share to a considerable extent in the tactical victory gained by the Bolsheviks in the Near and Middle East."*

To this very day the Adenauer Government has remained silent on the nefarious role played by the former partisans of Hitler in Egypt and in other Middle East countries. We have yet to hear Adenauer condemn Nasser's employment in key posts of such faithful servants of Hitler and Goebbels as Wilhelm Voss, Johannes von Leers, etc.

According to the latest count that we have seen, there are approximately four thousand Germans in Egypt alone (New York Times, 10-31-56). We have no doubt that these "visitors" and "tourists" have other interests than just gazing upon the ancient pyramids and the Sphinx. Descriptions of their doings show that they feel very much at home in Egypt. They enjoy the best hotels and have easy access to the elite in Egyptian society including Nasser himself.

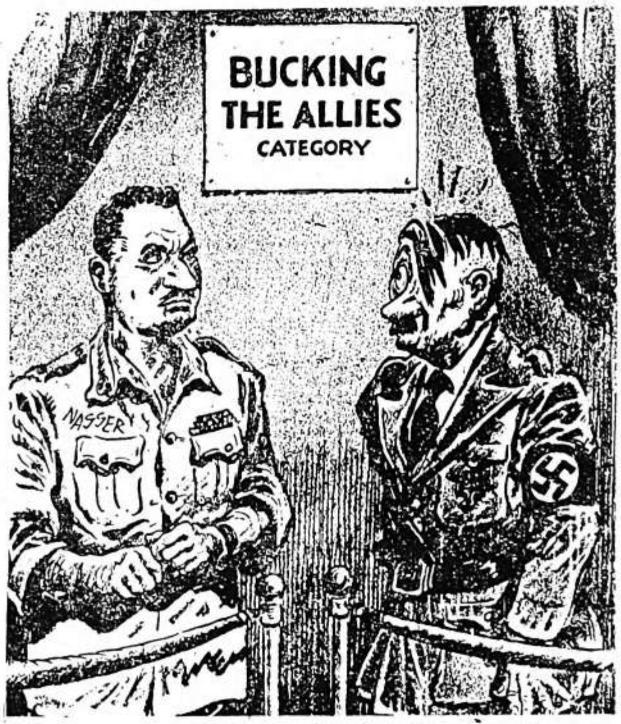
The Egyptian dictator has done much, it seems, to bolster up the "morale" of these Germans since their expulsion from Egypt by the British during World War II. Their arrogance has reached such proportions that, according to one reporter, they are "lording it as if they had won the battle of Alamein" (London Daily Express, 8-31-56).

Parenthetically, it should be borne in mind that Nasser has written boastfully about how he contacted Hitler's agents during World War II for sabotage operations against our British Ally.

"Neutrality"

The delicate situation in the Middle East has demanded the utmost prudence on the part of the Germans to prevent the growth of distrust among the Western Allies with regard to their activities. On the surface West Germany is a sympathetic friend and ally of Britain and France. However, Germany's gestures of sympathy should not blind us as to their real aims.

Even before hostilities broke out in the Middle East, the German press and other channels of information were conditioning public opinion to take a pro-Arab stand. Editorials in leading German newspapers including the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" attacked the British and French position on the Suez as "irresponsible." The Bonn Government adopted an equivocal line when Nasser seized the Canal. This was in the name of "neutrality." (It is interesting to note that Adenauer has opposed the idea of German military neutrality in negotiations between the West and Moscow.)



Russell in the Los Angeles Times

The $64,000 Challenge

Yet, this so-called neutrality did not prevent Bonn from seriously considering the acceptance of Nasser's invitation to a conference that would have created a regime for the Suez Canal in violation of the international agreements covering this major waterway. The New York Times (9-16-15) reported that Bonn was determined *"to do all possible to avoid taking sides in a showdown by force between its European treaty partners and the country's Arab-Asian partners in a flourishing commerce."* The following day the Times reported that, while West Germany would join discussions on the establishing of the Suez Canal User's Association "Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano has told British and French officials that Bonn would make no commitment on joining."

The careful diplomacy and the tricky editorials in the German press were discarded when hostilities broke out in the Middle East. It seems as though the West German press had been "itching" for that moment, so it could blast away at the British and French. "Die Welt," an influential German newspaper, which employs journalists who worked for Hitler, condemned the British move in Egypt as an "imperialistic" aggression. "The victory at Port Said will be a Pyrrhic victory," this newspaper ominously declared.

"Public Opinion" and Politicians

The unanimity of the German press assaults condemning the British and French as "war criminals" made it appear as though instructions had been received from a central source. The German press outburst was the spark to enflame West German public opinion (London Economist, 11-10-56). A reporter of the Christian Science Monitor (11-16-56) described West German reactions toward the British and French as "almost as violent as they are toward events in Hungary." The same reporter noted that the German mood was a kind of "Schadenfreude," i.e., a malicious joy which recalled the Allied condemnation of Germany's crimes under Nazism. The British and French action was compared to Hitler's aggressions. Demonstrators in Berlin manhandled British soldiers, and students in Hamburg carried banners which proclaimed "Send Eden to Nuremberg," obviously to stand his trial as a war criminal.

While the Germans heaped abuse on Prime Minister Eden, they began to tell themselves that Hitler's barbarous actions were not so terrible after all. Indeed, people began to say that "all the fuss about Nuremberg and the branding of Germany as guilty can now be forgotten" (Christian Science Monitor, 11-16-56). Even the Arab Ambassadors to Bonn were given the opportunity to launch slanderous attacks against France, Britain and Israel at a specially prepared press conference.

The whipping up of public opinion made it safer for the Bonn politicians to speak more candidly. Foreign Minister von Brentano stated on December 4, that the Bonn Government's attitude with regard to the Suez conflict has been at all times determined by consideration for the "close and friendly relations" with the Arab States. Chancellor Adenauer himself condemned Britain, France and Israel in a speech before the Bundestag. Posing as a paragon of peace, the Chancellor tried to convey to world public opinion that the Germans were a disinterested party in the struggle and would exercise their "moral" influence to curb the "rash" use of force. While speaking on this high plane, Adenauer's Government was busily at work pressuring Israel through the threat to cut off restitution deliveries which the Germans had solemnly obligated themselves to discharge. Adenauer's saintly pose in this crisis was deliberately built up by German propaganda. Indeed, his spokesmen went so far as to claim that it was the Chancellor who played "an influential role in the discussions that preceded acceptance by Britain and France of a cease fire in Egypt" (New York Times, 11-8-56).

The Germans had played their hand well. The coordination between the newspapers and the government and the shaping of public opinion seemed to work with military precision. So careful were the German bigwigs that nothing must be said that could destroy Germany's posture as a disinterested party in the conflict that they agreed in advance to prohibit debate on the Middle East Crisis in the German parliament. Instead, the Chancellor read his prepared and ambiguous speech and the "opposition" leaders reciprocated in kind. It was a cut and dried affair. The actors played their parts to perfection all under the categorical imperative "Don't rock the boat!"

It is not difficult, by any means, to define the underlying motives which have induced German politicians to avoid any statement or action that would displease Nasser and other Arab leaders. They were succinctly described by the foreign correspondent Seymour Freidin:

"Drang Nach Osten"

"In the general uproar over the future status of the canal, everyone seems to have forgotten that West Germany has moved into the Middle East, economically, on a scale the country never approached before and during two world wars.

"It's a Drang-nach-Osten, present-day Bonn-to-Baghdad road, paved with billions of hard Deutschemarks, contracts and credits for the smoking factories of West Germany. Where a vacuum existed by the liquidation of French or British interests, West Germany promptly moved in, set up shop and thrived briskly.

"Because of their ever-expanding industrial power, the House of Krupp and associated West German competitors foresaw the day that they would install themselves in entrenched, cash-and-carry positions. These are lush prospects, not easily disgorged. They happen also to be compatible with some absorbing, West German national political interests" (New York Post, 9-6-56).

Mr. Freidin's observations have received concurrence from other reliable sources. Thus, the Manchester Guardian (8-9-56) wrote: "With the collapse of old relationships in the Middle East, and with their own growing industrial power, many Germans hope that their country can fill the vacuum if not politically at least economically." The Christian Science Monitor's Bonn correspondent, J. Emlyn Williams, also notes, "The greatest concern of the West Germans now, apart from peace, is the safeguarding of industrial investments in Arab lands and expanding their trade there" (11-16-56).

There is no question but that the Germans believe that the Middle East Crisis has created vast opportunities for the realization of Germany's ambitions. It has given new hope to Adenauer's dream of a United Europe where the political and economic policies of the separate states would be "coordinated." The New York Times (11-19-56) notes that Adenauer's domestic authority and "consequently his capacity to move forcefully on the European stage also has been enhanced by the turn of events in Hungary and Egypt." Now that the British and French are beset with grave problems, Herr Adenauer feels that he can show them how "logical" it would be for the Western European nations to unite in order to protect their "common interests."

The idea of unity like the world peace can have different meanings. For the Germans the unity of Western Europe is synonymous with their domination of that area. To them it means that they would do all of the "coordinating" and act as the agent of Western Europe in dealings with the Arab countries. Aside from their conceit, the Germans believe that they are best suited for the task because their hands are "clean." It goes without saying, of course, that the role of "honest broker" promises enormous windfalls, both politically and economically.

Seeking U. S. Support

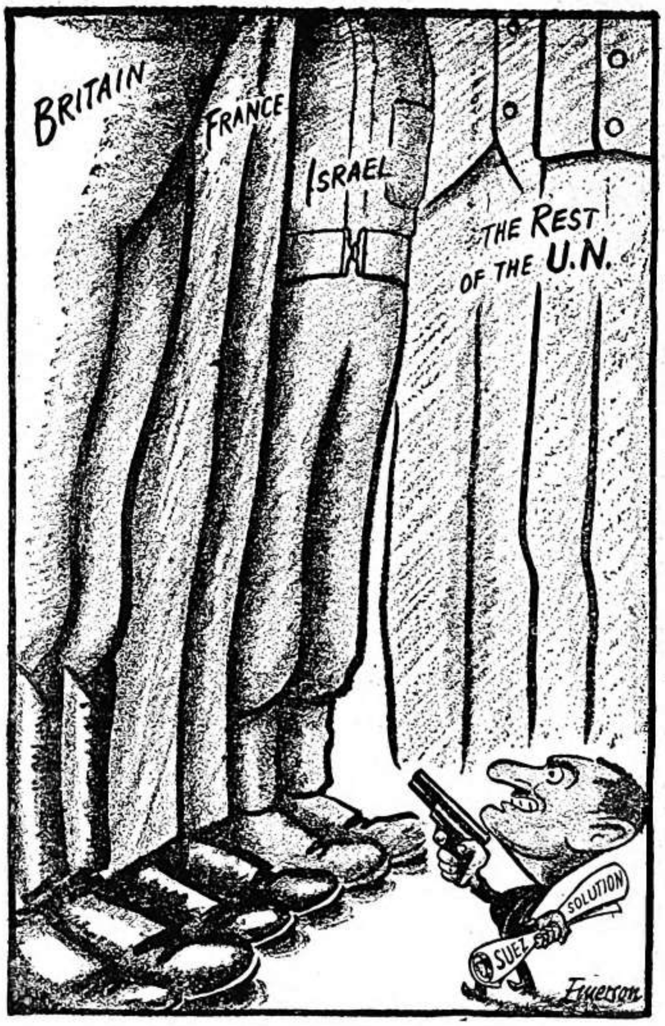
Yet, the Germans, under present circumstances, know that their game cannot be won without the sympathetic support of the USA. It is for this reason that German propaganda has all of a sudden placed the United States on a special pedestal. President Eisenhower is now being hailed as the great peace maker. The United States is depicted as the only power that can retrieve the "moral authority" of the West which was so brutally and brazenly undermined by the British and French. Thus, the Germans fawn upon the USA while they engage in scurrilous attacks against our Western Allies. Needless to say, the intent of this tactic is to create further disunity between the British and French on the one hand and the USA on the other. At the same time, Adenauer's Foreign Minister von Brentano offers Germany's "good offices" to restore mutual trust between Washington, London and Paris and "to revive the solidarity of the West" (New York Herald Tribune, 12-2-56).

It is interesting to note that besides their efforts to act as "honest broker" between the USA and its Western Allies and between the Middle East and the West, the Germans seek to act as spokesmen for the West vis-a-vis Moscow. Thus, Adenauer, while opposing a Big Four meeting to discuss outstanding East-West problems, told a press conference that he was willing to open bilateral talks with the Kremlin "at any time" (New York Times, 12-8-56).

As mentioned above, the opportunities in the Middle East are vast and the Germans are losing no time to bring the United States over to its corner. Thus, when the Middle East Crisis was at its height, Adenauer told the press that he was determined to make a major effort "to tighten German-American cooperation." Toward this end he planned to send von Brentano to Washington, "to sound out administration leaders and press for coordination of German and American policy in Europe and the Middle East" (New York World Telegram, 11-16-56).

In economic terms this so-called coordination revolves around Germany's objective of becoming the most influential power in the Middle East and in North Africa. Indicative of German thinking in this respect was Dr. Adenauer's suggestion, made during the crisis, that "the West" help Egypt build the Assuan Dam. Speaking at a meeting of German newspaper editors he said, the best way to bring peace to the Middle East was "to support reconstruction of the crippled Egyptian economy" (New York Times, 11-18-56). Obviously, Adenauer's words could only warm the heart of the Egyptian dictator while they implicitly slapped the British and French.

Adenauer's high sounding phrases turned out to be a trial balloon for more practical considerations. Thus, several weeks after he spoke, reports circulated in Egypt that Krupp had offered to build the Assuan Dam (AP, 12-5-56). When representatives of Krupp were asked to confirm these reports, they told the press that they were "premature." For almost a year the Krupp interests have been working on their so-called Point 4½ Program for the underdeveloped countries. If we tear away all of the fancy trimmings around this project, we find that it is based on two assumptions: (a) that the scheme will be financed by Uncle Sam, and (b) that the major share of profits will go to Krupp. To put it another way: the Point 4½ Program is part and parcel of the German aim to bring to fruition the Berlin-Baghdad axis. Germany tried to realize this dream in two world wars. Having failed by force, they hope they will succeed via the US Treasury. It would be well for our statesmen to bear this in mind before they pick up the check for Germany's honest brokers, the Herren Adenauer and Krupp. Much is at stake in the German gambit in the Middle East. Above all, there is the grand alliance between the United States and France and Great Britain—the foundation stone of their mutual security and prosperity.



HOLDING UP THE WORKS!
(N. Y. Daily Mirror)

Nationalism in Youth Organizations

"German Kultur Association of European Spirit"

Nationalist youth organizations have stepped up their activities though they lack as yet a strong over-all leadership, it is stated in an article in the *Bayerische Staatszeitung,* 23-6-56, which distinguishes three categories: (a) groups with an undisguised Fascist tendency, e.g., "Viking Youth" and, closely associated with the German Block, "Eagle" Youth Union; (b) groups with a more old-fashioned sort of nationalism, e.g., the German Party's "Union of Young Germans" and an organization of the refugees, "German Youth of the East"; (c) the youth groups attached to the soldiers' associations whose aim is to foster the "soldierly virtues." The Bavarian paper believes that in the event of a deterioration of the political situation, the third category was likely to constitute a much more serious danger than any of the other groups which were numerically inferior and also disunited.

A warning against the "revival of Nazi and nationalist tendencies" in certain youth organizations was issued by the Hesse Government Youth Department (according to the *Offenbach Post,* 31-7-56). Attention was drawn particularly to the danger of any cooperation with the "German Kultur Association of European Spirit." This Association is stated by the trade union paper *Welt der Arbeit,* 15-6-56, to be run by "unteachable Nazi diehards" engaged in "subversive activities under the cloak of Kultur" of which three instances were named: the "Türmer" publishing firm, publication of a periodical called *Klüter Blätter,* and two busy book societies.

President of the Kultur Association is Herbert Böhme, a former SA writer. He has gathered around him a number of Nazi and philo-Nazi authors, e.g., Will Vesper, Wilhelm Pleyer, Theodor Seidenfaden, Hans Grimm, Heinz Steguweit, who meet regularly to read from their works.

In his effort to win influence among German youth (says a report in the Socialist *Vorwärts,* 29-6-56), Böhme recently founded the "Schiller League of German Youth" which is said to have affiliated to the Hitler Youth successor organization called "Viking Youth." A youth rally was held at Castle Ludwigstein, the Kultur Association's permanent home, where one of Böhme's friends, Josefa Behrens-Totenohl, read from her "Blood and Soil" lyrics.

Hitler-Faust and His Gretchen

A typical example of Böhme's Kultur propaganda is an article of his in *Klüter Blätter,* July 1956, where he compares Hitler (without naming him) to Faust who had brought about the "creative awakening" of the German people ("Gretchen"). "We were awakened (Böhme writes), we could not do anything about it, such was the power he wielded over us, and by knowledge and ability he increasingly poured enthusiasm into our unspoilt souls," etc.

This article was denounced in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine,* 2-8-56, as an attempt to minimize "guilt" by representing it as "fate." That sort of "poetry," it was said, is "infested with ulterior motives," and "the intoxication of feeling is corrupted by the perversions of malice."

According to the *Welt der Arbeit,* 15-6-56, Governmental subsidies already promised to the Kultur Association were withdrawn by the Bavarian Ministries of Finance and Education after strong protests had been lodged in the Munich press. The loss is said to have been made up, however, by substantial grants from industrialists.

"Threat from the Right" was the motto of the 14th congress held by the Federation of West German Youth Associations at Oberursel (according to the *Vorwärts,* 29-6-56). The principal speaker, Professor Eugen Kogon, stressed the characteristics by which the incorrigible elements today could be recognized: defamation of the Weimar Republic; impugning the integrity of the anti-Nazi resistance, and direct or indirect glorification of the Hitler regime. A plea for legislation to stop the new Nazi literature, was made by the chairman of the Association of Catholic Youth, Dr. Schreeb.

Increasing encroachments of nationalism were also de-

ECHOES OF THE SS

Police have been looking around Bavaria for recordings of Hitler's voice. They don't have to go that far.

In the last month, there has been more done by official sanction and calculated indifference to make respectable men of Nazis than through the entire combined post-war period.

Because of difficulty in recruiting for the new army, the Federal Republic changed its policy about Waffen SS officers. . . .

As the SS demands, and becomes, more equal with the passage of time, an operative auestion much be asked. To whom will the officers be loyal? Many of them swore oaths of allegiance to another German Republic in the past and then proceeded to destroy the state.

Can a glib expression of loyalty from such men mean more to them than the oath they took to their Fuehrer? In logical sequence, their hearts belong to Doenitz, Hitlers' appointed successor.

The SS is getting promoted all the time. Only a short while ago, they were permitted to volunteer for the new army only as privates. Today, it's up to lieutenant colonel. The pressure, as Kurt Meyer's rally clearly implied, will be for the generals next.

It doesn't mean that these unfortunate activities are symptomatic of rampant Nazism on the militant march again. It shows that utter indifference, compounded of political expediency and studied carelessness, is providing a powerful voice to the worst elements in Germany.

(Seymour Freidin, The N. Y. Post, 10-13-56)

nounced in a statement by the German Federal Youth Federation, the roof organization of all democratic youth associations, according to a report in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 15-6-56. The danger is seen in "the arrogant deportment of former Nazi officials, the infiltration of nationalists into high administrative and Government posts, the launching of youth groups devoted to obsolete ideologies, and the open defamation of the anti-Nazi resistance." A demand was made on all politicians to banish nationalist arguments from their utterances, and on Parliament to outlaw the glorification of Nazism.

Nazi Authors Reinstated

Hans Baumann, author of Nazi youth and soldiers' songs, was awarded the Friedrich Gerstacker Prize by the city of Brunswick. In a report, the *Zeit,* 26-7-56, recalls that Baumann had composed the song containing the lines "Today ours is Germany, tomorrow all the world." The paper protests against a distinction being conferred on a man "whose fraudulent pathos helped induce German youth to run off to the battle fields and into the graves of a nonsensical war."

Hans Grimm was among a number of Nazi and philo-Nazi authors invited by the Cuxhaven Spa Council to read from their works at Council-organized "Authors' Nights by the Sea," says a report in the West Berlin *Telegraf,* 18-7-56.

Hermann Wanderscheck, member of the Nazi "Reich Government's Press Department," was appointed editor-in-chief of the new journal of the Copyright Society, *Der Author.* He had held the same office under the Nazis. In a comment, the trade union paper *Welt Der Arbeit,* 22-6-56, lists Wanderscheck's propagandist Nazi output and reflects on the "tragedy that people like him, champions of the Nordic-racialist perversion of literature, today claim and actually obtain leading positions among German authors."

Denying the Crimes

The "Organ of the Outlawed Victims of Post-War Discrimination," *Die Anklage,* which specializes in denigration of the German anti-Nazi resistance (see last Bulletin, p. 7), also concentrates on systematically denying the Nazi crimes, especially the extermination of the Jews. "This is the Truth. Stop the Atrocities Propaganda," runs the headline of a full page article (No. 13-14, July 1-15, 1956) asserting, on the strength of a Jewish source of 1935, that in the whole of what was later German-occupied Europe, there had been no more than 6,190,182 Jews—"all of whom the lying Allied propaganda says were murdered." The Nazi paper leaves out from its account (and quotation) the relevant figures for Russia and the Baltic States (ca. 2,200,000), and adorns its "truth" by adding that the 1935 figures does not include the "scores of thousands" who emigrated to "Israel, oversea, Switzerland, Portugal, Algiers and South Africa."

The "atrocity fairy tale" about the six million murdered Jews had been invented, says *Die Anklage,* "in order to fan among the Allies hatred of everything German during the war, and after the war to use that figure for dirty business, deriving from it a certain moral claim to the highest possible indemnification."

"Widar" Publishing Company

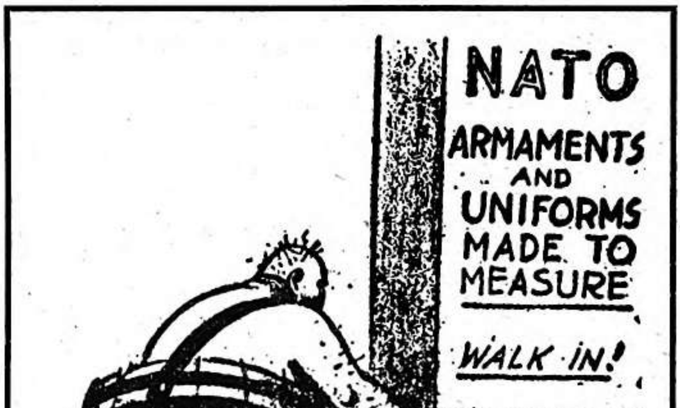
On instructions from the Bonn Ministry of the Interior, investigations are being made by the Federal Criminal Investigations Bureau into the affairs of the antisemitic "Widar" publishing firm of Guido Roeder, at Oberammergau. This "unusual procedure" is applied, according to the *Kolner Stadtanzeiger,* 18-7-56, only when the Minister of the Interior has "serious reasons" for doing so.

Among the firm's publications is a book by an American Jew-baiter, Eustace Mullins, entitled "Federal Reserve Conspiracy," which is described, in the *Echo der Zeit,* 15-7-56, as "insane ravings about a Jewish-Communist domination of the United States, with direct incitement to Jew massacres." Another "Widar" book, "Soviet Agents Everywhere," was confiscated by the Public Prosecutor. So were, according to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 4-8-56, 9,000 copies of Eustace Mullins's brochure "Die Bankierverschwörung von Jekyl Island" (apparently the German version of the above-mentioned title).

The fact that books like these are published in Germany in the year 1956 is described by *Die Zeit,* 26-7-56, as "fantastic and humiliating."

Guido Roeder, owner of "Widar," is himself the author of an "anti-Communist" brochure entitled "SOS Rufe aus U.S.A.—Die Kommende Rote Diktatur." Denouncing it, a *Frankfurter Allgemeine* editorial, 10-7-56, explains that under the camouflage of anti-Communism, the author was "dishing up the very hoariest tales from the arsenal of Messrs. Julius Streicher, Alfred Rosenberg and Adolf Hitler." The editorial concludes: "Products of diseased brains — true enough. But since we have lived to see what catastrophes and crimes can be caused by such a compound of folly, insolence and hate, it is not sufficient to expose it to ridicule . . . People like Röder—and there are several others of his ilk amongst us—must be stopped from carrying on their insalubrious trade. Where incitement to crime begins, tolerance and freedom ends."

(Courtesy, Wiener Library Bulletin)



NEW CUSTOMER

(Knott in Dallas News)

Inside Germany

BULL-BOY

The fires of nationalism flared with uncomfortable heat in Bonn . . . when Heinrich Schneider, West Germany's newest and most accomplished demagogue, arrived in the capital to stoke the reunification furnace before a crowd of 70,000 refugees from the East who booed the name of Adenauer and howled for the return of lost territory. Their eyes are on the Oder-Neisse line beyond which is the land taken by Russia and Poland after the war.

Schneider is the bully-boy from the French-occupied Saarland whose Nazi tactics helped win the Saar's vote last year for return to Germany . . . He called the Bonn rally for a joint council of the East and West German governments to prepare a National Assembly for a united, neutral Germany that would join a "peace zone" of states stretching from Finland to the Mediterranean.

(Theodore Kaghan, N. Y. Post, 10-8-56)

★

"LOVE NOTES"

Hesse's interior ministry is pressing an investigation of the "Fighting Organization for an Independent Germany," which does its fighting with poison-pen handbills reminiscent of the Hitler era.

The anti-American, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic handbills, carrying the organization's signature, have been sent to many high-ranking U. S. Army officers, practically all the foreign consulates in Germany and even to officers of the new German Army.

The handbills promise that Germany "will throw off the foreign chains of American high finance, English lords, Adenauer and his Marxist friends." . . .

(John Dornberg, Overseas Weekly, 11-18-56)

★

ROLLING ALONG

The recent political unrest in Europe did not slow down the steady progress of West Germany's automobile industry. According to the latest statistics, West Germany's automobile production during the first nine months of 1956 has reached 797,429 units, compared to 539,000 during the like period of 1955 . . .

For expansion and modernization of its present plans, the West German automobile industry contemplates investing $300,000,000 in 1957, against $250,000,000 in 1956.

(Maurice Feldman, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-25-56)

★

WELCOME HOME

Wehrmacht veterans make up almost 80 per cent of the men volunteering for service in West Germany's slowly growing armed forces.

The Defense Ministry announced in a year-end report today 250,000 such veterans have registered, against 66,000 with no military experience.

(AP, 12-18-56)

★

MEMO TO FUTURE HISTORIANS

The new German army is restoring the jackboot and a uniform similar to that of the old Wehrmacht.

Present uniforms, double-breasted with wide lapels, were widely criticized as "un-German" and "Latin-American." The army is introducing a single-breasted blouse with only two breast pockets.

The army's American-style boots, similar to those worn by paratroopers, will be replaced by black jackboots last seen in Adolf Hitler's time.

(N. Y. World Telegram and Sun, 12-17-56)

★

ECHOES OF THE PAST

Siegfried Einstein, a Jewish poet, is currently appealing a fine of 300 marks levied against him because of his alleged slander of the officials of his town, Lampertheim. Einstein called them "Nazi bosses" and "Nazi louts," but claims he spoke only after severe provocation over a two-year period . . .

The original court ruling said that Einstein was suffering from a "Jew vs. Nazi" complex, and he was therefore fined instead of imprisoned for his offense . . .

According to the Manchester Guardian, Lampertheim has become notorious for its anti-Semitism. Einstein has charged that a large majority of the town council are ex-Nazis. He also publicly protested when honors and 6,000 marks were conferred on returned prisoner of war Wilhelm Rau, former Nazi legal inspector . . .

(The Churchman, 10-1-56)

★

ACHTUNG!

Meanwhile, former SS Maj. Gen. Kurt Meyer addressed 6,000 veterans of the Waffen SS, elite units of the Nazi army, at a rally in Minden, Westphalia. SS veterans below the rank of colonel are being admitted into the army by a decree of the Bonn government.

Gen. Meyer said SS men never of their own free will would shoot at their "German brothers" in the Communist-run East German Army. He said he is convinced that East German troops, in turn, would not shoot at West Germans.

"German soldiers listen to German orders," he said, "not to the orders of foreigners."

The rally was attended by several hundred wartime SS veterans from Austria, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the South Tyrol and other parts of Europe.

(Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 9-17-56)

★

A FAMILY QUARREL

Former members of the Waffen SS, Hitler's elite troops called each other "criminal" and "scoundrel" during a political forum that ended in confusion.

The meeting was designed to show that one-time SS soldiers were ready to back military conscription in the present democratic state . . .

When a former SS general said the organization should never have been condemned at the Nuremberg trials a German reporter shouted at him: "No doubt the SS will soon claim to be a victim of Nazism."

(Reuters, 9-12-56)

★

A DEVOTED SISTER

Adolf Hitler's sister said today she is writing her memoirs to set the record about her family straight.

"And the readers will forgive me if I abstain from depicting my brother at all costs as a wicked character, just for the sake of profit," she told a reporter.

"I must complete these memoirs. I owe it to the memory of my parents to tell the truth. So many distorted stories have been written in the postwar years that I have to set some facts straight."

(N. Y. Post, 10-10-56)

DOWN FROM "FIFTY PLUS"

From the Rhine to the Elbe, the bosses of Germany are retreating from a "leisure krieg."

From German boardrooms come five words of hope for British exporters—"fuenf-und-vierzig Stundenwoche"—the 45-hour week.

The German worker is demanding more leisure . . .

The bustling, booming German economy, built up by the sweat of the 50-hour-plus working week, has lost the first round in the "leisure krieg." . . .

(Frederick Ellis, London Daily Express, 10-15-56)

LOADED

Gold and dollar holdings of the Bank Deutscher Länder are now in excess of $3,100 million (£1,100 million), nearly 40 per cent more than the sterling area's central gold and dollar reserves ($2,244 million), it is learned . . . Germany's E. P. U. surplus last month was of the order of $100 million.

Foreign exchange reserves of the Bank rose by DM.470 million during the four-week period ending October 29. This brought the total to DM.17,140 million, that is $4,080 million . . .

(London Financial Times, 11-6-56)

FORGETTING

Addressing a meeting held here by the local group of the Bavarian Council for Freedom and Justice to commemorate the victims of Nazi oppression, Senator Dr. Erich Muhler, a South German leader who spent three years in a Nazi concentration camp, stated that the German people were gradually forgetting the horrible events of the Nazi past. There was a tendency, he said, to belittle the crimes. This proved that people were not prepared to learn a lesson from past events.

(JCNS, 9-14-56)

CASHING IN ON BOOM

West Germany is cashing in on the ship-building boom.

Its shipyards expect to deliver this year about a million tons of shipping . . .

Order books of the big West German yards are filled until 1960, and some yards have begun turning away prospective customers. Even smaller ones have enough orders to last 18 to 24 months . . .

Some of these vessels were delivered to Russia.

(Chicago Tribune, 10-4-56)

* * *

TOOLS FOR SALE

Exports of German machine tools may reach 45-50 million English pounds this year, accounting for about 40 per cent of total output, the German Machine Tool Association estimates.

The export ratio of Germany's machine tool industry was about 25 per cent before the war and reached a peak figure of 50 per cent during the Korea boom . . .

(London Financial Times, 9-28-56)

LENDING A HELPING HAND

A representative of the state-controlled Soviet Transport Agency is presently in Hamburg to negotiate with ship owners and charter firms the chartering of German tonnage for transport of Russian exports . . . In the past West German ships have already been used under Russian charter for many purposes . . . Definite figures as to . . . the amount of tonnage involved are not available.

(California Staatszeitung, 10-5-56)

BLOOD AND GOLD

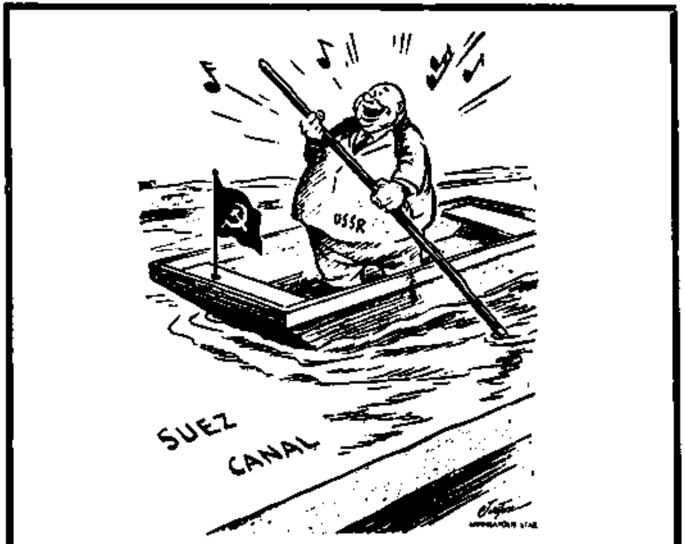
Sepp Dietrich, SS general and one of Hitler's favorite cutthroats, is about to be tried for murder. As a convicted war criminal, Dietrich was paroled last year. He isn't going to be prosecuted for the massacre of 142 American PWs during the Battle of the Bulge.

For his part in Der Fuehrer's murder of Ernst Roehm, the blood bath of 1934, Dietrich will face charges contained in an 88-page indictment . . .

It's a curious quirk of present-day life and living that a convicted criminal like Dietrich can be sprung for past mass murders but that he faces the possibility of another jail term—for getting the jump on fellow murderers.

Behind him this time, there probably also will be all the money the Nazis extorted and managed to hoard. Nobody will be able to confiscate the millions, hidden by Dietrich's faithful. It will reappear in the form of crisp, sound banknotes . . .

(Seymour Freidin, N. Y. Post, 9-16-56)



VOLGA BOATMAN GETS AROUND

RECOMMENDED READING:

SS: *Alibi of a Nation*

By GERALD REITLINGER

Reviewed by TERENCE PRITTIE

Three years ago Mr. Reitlinger performed a valuable service to future generations by writing "The Final Solution," which set out for the first time the full history and true nature of the Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews. "SS: Alibi of a Nation" is not exactly a companion volume to "The Final Solution," yet it is in a sense complementary to it. Here—also for the first time in print—is the story of the state within the State, the mixed military-police-murder squad which came to be accepted by the great mass of the German people as a normal part of the community. It is literally impossible to tell the whole story of the S.S. in 500 pages, for the organisation was a monstrous labyrinth with fresh horrors at every twist and corner of it. Mr. Reitlinger has yet managed to give a graphic and terrifying picture of its intricate organisation, brutal plans and performances, and of the half-mummified presiding figure of Heinrich Himmler. . . .

The outstanding impression which emerges from this book is that the huge majority of the German people tolerated the S.S. and may have even regarded it as indispensable. German civil servants shrugged off what seemed hardly to concern them and their offices. German generals full of righteous anger—generally, indeed, because they felt that their authority had been flouted—prepared powerful protests which died frozen on their lips. The older German nationalists expressed themselves on the iniquities of the S.S. with great force—to their personal friends and in the privacy of their own apartments. A few Germans tried, too late, to resist Hitler and the S.S. State. But the current German version of that resistance—that it failed only because Germany was at war and the Allies had demanded unconditional surrender—is pitifully unconvincing. The S.S. built up its essential power in peace-time, when any surrenders taking place were made by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, M. Daladier, and President Benes of Czechoslovakia. It was in peace-time that the S.S. set up Dachau and other concentration camps. It was in peace-time that they murdered Austria's Chancellor Dollfuss, and kicked small Jewish girls and pregnant Jewish mothers down the streets.

This book is a chronicle of horror, and it is hard to select from it in order to produce an impression in cameo. Not so long ago a German weekly paper declared that the concentration camps were an invention of the victorious Allies and that the gas ovens of Dachau were installed by American pioneers. The map at the end of his book is therefore all the more valuable. It marks only the most important concentration camps, and there are 23 of them. Each single name—Belsen, Buchenwald, Flossenburg, Mauthausen—conjures up its own particular pictures of unbelievable cruelty, which is relived in the nightmares of survivors who are still waiting for some poor material compensation for their sufferings. Of course, many Germans will assure you, practically no one in Germany knew about the concentration camps. Is this quite credible? The mayor of Bergen-Belsen saw the long columns of half-starved Jews being marched to the infamous camp on the heath, and he never saw them being marched back again...

Mr. Reitlinger gives one a choice of horrors—the sadistic tortures and beatings-up, the medical experiments on innocent people, the mass murders in ditches and dungeons, the grisly business of disposing of millions of corpses. He gives one, too, a picture of the mystical lunacy and hero-worship which warped the brains of the perpetrators. Himmler believed in "S.S. runes" and "racial purity," but the small man of the S.S. was often no better. Here, for instance, is the testimony of S.S. Sergeant Jerk when he confronted S.S. Obergruppenfuehrer Steiner: "As he approached me his stern features brightened into a smile. He had recognised me. And yet it was almost a year since I had taken part in the deputation which greeted him at Narva on his birthday. Since then he had seen innumerable faces and yet he recognised mine. I stood no longer on the ground but swam in a rosy cloud of happiness." This type of inspired imbecility enabled Germans to do things which might otherwise have seemed incredible, such as shooting down droves of small children in ditches, driving gipsies in hundreds into the frozen waters of the Dnieper to drown, and knocking skeletonic prisoners into open cess-pits in order to watch them struggle to death in liquid manure.

To-day the new German Army is ready to begin recruiting former members of the Waffen S.S. This is hardly wise, for however efficient a screening system is devised, a percentage of people who either connived or participated in crime will infiltrate into armed forces which are intended to be genuinely democratic. It is not wise to forget too soon. But the Germans are adept at forgetting, as a few examples from Mr. Reitlinger's book will show, Otto Brauetigam, who decided that Jews should be killed in the Eastern territories regardless of "economic consequences," is now a trusted member of the Federal Foreign Office. General Lothar Rendulic, who was stringing up alleged deserters during the final weeks of Germany's collapse, is a regular contributor on "military matters" to a Rhineland weekly paper. General Kurt Meyer, who had Canadian prisoners butchered in the Ardennes, was fêted when he was released from gaol and given a new car by a Düsseldorf firm. Wilhelm Schepmann, Chief of Staff of the S.A., was made a priority candidate for Parliament in Lower Saxony by the B.H.E. Refugee party.

It is these and many other incidents which make Mr. Reitlinger's book invaluable. He himself summed up the real reasons for writing it in his very last paragraph. "The machinery of the S.S. as a state within a state will be forgotten because it never achieved its end. The successes of the S.S. in the field will be forgotten because the S.S. never fought as an army and its leaders never achieved more than tactical control. The idealism of the S.S. will be forgotten because it meant nothing beyond loyalty to one man. But the racial transplantations, the concentration camps, the interrogation cells of the Gestapo, the medical experiments on the living, the mass reprisals, the manhunts for slave labour, and the racial exterminations will be remembered for ever." Substitute "must" for "will" in special consideration that it could all happen again—if not in Germany, then somewhere where the lesson of the S.S. has not been learned or even thought about.

(Courtesy, Manchester Guardian)

World Crises—German Opportunities

One of the first tasks of Dr. Abdelatif Ben Jelloun, who has just been appointed (Moroccan) Ambassador to Bonn, will be the negotiation of a trade agreement with Germany.

The Government of the Federal Republic is anxious for an agreement to push sales of German products in Morocco, the purchase of German equipment for agriculture and industries, and the use of German technicians, engineers and civil servants in Morocco.

The Moroccan Government is considering the substitution of its French civil servants, technicians, engineers and air pilots, by people of other nationalities. Germany has offered to fill some of the vacancies.

(London Financial Times, 11-12-56)

* * *

In Moscow a group of West German industrial experts were received by the Soviet Minister for heavy industry. The experts represent AEG, DEMAG, Krupp, Mannesmann, Siemens and Gutehoffnungshütte. The purpose of their trip to the Soviet Union is to visit factories and mines in the Ukraine and the Ural region. In Moscow they saw the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition and, as reported by the German Embassy, were impressed by displays in the field of atomic energy utilization for peaceful purposes.

(The Bulletin [Bonn], 11-22-56)

* * *

The French Government will return the Voelklingen steelworks in the Saar to the heirs of the former owner, Herr Herman Roechling, by December 1. The works have been under French sequestration since the war . . .

The plants produce 1 million tons of raw steel a year, a third of the Saar output.

The agreement between the French Government and the Roechling heirs followed the refusal by French banks and steel companies to take over a share in a Franco-German company which was to have paid Swiss Frs.200 million (16.3 million English pounds) to the heirs under the Pinay-Adenauer agreement of May, 1955.

(London Financial Times, 11-16-56)

* * *

West German pipe and tube companies were on the march in Canada this week.

Mannesmann, AG, of Düsseldorf, has announced it will establish its Western Hemisphere headquarters in Toronto. The new Canadian GHQ will be capitalized at $30-million. The Toronto office will oversee the new Mannesman Tube Co. at Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., and the company's Brazilian manufacturing operation.

Meanwhile, farther west in Alberta, the new $6.5-million plant of the Alberta Phoenix Tube & Pipe, Ltd., began production this week. This Edmonton operation is owned by Alberta oil millionaires Frank McMahon, San Francisco oilman William Gilmore, and West Germany's Phoenix-Rheinrohr, AG.

(Business Week, 12-8-56)

* * *

Talks on an extension of trade relations between Rumania and West Germany are now being conducted in Bucharest, Radio Bucharest reported . . .

The German delegation is headed by Herr Max Rademacher, a leading Free Democrat from Hamburg and a member of the Bundestag (West German Lower House).

The radio quoted Herr Rademacher as saying that the present figure of $60-million a year for German-Rumanian trade could easily be increased. He also suggested that more Rumanian overseas exports and imports should be shipped through Hamburg . . .

(Reuters, 11-10-56)

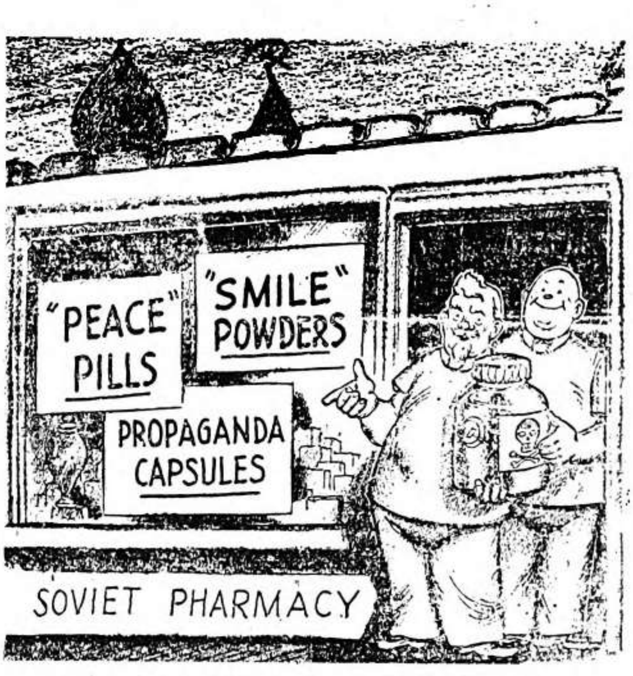
* * *

Twelve West German oil technicians have begun intensive exploration of a 5,800-square-mile petroleum development concession in Northeast Syria.

The concession was obtained recently from the Syrian Government by Deutsche Erdoel AG of Hamburg, a leading producing company. It is the first West German toehold in Middle Eastern oil exploitation.

The company agreed to invest up to $5,000,000 in exploration work during the next three years. In return Deutsche Erdoel received "the most favorable profit-sharing arrangement in the Middle East," according to company officials . . .

Company spokesman said that "the best possible guarantees" against nationalization of the concession had also been obtained. He attributed the terms of what he said was the



"WE SELL THE NEW TRANQUILIZERS"

(*Thiele in The Los Angeles Mirror-News*) relative popularity of German businessmen in the Arab world . . .

(Arthur J. Olsen, N. Y. Times, 12-14-56)

* * *

Trade missions in Hungary and Poland may soon be established as the first step towards resumption of full diplomatic relations . . .

German-Polish trade has been rapidly expanding during this year, German exports from January to August amounting to over DM.209 million, or treble the DM.67.3 million total during the corresponding period of 1955, and German imports to DM.147 million, against DM.60 million from January to August last year.

Trade talks with Hungary, recently concluded, provide for a 20 per cent increase in trade volume to DM.144 million per year both ways.

(London Financial Times, 11-1-56)

* * *

"Egyptianization" is the new watchword of President Nascer's regime . . .

Organizations regularly appeal for a boycott of all British and French products . . .

The newspaper Al Ahram charged the British and French with monopolizing this profession "because firms feared their secrets would become known to the Egyptians." . . .

Reinsurance operations by Egyptian companies, formerly handled through London, are being shifted to other markets, especially Switzerland and West Germany . . .

(Edwin Shanke in the AP, 11-30-56)

* * *

The foreign trade boom extended to West German commercial relations with the Communist countries.

In the first ten months of 1956 goods in the amount of 1,786,000,000 marks ($425,000,000) were exchanged with the Soviet Union, its satellites and Communist China. This exceeded the former peak volume of trade with those countries that was established in 1937 . . .

The Federal Republic's commerce with the East has increased by 250 per cent since 1950 despite careful adherence to Western strategic controls. (N. Y. Times, 1-3-57)

Items of Interest

HELPING NASSER

Egypt's High Aswan Dam project was discussed yesterday by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Eugene Black, president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Dr. Adenauer has proposed that the West help Egypt build the dam. Mr. Black is on a week's visit to West Germany to study the possibility of enlisting that nation's resources in the development of economically retarded countries . . .

(N. Y. Times, 11-22-56)

★

OPERATION "CANADA"

About 180,000 Germans have emigrated to Canada since 1945 and today some 700,000 Canadians of German origin rank third in the population, after the English and French speaking groups.

The German Federal Republic has become Canada's most important trade partner on the European continent . . .

(The Bulletin, 11-8-56)

★

RIGHT INTO THEIR HANDS

The knowledge that coming months will see at best an uneasy peace in the Suez area is drawing the Afro-Asian bloc closer commercially to Japan. Already, since the canal has been blocked to traffic, Japanese exporters have received orders for goods normally supplied by European makers from a number of nations east of Suez.

Japanese businessmen make little secret of their hope that the Southeast Asian market will not drop into their hands . . .

(Igor Oganesoff, Christian Science Monitor, 11-13-56)

★

THE PRICE FOR RECOGNITION

West Germany announced today that it will refuse to establish diplomatic relations with Guatemala because the government there of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas has permanently expropriated the German property which was seized in World War II.

(Gaston Coblentz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12-4-56)

★

DRANG NACH WESTEN!

. . . But by July 1 Adenauer promises to provide General Norstad, the Allied commander, with three motorized and two mechanized divisions plus one mountain and one airborne regiment.

Furthermore, as a sign of faith, the Allies have agreed to give Bonn important posts. In the spring a German general—probably Hans Speidel—will take control of all NATO land armies on the central front running from Switzerland to the Baltic.

The committee of Allied staff chiefs is considering naming a German as liaison between itself and the Big Three standing group. If this is done the nominee may be General Heusinger . . .

(C. L. Sulzberger, N. Y. Times, 12-15-56)

The British government has evidence that the Soviet Union is subsidizing leading members of the military junta that is now the real power in Syria. It also has information concerning a Soviet plan for an increased shipment of arms to Syria and for the later export of these arms from Syria to Egypt.

Secretary Dulles was told of this plan by British officials at the recent meeting of NATO in Paris. His comment, according to an authoritative source, was that the reports were "interesting."

(The N. Y. Times, 12-23-56)

Israel captured high Egyptian officers in the Sinai Peninsula carrying copies of Hitler's "Mein Kampf" in their knapsacks. Although the majority of Nasser's army is illiterate, its officers are not.

To inspire them against Israel, Nasser had reprinted in Arabic huge quantities of "Mein Kampf." The high officers of Nasser's army were urged by him to exhort his army to wipe out Jews according to the gospel as preached by Adolf Hitler.

(Barry Gray, The N. Y. Post, 11-21-56)

KRUPP IN BRAZIL

In Rio de Janeiro Alfred Krupp told newspapermen that his concern is building a factory for production of locomotives and automobile trucks in Campo Limpo in the state of Sao Paulo . . . Both the Brazil Federal Government and the State Governor of Sao Paulo have given assistance to the project, said Krupp, who called attention to the fact that his firm has entertained relations to Brazil since 1836 . . .

(N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, 12-18-56)

★

AN FBI STORY

President Eisenhower was marked for assassination by Nazi Germany in the closing months of World War II, it was revealed today.

Mr. Eisenhower, then supreme allied commander in Europe, was to be the target of German parachutists dropped behind allied lines, on London and Paris, during the death throes of Adolf Hitler's Reich in 1944.

In addition, the Nazis hoped to set the stage for an attempt on the life of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt by a mass-breakout of some 400,000 Axis prisoners-of-war interned in this country. Both plots failed, chiefly through the efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The thwarting of these and other Axis intrigues, as well as a 50-year war against the underworld, are described in a new book called "The FBI Story" by Pulitzer prize-winning reporter Don Whitehead . . .

(Cleveland Plain Dealer, 11-28-56)

★

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Maj. Gen. Julius Klein, who commanded a regiment against the Axis powers in World War II, has been hired as a "foreign agent" by a society of German business men.

General Klein registered Sept. 5 with the Department of Justice under the Foreign Agents Registration Act . . .

The president of the society is Dr. Hermann J. Abs, a German banker . . .

(N. Y. Times, 9-23-56)

★

RECRUITING FOR THE WEHRMACHT

At Minden . . . the former members of the military branch of the Nazi SS held their biggest rally to date. Ostensibly summoned to discuss welfare questions, the gathering, 10,000 strong, was an open demonstration of unrepentant arrogance. The Waffen SS men assured each other that the new German army would be of no use without them. They were encouraged in this confidence not only by the Bonn government's deplorable offer to reinstate them in their previous ranks, but also by the appearance at Minden of Dr. Mende, the opposition Free Democrat party's defence expert. Dr. Mende's party seems confident that after the elections it will either come to power in alliance with the Social Democrats, or be able to name its own terms for realigning itself with the Christian Democrats. This prospect lent weight to Dr. Mende's words when he tried to whitewash the record of the Waffen SS and assured its former members that any who wish to join the new army will be accepted before long . . .

(London Economist, 9-22-56)

★

GOEBBEL'S TACTICS REBORN

The Suez Canal, one of the most important waterways of the world, has been turned into an internal stream. Orderly procedures have disappeared in the Middle East and will not be readily restored.

For instance we in the United States have concentrated on the quarrel between Egypt and Israel, but we have paid little heed to the violence of the attack upon the Government of Iraq, the most stable of the Arab countries and the closest friend of the West among them. The Egyptian radio issued this statement to the Arab world and it is here quoted as characteristic of the bitterness toward Iraq of the Sovietized Arab countries:

"The Iraqi Government . . . tried to utilize the Iraqi Army as a tool for terrorizing the Iraqi people. It then dared to mass troops on the Syrian border, participated in a conspiracy against Syria's safety, assisted Britain, France and Israel to attack Egypt and bombard its citizens and to invade it in order to violate its freedom and independence.

"The present Government in Iraq is no longer a lawful Government entitled to demand obedience from the Iraqi people. The actions undertaken by this Government have made it a trespasser and usurper Government. No one should obey this Government. Indeed, every Arab and every Iraqi must resist it. . . ."

This is one Government issuing propaganda among the people of another. Egypt and Syria now believe that, with Russian aid, they can get away with anything.

(From Editorial N. Y. Daily Mirror, 1-3-57)

★

ATTENTION AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN!

The only car making a sizable gain in U. S. sales this year is foreign.

The German Volkswagen showed a year-to-year sales increase of 250 per cent in the first half, as nearly 26,000 of the little cars moved out of showrooms.

No American make in the lower or medium price range chalked up a sales gain in the same period. Most of them lost a good deal of ground.

Detroit is startled, also, to find that more Volkswagens were sold than either Hudsons or Packards. This is the first time since the war that a foreign car has outsold an established American brand on the home grounds . . .

The Germans have taken the lead in another invasion of the U. S. market . . .

British bikes relinquished their sales lead to the German bikes, which accounted for nearly half of all foreign sales in the U. S. in the first half of 1956.

You can expect to hear more squawks from domestic manufacturers of bikes . . .

(U. S. News & World Report, 9-14-56)

★

PRIVILEGE RESTORED

The Commerce Department has restored U. S. export privileges to Hans Wolff Export-Import Co. of West Berlin.

Mr. Wolff and his principal, Richard Fleschner Import-Export, also of West Berlin, were temporarily denied the privileges on June 26, 1956, for alleged attempted transshipment of U. S.-origin vehicles and parts from West Germany to Soviet Russia . . .

(AP, 11-6-56)

★

LILI SINGS AGAIN

Lili Marlene in person—the blonde who first sang "Underneath the Lamplight by the Barrack Gate" over the Wehrmacht radio—will open a rally of 20,000 men Rommel's Afrika Korps in Düsseldorf, "the Paris of the Rhine," . . .

In the audience Lili expects to have the widow of Rommel; Field-Marshal ("Smiling Albert") Kesselring —"Old Soldiers Never Die"—as they call him in Germany—General von Lettow-Vorbeck, brilliant first-war commander in what was then German East Africa; and General Speidel, once Rommel's Chief of Staff, now the brains of the Adenauer army . . .

Among those accepting invitations are the British Rhine Army's Chief of Staff, Major-General J. D'Arcy Anderson, and Major-General J. W. Hackett, commander of the Seventh Armoured Division—the original "Desert Rats." . . .

(London Daily Express, 9-29-56)

★

MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA

Great interest has been shown here in to-day's arrival in the Union on a 10 days' visit of West Germany's Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Ludwig Erhard . . . Closer economic and financial ties with Germany are . . . anticipated . . . In the circumstances, there is considerable speculation whether Germany, which has moved so rapidly to the status of a creditor country, may not become very closely identified with the Union's economic expansion in future.

(London Financial Times, 11-2-56)

★

BUSINESS WITH A BANG

An explosion in an office building in midtown Hamburg appears to have uncovered a large-scale arms export business to the Middle East and North Africa. The blast reduced the building, a four-story reinforced concrete structure, to rubble . . .

(Arthur J. Olsen, N. Y. Times, 10-5-56)

★

WHO'S GOT A SECRET?

Former German aircraft firms getting back to business are negotiating with British jet-engine makers for the right to make some of Britain's secret jets and rocket motors. They are needed for 2,000 mile-an-hour fighters.

(London Daily Express, 10-1-56)

★

We misinterpreted the phenomenon of the Egyptian dictatorship. We thought it could be beguiled from its course and thought of it merely as a form of new nationalism, while Nasser had avowed his imperialistic ambitions as clearly as Hitler did and proved the efficacy of those ambitions by his propaganda campaign in all Arab, even all Islamic, nations. We insisted on treating him as the innocent victim and Britain, France and Israel as the "aggressors," thus ignoring the years of provocation and Nasser's explicit ambition to wipe out the little State of Israel. Our miscalculation about the dynamism of Nasser's movement have been exceeded only by the British Labor party, the intelligent leader of which expressed the hope that Eisenhower was now in a position to "arbitrate" between Israel and Egypt. One is reminded of Chamberlain's pathetic efforts to arbitrate at Munich. . . .

(Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, New Leader, 12-24-56)

As the London Observer has suggested . . . the challenge to the Western nations is to make a withdrawal from Eastern Europe strategically tolerable to Russia. . . .

Yet Russia has a bear by the tail in East Germany, and there have been a number of indications that she would like to be rid of it if this could be accomplished without endangering her own security. From the Western standpoint, moreover, so long as the 22 divisions remain in East Germany they will have an inhibiting effect on Polish independence and the pull for more freedom in the satellites. How, then, can a withdrawal be made tolerable?

Obviously the West will have to give up something. What it might well give up is German membership in NATO. That is, in effect, offer to establish German neutrality in return for Soviet concessions in East Germany, the satellite empire — and perhaps in a Middle Eastern settlement. . . .

(Washington Post, 11-25-56)

Dulles and The Suez Riddle

by T. H. TETENS

We print below a thought-provoking and original article by T. H. Tetens, together with his covering letter. Mr. Tetens is a writer on international affairs and the author of the book "Germany Plots With The Kremlin." His article speaks for itself and does not necessarily represent the views of the Society.

January 2, 1957

To the Society for the
Prevention of World War III
Gentlemen:

When the dramatic events in Hungary and Suez occurred, I was in the midst of preparations for a new book about the Adenauer plan to integrate Europe.

Since then I have scanned many reports and articles published here and abroad. The necessity to set the political facts straight is especially urgent at a time when there is a maximum of political confusion and a perversion of moral principles.

I have compiled a wealth of material which proves that the master planners in Bonn, above all, will profit from recent events.

I know that there is little room for extensive documentation. That has to remain for the book. What I have in mind at this time is to provide your readers with a brief survey which indicates that the Suez catastrophe was not primarily the result of "blunders."

Cordially,

T. H. TETENS

The Crushing Blow

The ill-fated British-French Suez action of November 1956 will be recorded by scholars as one of the great turning points in modern history.

When London and Paris acceded—under heavy pressure—to the demand of a cease fire and withdrawal from the Suez Canal, a great chapter of European leadership ended in what the Economist called "a total and unmitigated defeat."

Few people know what really happened behind the diplomatic scenes during those eventful days of November 1956. Yet, the results of the hectic struggle between Washington and London became glaringly visible before the eyes of the whole world. Great Britain and France had been dealt a heavy blow and the position of both countries as great world powers was seriously damaged. This fact was bluntly stated by a leading political magazine, the U. S. News & World Report (12-14-56), which called Britain's retreat from Suez appropriately "the end of an era."

The U. S. News & World Report sized up the situation in these words: "This time the British withdrawal from Suez is for keeps . . . Britain can no longer protect its own interest in the Arab world . . . Britain and France, by their failure in Egypt, have exposed themselves as second-class powers in the world."

How did this catastrophe happen? Why was it necessary to stab the British, French and Israelis in the back? Was not Great Britain America's closest and most dependable ally, if not by treaty, then by tradition? Why did Washington administer this humiliating blow which played into the hands of Dictator Nasser and his Arab allies, and won the eager support of the Soviet bloc?

Britain and France had intervened at Suez with the objective of restoring order and security at this vital international waterway. They saw realistically the necessity to put an end to Nasser's dictatorship. London and Paris decided to act after it had been proven that efforts towards a peaceful settlement through the UN or by concerted action with Washington were of no avail. The record shows that all steps in that direction had been stymied by the U. S. State Department.

Unexplained Mysteries

The millions of words which have been written about the Suez crisis have up to now not answered the one overriding question: Why did Secretary Dulles, over a period of many months, remain passive in spite of all urgent British, French and Israeli appeals to support a move, either by the big powers or through the UN, for a lasting settlement in the strife-ridden region of the Near and Middle East?

There are many other questions. For instance, why did Mr. Dulles initiate, in midsummer, 1956, a pointed campaign against "colonialism" at the moment when the British had just voluntarily withdrawn their last troops from the Suez Canal and had all hands full to find a solution for other difficult situations, such as Cyprus, Jordan and the Arab-Israeli conflict, not to speak of other burning problems in the Far East?

During the last two years London had pointed with increasing alarm to the rapid deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. But all its urgent pleas did not faze Mr. Dulles. Why? Can it be that the Secretary of State had become captivated by a diplomatic scheme which made it necessary to undermine British and French power? A significant statement which appeared in the fall of 1956 in the editorial page of the Hearst newspaper Journal-American, may shed light on Mr. Dulles' intentions. On October 5, the Journal-American published an article pointing out that Secretary Dulles was set to play a "new role" in world affairs. Friends of the Secretary, it was stated, had hinted of a "foxy design" by which Mr. Dulles hoped to defeat the "neutralized-minded nations" which aspire to "act as umpire in the cold war struggle between the major forces of the world—the United States and Russia." Mr. Dulles, the article continued, "aimed at fighting colonialism." He had just declared, on October 2, that the U. S. would take "an independent position on the colonial issue." Having thus described the purpose of Mr. Dulles' "foxy design," the Hearst paper proceeded to state the Secretary's basic objectives: *"Dulles may still go down in history as the man who sparked the realization of that old American dream—the coming of Western Europe into a United States of its own. He may have done this by kicking the British and French in the teeth on the colonial issue . . ."*

This truly amazing statement was made four weeks before the catastrophic events descended upon our two closest friends and allies. In the light of the above testimony, coming from a paper which is known as a staunch supporter of the Secretary's foreign policy, it seems justified, even imperative, to take a close look with regard to the essence of Dulles' diplomacy.

In spite of thousands of articles, editorials and comments by which the press tried to explain the news behind the Suez Crisis, there is very little knowledge of the forces which first precipitated this crisis and finally determined the catastrophic outcome of the British-French expedition. James Reston, the New York Times diplomatic correspondent in Washington, wrote on December 30, 1956, that the *"whole story of the attempts of this government to block the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, has not yet been told.* There are indeed many facts which have not yet been told, facts which are of utmost importance in order to grasp the enormity of the "foxy design" that turned the tables against our friends and allies.

There is also a word to say about the new role of Mr. Dulles as the "only prophet" who, in the early summer of 1956, climbed out on the limb and boldly forecast events which would allow us "to look hopefully forward to a transformation of the international scene." Mr. Dulles was then known in the journalistic and diplomatic fraternities in Washington as the man who, throughout his life, had constantly made wrong guesses. Now, suddenly, the Secretary of State basked in the glory of a great political forecaster. Recalling Mr. Dulles' prophetic statements, the Christian Science Monitor (12-12-56) remarked that Mr. Dulles' earlier "undiplomatic predictions were made to the amazement and shock of quite a few Washington pundits" and it was generally felt at that time that Mr. Dulles "was being over-optimistic and possibly naive."

Could it be that the "prophet" John Foster Dulles had exact knowledge of pending schemes which allowed him "to look hopefully forward to a transformation of the international scene"? It is noteworthy that he is not the only "prophet" and "forecaster" who dabbles in the business of "foxy designs." On the other side of the Atlantic is his close friend and colleague, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, known by friend and foe as the "Old Fox." The Chancellor looks proudly back over a lifelong career in the manufacturing of "foxy designs." The record shows that both men, Dulles and Adenauer, had reached the end of their respective "diplomatic ropes" in the spring of 1956. Yet both dared to turn "prophet" and to predict events which would bring about "a transformation of the international scene."

The Rift Between London and Washington

In order to understand the underlying forces which have caused the catastrophic turn in world affairs in the fall of 1956, we must take a brief glance at the developments in Anglo-American relations during the first postwar decade.

The cold war alliance between Washington and London came officially to life with Churchill's famous "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo., in March 1946. The common bond was fear of the Russian bear who had advanced deep into Central Europe and threatened British and American interests in other parts of the world. With the rapid change during the postwar period, especially with the comeback of a revitalized Germany, the strength of the Anglo-American alliance was bound to weaken. Our relations with France were strained from the beginning of the postwar period.

The first differences with Great Britain appeared under the Truman-Acheson Administration in regard to such issues as German re-industrialization, the Berlin blockade, and U. S. direction of the Korean war. Our relations to the British ally became strained even more under the Eisenhower-Dulles administration. There was serious irritation during the Korean truce negotiations, during the formation of the Baghdad Pact, the Indochona crisis, on the Formosa question, on the issue of German remilitarization and European security, and on the burning Near and Middle East problems. The basic differences between London's and Washington's diplomatic conduct centered around the general policy of war, peace, and co-existence.

The British recognized early that under changed conditions in the postwar period they had to pursue world problems with a different diplomatic approach. Under a rapidly advancing arms technique toward absolute weapons, Britain was confronted with the paramount problem of survival. Russia had set off her first A-bomb; in 1949, China was lost to the Communist orbit; in 1952, Moscow came forward with luring offers for a German settlement, for a European security system and for large scale disarmament; in 1953, Russia surprised the West with an H-bomb test; in 1954, with modern intercontinental jet bombers of the Bison type, and with advanced experiments in guided missiles. The result of this development is a nuclear stalemate between the two super powers. The British reacted quietly and fast. They visualized the necessity of an overall world settlement and a speedy ending of the cold war. The logical answer for British statesmen was moderation and co-existence. London recognized that Russia and Red China were realities with whom they had to live—and to trade. At the same time, while the United States clung rigidly to the old policy concept of containment and non-recognition, the British accepted Russia, China and India as new world powers.

No similar policy revision was made by the United States. On the contrary: When the Eisenhower-Dulles Administration took over in Washington in 1953, the Secretary of State proclaimed an accelerated cold war policy of dynamic "liberation" and "rollback," a "massive retaliation" for the Soviets and an "agonizing reappraisal" of policy towards our allies.

"Brink of War" or Co-Existence?

Up to 1953 Russia's "peace offensive" to end the cold war had been unsuccessful. It needed the diplomatic art of John Foster Dulles to bring Moscow over the hurdle. After Eisenhower's election victory in 1952, Churchill came to Washington to hammer out a common Anglo-American policy adequate to meet the realities in a rapidly changing world. Churchill soon discovered the unbridgable gap between the British and American concept of diplomacy. The British found it difficult to follow the erratic "brink of war" policies proposed by Secretary Dulles. Churchill first suggested publicly on May 11, 1953, to have a meeting of the governments of the U. S., Great Britain and the USSR "at the highest possible level." This idea was sharply opposed by Secretary Dulles. Soon after the fruitless Bermuda Conference in the fall of 1953, the British Premier decided to try a new diplomatic approach in order to reach a direct understanding with Russia. After preliminary secret soundings in Moscow, Churchill opened an exchange of letters with Foreign Minister

Molotov on July 4, 1954, which was marked by an unusual cordiality. Recalling "our friendly relations in time of war," Churchill expressed the wish to meet Mr. Malenkov (then Soviet Premier) and other Soviet leaders. Churchill suggested a "simple and unofficial meeting in a friendly fashion without agendas, with the sole purpose of trying to find a sensible way of living side by side in an atmosphere of growing trust, ease and happiness."

The next day, July 5, Molotov responded with no less cordiality saying that the Soviet leaders had "completely understood the meaning of your important message." Referring to "our comradely relations during the war, and the outstanding part you played in it," Molotov posed this significant question:

"Why, if during the war years relations between our countries were of such importance not only for our peoples but also for the fate of the world, can these relations not develop similarly now? As far as we are concerned, we are striving in this direction and we view your letter exactly in this light."

The proposed meeting failed to take place. Churchill, under a pretext, decided four weeks later to "wait . . . and then let us look into my project again." It is no secret that Churchill's proposal had come under pressure from Dulles.

The fact is that there was no meeting of mind between Churchill and the U. S. Secretary of State. When Dulles pressed for "united action" in order to intervene in Indochina (April 1954), he was coldly turned down in London and Paris. At that time Secretary Dulles insisted strongly on his "brink of war" diplomacy and was even willing to risk all-out atomic war with the Soviets. The British Premier, however, recommended a policy of moderation and negotiation in order to live with the existing problems without risking war.

Geneva and "The Big Thaw"

Under Churchill's constant prodding, Eisenhower finally agreed to meet with the Russians at Geneva in 1955. According to the Alsop brothers, Secretary Dulles was "bitterly opposed" to the summit meeting. Geneva and its result, the "Geneva spirit," was called the turning point in the cold war. Yet, long before Geneva, Moscow had initiated the policy of "The Big Thaw"—the liberalization of domestic policies and a more flexible diplomatic offensive in all parts of the world. 1955 saw the signing of the Austrian Treaty, Moscow's apology to Tito, Russia's withdrawal from Finland, the beginning of de-Stalinization in the satellites, a reduction of 640,000 men in Russia's armed forces, and the triumphal Bulganin-Khruschev visit to India and Burma. All these events were interpreted by Secretary Dulles as the result of Russia's "internal weaknesses," signalizing the pending "disintegration of the Soviet empire." Accordingly Dulles took a "tough" attitude at the Second Geneva Conference in October 1955, demanding Moscow's acceptance of American policy on German re-unification and the liberation of the satellite countries.

By the spring of 1956, it had become clear that London and Paris prepared to negotiate directly with Moscow. Bulganin's and Khruschev's visit to London April 1956 was hailed by the British press as a diplomatic event of first magnitude. In ten days of secret talks, the British and Russian statesmen came to an understanding on such vital points as European security, disarmament, close cooperation in the UN in order to pacify the Middle East, expansion of trade and strengthening of cultural relations. Eden was full of praise and called the meeting "the beginning of the beginning" to end the cold war. The British reported that the Russian leaders had given assurance that before the year would end, the satellites would receive more independence and that other significant reforms were in the making.

There is little wonder that Mr. Dulles felt uneasy about the Anglo-Soviet talks. He and Adenauer were highly irritated by the fact that the problem of Germany had been by-passed. On this question London and Moscow had "agreed to disagree' and thus decided to keep Germany divided.

Soon, other sensational events followed. In May 1956, French Premier Mollet and Foreign Minister Pineau had intimate talks in Moscow which convinced them that peaceful co-existence was the only alternative to suicide. On May 14, 1956, the Russians announced a new voluntary cut of 1,200,000 men in the armed forces, the closing of military installations, the mothballing of ships and an immediate withdrawal of 30,000 troops from East Germany. There was a general trend to end the cold war. The West German press reported that secret negotiations between Moscow and the Vatican were going on and that Moscow was willing to grant freedom to the Roman-Catholic Church.

There was considerable irritation in certain quarters here and in Bonn about these developments. Dulles had come under a barrage of criticism at home and abroad. The German press criticized Adenauer for having missed the bus and expressed concern lest Moscow, London and Paris establish a new "entente cordiale."

The Countermove

In the early summer of 1956 the blue sky of peaceful coexistence was suddenly darkened by two ominous events. Late in June riots broke out in Poznan which were quickly suppressed by Polish police with the help of Russian tanks. Three weeks later, on July 19, there was another event of far greater consequence: Secretary Dulles' cancellation of the plan for financial assistance for Egypt's Aswan Dam project was used as a pretext by dictator Nasser to seize the Suez Canal.

The Adenaur-Dulles strategy to foil a Paris-London-Moscow agreement on key problems was powerfully reinforced by the bloody events in Hungary and the arrogant stand of the Egyptian Dictator. In this connection, it has been reported that Bonn's intelligence chief, Reinhard Gehlen, played his part through his secret agents. During the war Gehlen employed his talents for Hitler. After the end of hostilities, he and his vast apparatus worked for U. S. officials and subquently were hired by Adenauer.

There is unanimous agreement among all political observers that John Foster Dulles' action of July 19 precipitated the chain of fatal events in the Middle East. Here is one of the great unsolved riddles in Mr. Dulles' diplomacy. The Secretary certainly did not blunder. Can it be that he played a carefully calculated game to precipitate events under which eventually Great Britain and France would lose their prestige as great world powers? This is exactly what happened in consequence of Dulles' action.

There is mystery upon mystery in the Secretary's handling of the Middle East situation. In London the Soviet leaders had agreed to settle the Middle East problem through the cooperation of all big powers in the UN. Dulles gave no support to this plan, but he continued to maintain his do-nothing position. Dulles, said the US News (-25-56) "has not been willing to go all the way with the British Foreign Office on many issues of policy related to the Middle East." Was that all part and parcel of his "foxy design"?

There is a wealth of material, diplomatic reports from Cairo, London and Washington, which, together with the comments of such foreign policy experts as Walter Lippmann, James Reston, the Alsop brothers, Joseph Harsch, and others, constitute a devastating indictment of Secretary Dulles' handling of the Suez Crisis. This is not the place to enumerate the details of how Mr. Dulles first goaded and bamboozled the British and French. Having forced them into virtual unconditional surrender and "kicked them in the teeth," Mr. Dulles brought joy to Nasser and his Nazi adviser and to the Soviet bloc.

One has only to read the excellent report from Cairo "How the United States Saved Nasser," in The Reporter of December, 13, 1956, in order to fathom the magnitude of the crime by which Western interests were deliberately harmed. Three days after the swift moving Israeli forces had overrun Egypt's military might in the Sinai peninsula, dictator Nasser was on the verge of toppling. Then came the Dulles ultimatum of October 30, the mysterious five-day delay of the Canal occupation, the oil sanctions, the organized run on the pound, and finally the humiliating surrender. By the middle of November, Nasser had regained his prestige as the strong man of the Middle East. The man who had organized and directed the international rescue operation for the would-be Hitler on the Nile was U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. The American government, said the Alsops, "is bending every effort to restore Nasser—*the irredeemable Soviet stooge—to the position of commanding leadership in the Arab world.*" Mulling over *"the strange process of transforming Egypt's smashing military defeat into a smashing political victory,"* the Alsops wondered where Washington's "new course" may lead.

The New York Times observed (12-23-56) that "no settlement of either Suez or Palestine is now conceivable except on Colonel Nasser's terms." William Henry Chamberlin, usually a staunch supporter of Mr. Dulles' foreign policy, made the following sarcastic remark (New Leader, 12-17-56): *"An observer from Mars might have wondered what great services Dictator Nasser had rendered to the free world to warrant the tremendous U. S. effort to restore his power and prestige."*

Bonn's Grand Strategy

There is no doubt that Mr. Dulles' diplomacy which trapped the British at Suez helped Dr. Adenauer in his scheme to pull the rug from under the "Entente Cordiale" in the making.

On October 30, Dulles acted in a hurry to stop the British and French at Port Said. Even his antagonists have to admit that this was truly a shrewd move to change the world situation. The British and French, weakened and under economic strangulation, can hardly resist any longer the Adenauer-Dulles pressure for an integrated Europe. Thus, the century-old Pan-German dream, for which the Kaiser and Hitler started both world wars, has drawn closer to its realization.

What would have happened had Dulles remained inactive only four more days in addition to his four years of "non-commitment" in the Middle East? In that case the British and French would have occupied the whole length of the Suez Canal. The Egyptian army in the Sinai peninsula would have been trapped, Nasser would have been swept out of power and Adenauer and his industrialists would have lost their tricky scheme in the Middle East. By siding wtih Egypt's dictator in those critical days, Dulles, as the London papers say, stabbed the British and French in the back and helped Nasser and his German friends into a powerful position in one of the world's most vital areas. From here, it will not be too difficult to set up and consolidate a German dominated Third Power Bloc stretching over the whole area of Europe and the vast African continent.

Who Will Fill the Vacuum?

The debate is on as to who will fill the vacuum in the Middle East. There is nothing to worry about in that respect because the Germans have already entrenched themselves firmly in all Arab countries. With the British and French licked and shoved out, and with their influence reduced in Europe proper, the Germans have regained full freedom of diplomatic action. Everywhere the German chancellor appears in the role of the "honest broker." He can help Moscow to end the cold war; for Washington he is the strong ally; and to London and Paris he offers "help" by creating a united Europe. But everyone has to pay a price. The British and French would lose their markets. Moscow would have to pay with reunification and a German sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. Only on this basis are Adenauer and Dulles willing to settle the cold war. Germany will be the only winner.

In addition there will be billions of dollars and new markets available in the Middle East. Here Dulles is willing to invest in a generous way. A large part of the dollars Washington is ready to spend in the Arab region, will go into the coffers of German industrialists. In Egypt, where British, French and Jews are driven out, the German firms are taking over. Newsweek (12-24-56) reports that the U. S. contemplates to go into the Middle East "with an investment in useful projects of between $6 and $10 billions." In Egypt alone, according to the Wall Street Journal (12-31-56), the "Administration is planning to help pay up to $1 billion for improvement of the Suez Canal . . . and may renew its offer to help pay for Egypt's huge $1.3 billion Aswan Dam."

This is the price Dulles is willing to pay for the realization of his scheme. He rebuked Nasser on a loan of a mere $50 million, now he is willing to spend billions. The overriding question is: In whose interest is Dulles conducting U. S. foreign policy? The next question: When will the U. S. Senate discharge its responsibility and demand a thorough accounting of Dulles' "foxy" and costly designs?

The other Dulles-Adenauer policy—that of "negotiating from strength"—with Russia—has proved an equally abysmal failure. The reunification of Germany which was expected to follow from it now looks less likely than ever. And so the West Germans are beginning to take the matter out of the hands of Dulles and Adenauer and to act independently. Social Democrats and the Free Dmocrats, the party of big business which left Adenauer's sinking ship some time ago, press for relations with East Germany and the satellite countries.

("Carolus," The Nation, 10-17-56)

An Eyewitness Report

Nasser's Raiders

by

FRANK GERVASI

Some nights ago, in the town of Tel Mond, up where Israel narrows to a 10-mile strip between the Jordanian armistice line and the Mediterranean, Mrs. Malka Wig was awakened by strange noises. She shook her husband, Shimon, who grabbed his Sten gun and rushed to investigate.

Shimon Wig, 33-year-old tractor driver, never reached the front door. The 40 pounds or so of TNT which Arab fedayeen had planted under the foundations of the sturdy little two-story house exploded just as he reached the foot of the stairs. The house caved in.

Shimon was dead when rescuers reached him. His wife and their six-year-old daughter, Tamara, who was asleep in another upstairs room, were badly hurt. But they will recover. They were lucky.

Moshe Yoshpe and his wife were lucky, too. The night raiders, on their way back to the Jordanian frontier after dynamiting the house in Tel Mond, stopped at Moshe's house in Kfar Hess long enough to toss two hand grenades into it. The bomblets exploded harmlessly in the empty room next to the one in which Moshe and his wife slept.

* * *

The first incident was one of the 19 which Premier Ben-Gurion had in mind the other day when he sent a note to the State Dept. soliciting the good offices of the United States to persuade Egypt's Col. Nasser to stop sending fedayeen killer-saboteurs into Israeli soil.

Ben-Gurion listed only the "serious" incidents that have occurred between Nov. 2, when the UN ordered a cease-fire, and Christmas Eve. He did not include numerous other acts of terror and destruction.

* * *

Ben-Gurion's diplomatic language to the State Dept. did not tell the whole story. I have seen the day-by-day record. It is a chronology of bloody, systematic violation of the November 2 cease-fire, the Charter of the United Nations and of every written or unwritten law of the international behavior in war, peace or truce.

In the six or seven weeks since the fighting stopped, the incidents—I copied them one by one from the police records—have actually totalled 67. The dead numbered 9 and the wounded 20.

And before that? The other day the Knesset passed a Pension Law for Border Victims. It provided for compensation to residents of border settlements "wounded by infiltrators or the armed forces of neighboring countries." The law was made retroactive to Feb. 24, 1949. That was when the first Armistice Agreement was signed between Israel and the Arab nations which invaded the country in May, 1948, after the UN had created the State.

* * *

The law covered 1,376 wounded and 434 killed. Each case had to be authenticated before the victims or their survivors could be eligible for compensation. The figures may be taken as absolute minimums.

The Nov. 2 cease-fire was presumed to cover ALL belligerent activities, those of the fedayeen as well as of the regular forces. Documents captured by the Israeli Army in Gaza prove conclusively the responsibility of the Egyptian General Staff for the fedayeen activities whether based on Egyptian soil or not. Of the 67 recent attacks, 51 originated on Jordanian soil.

Nasser cannot disavow the fedayeen, no matter where they operate from, not unless his officers left behind them magnificent forgeries of orders, staff memorandums, sabotage and murder plans, detailed maps and payrolls.

And to back up the case loads of documents, there is the testimony of captured fedayeen and their commanders. Col. Nasser would be amazed to know how voluble his boys become when they do not have a Browning gun or Karl Gustav automatic in their hands.

* * *

The responsibility for the resumption of fedayeen activities is clearly Nasser's, just as the responsibility for his survival as Egypt's dictator . . . is plainly shared by the U. S., the Soviet Union and the United Nations.

Ben-Gurion's note to Washington was both an appeal and a warning. It was an appeal to the State Dept. to use whatever powers of persuasion it might have over Nasser to end a campaign of terror and death at once provocative and cruel. It was a warning that unless the fedayeen attacks were stopped, Israel may be obliged to defend itself with the same vigor it demonstrated in Sinai.

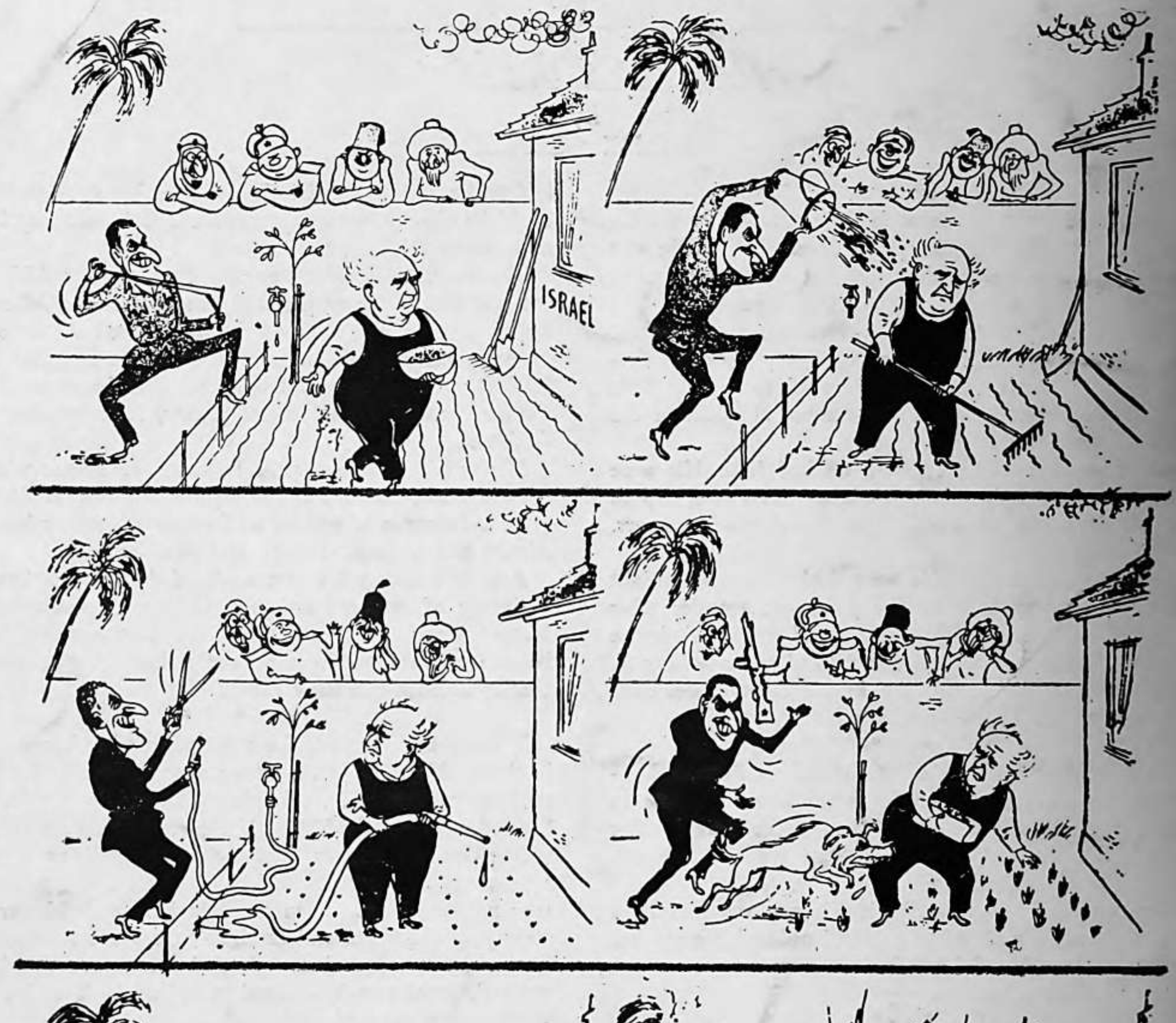
Retaliatory raids are deplorable. Right is not a compound of wrongs. But in a country without a hinterland, a full quarter of it so narrow in places that a good walker can cross it in a matter of hours and only 67 or 70 miles wide at its widest point, attack often becomes the only means of defense.

Besides, Mr. Ben-Gurion might have reminded Washington, in his note, that . . . "The first duty of any Government . . . is . . . the protection of life and property. This is the paramount obligation for which governments are instituted, and governments neglecting or failing to perform it are not worthy of the name . . ."

Ben-Gurion might have written those words, but he didn't. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, wrote them on June 20, 1916, in a note to the Secretary of Foreign Relations of Mexico explaining why the Government of the United States had found it necessary to send American military forces across the Rio Grande.

True, times have changed since the days of Pancho Villa. But not, apparently, for the Arabs or their Soviet masters.

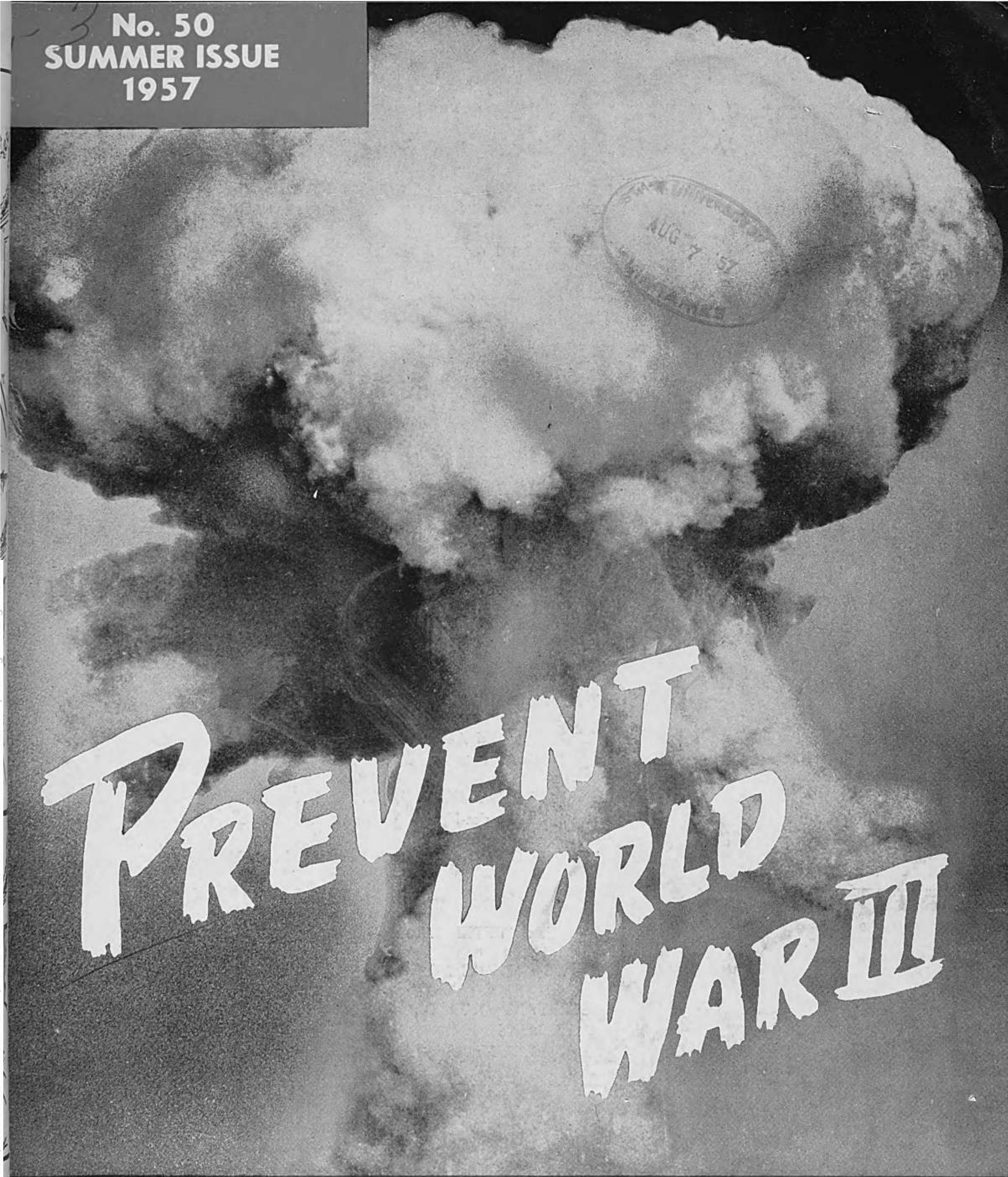
(Courtesy, The N. Y. Post)



Israel's "Aggression"

("Nebelspalter," Zurich 28 November, 1956)

No. 50
SUMMER ISSUE
1957



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Prevent World War III

Published by the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. **Tel.: PLaza 3-4985**

No. 50 **Summer Issue, 1957**

Will the U. N. Solve This Problem?

The situation in the Middle East continues to be fraught with grave dangers to world peace. Unless positive and effective action is taken to thwart those forces which wilfully keep tensions alive and to solve the burning issues in that area, mankind may be faced with the awful spectre of World War III.

In the Society's statement "The U. N. and the Middle East Crisis" (November 1956) the observation was made that *"for years it has been politically expedient for statesmen to pretend there was peace in this vital area."* The U. N. itself became the main vehicle through which the real situation was concealed. Consequently, the U. N. Charter, as it applied to the Middle East, was a virtual dead letter.

When Britain, France and Israel embarked on military operations against Egypt, the U. N. was quick to condemn them. In retrospect, it is now clear that whatever one may have thought about their moves, they focussed world attention on a festering sore which had been eating away at the prestige and usefulness of the United Nations.

For the first time since the State of Israel was born, fundamental elements making for conflict in the Middle East, are spotlighted. The "pure and simple aggression" which originally described the military action, has lost much of its weight as the history of Nasser's endless provocations and lawless deeds were catalogued before the bar of world public opinion. Viewed in this light, the conflict with Egypt can now be traced directly to the insatiable ambitions of the Cairo "strong man."

It was mainly through the deceit of the Dictator and his agents that the legitimate aspirations of the Arab peoples were turned into an irrational force of hate and enmity. The ceaseless harrassing of Israel marked by cold-blooded physical violence and economic attrition was the microcosm of the larger conflict between Nasser and the West. If Israel could be forced to bend the knee, the whole Middle East would fall into Nasser's lap, leading to economic strangulation of our most reliable allies in Western Europe. This was Nasser's calculation. If it had been realized, U. S. security would have been placed in the greatest jeopardy since Hitler's planned invasion of the British Isles.

Nasser, of course, did not possess the wherewithal to challenge the West without concrete help from outside sources. Though a self-proclaimed anti-Communist, the mutual advantages gained by Hitler and Stalin in their 1939 pact, could hardly be ignored by Nasser and his top German advisors. Thus, the "mariage de convenance" between Nasser and Khruchev was a logical and essential ingredient in the successful development of his plans.

All of the hidden ramifications of Nasser's conspiracy were disclosed by the short-lived military campaign. They constituted nothing less than a major threat to world peace and security. Yet, the initial reaction of U. S. policy makers toward the conflict was essentially the continuation of the old line. This position proved to be decisive during the deliberations of the United Nations in November 1956. As in the past, the U. N. devoted its efforts to the surface manifestations while glossing over the basic issues which had turned the Middle East into a caldron of strife and unrest. However, the force of events and the growing awareness of millions throughout the world who may have been blinded by Nasser's cunning propaganda, began to make their impression. Today, our policy makers are beginning to "understand" that the real issues in the Middle East crisis can no longer be swept under the rug.

What are some of the major problems which block progress toward peace in the Middle East?

Nasser's policy of belligerency toward Israel: The denial of Israel's sovereign rights through unlawful economic blockade and acts of physical terror and attack run counter to the U. N. Charter and violate resolutions adopted by the Security Council. In terms of its own security, the West can no longer sit by and accept as a matter of course Nasser's defiance on this question. In this connection, a hopeful sign is the President's view that "free and innocent passage" in the Gulf of Aqaba is in accordance with international law. As a logical sequence to the President's position, support of all nations' rights of passage through the Suez Canal, including Israel, must be unequivocal.

The problem of the Arab refugees: For a number of years Arab propaganda has endeavored to discredit Israel as responsible for the miserable conditions of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Yet, it is a matter of historical record that the Israeli Government has time and again offered to work out an equitable agreement with the Arab states so as to alleviate the hardships of these unfortunate people. It is also a matter of record that the Arab leadership, egged on particularly by Nasser, has rejected such overtures for negotiations. The reason is not hard to find. The Arab leadership looks upon these refugees as pawns whose plight is to be exploited for ulterior motives.

The refugee problem would have never developed in its present sharp form, had not the Arab leaders made war on Israel in the first place, and having done so, induced the Arabs living in Israeli territory to leave. That the Arabs continue to stall on the question of providing a just solution is indicated by reports of U. N. officials.

Fortunately, public opinion is getting to know these facts and this is reflected in new efforts by the United Nations as well as by our own representatives at the U. N. to solve this problem in a concrete and just manner for all concerned.

The continuation of hate-inciting propaganda: In the No. 49 issue (Winter-Spring 1957) of Prevent World War III the Society noted that Arab propaganda against the West and Israel was a fundamental impediment to the establishment of normal conditions in the Middle East. *"Those leaders who purvey poisonous propaganda, help to create a climate of blind hatred which may prove to be uncontrollable among peoples who are kept ignorant as to the real state of affairs. As a result, a change from a policy of hostility to one of peace and mutual accommodation becomes virtually impossible, even when the long term interests of the country concerned require it. When a people are infected by artificially whipped up hatred, those who are responsible for this state of mind become prisoners of it. They are no longer able to act in a statesmanlike manner which is imperative if the country's welfare is to be safeguarded."*

In this connection, it is interesting to note that anti-American propaganda emanating from Egypt predates the decision of our Government to withhold financial support for the Aswan Dam project. Many people have been under the impression that the Nasser regime began to talk tough after that episode. The facts show that this is not the case. For example, the Cairo Radio (October 11, 1955) denounced the Mutual Security Program as a weapon by which the United States hoped to "penetrate" the Middle East. On October 14, 1955, the Cairo Radio proclaimed: ***"Justice and logic require that we now defend Russia and attack America, which has shown falsehood, deceit, and ill-will."***

The outpourings of poisonous propaganda against the United States, the West and Israel continues unabated, particularly from Egypt and Syria. We cite below a sampling of this propaganda which dominates the newspapers and airways of these countries:

"It is being said that we peoples of the colonies should support Christianity and fight for the democracy of the Western states, threatened with being uprooted. 'Are not these things the cause of the oppression and servility afflicting us?'

"But which states are detonating atomic and hydrogen bombs? The Christian Western states, which are appealing to us to help them preserve their civilization. Whose civilization is responsible for discrimination among people because of color? The civilization of the Western states. 'These Western states, whose Christian religion eulogizes fraternal love and equality of human beings, are foremost in destroying the lives of their fellowmen in Japan, Kenya, Algeria, Port Said, Malaya, South Africa, and elsewhere. The same states were responsible for the Jews seizing the property and homeland of the people of Palestine.'" *(Cairo Radio, 6-9-57.)*

" 'The former Jordanian government which was toppled by the American imperialists with the help of the palace and its plotting group was loyal to these agreements.'

"The imperialists and their foster child Israel received these agreements calling for cooperation with hatred and anger. They continued working with their agents in Jordan, as they still work with their agents in Syria, until they were successful in temporarily altering the situation in Jordan. They destroyed the agreements of honor and glory, violated the principles of Arab policy, maltreated the people, and filled the prisons with thousands of detainees including officers, soldiers, and citizens." (Syrian newspaper AN-NASIR quoted by the Cairo Radio, 6-14-57.)

"Only a few million dollars have thrown a national government in Jordan out of office. Only a few million emboldened the Lebanese Premier and Foreign Minister. A few millions convinced Nuri as-Said to relinquish power after he had spread terrorism in every inch of Iraq to prepare the way for his masters for a new alliance.

"But do these leaders, these governments, and their supporters at least know what they are worth in the eyes of America? Did they ever consider how much Israel is receiving compared with what they take themselves, and what Israel is paying? They content themselves with the crumbs while Israel is receiving

billions. They sacrifice their interests and the future of their countries. They sacrifice even their very existence and expose themselves to the wrath of their peoples, while Israel pays nothing unless realization of its aims happens to result in a disadvantage to it." (Egyptian newspaper ASH-SHAB, 6-17-57.)

The war-like character of this propaganda is obvious. *"It goes beyond the normal practices of exhortation to patriotism as it whips the mind of the people into a state of blind hatred"* (The U. N. and the Middle East Crisis). It creates a war psychosis.

Peace in the Middle East cannot be built in the path of this hurricane of hate. Therefore, it should be a cardinal task of western statesmanship to work for the curbing of this propaganda.

Though the Middle East situation is in a state of flux at the present time, there are signs that Nasser's game is beginning to lose its effectiveness. Even those Arab states which have provided an important base for Nasser's operations, are shying away from his domineering and grasping tactics (see p. 24.) It is certain that Nasser will try by all means to prevent the disintegration of his Pan-Arabic scheme and, therefore, one must anticipate that he will resort to desperate measures. The appearance of contingents of the Russian Navy in Middle Eastern waters and the delivery of Russian submarines to Cairo must be viewed in this light. New provocations against the State of Israel which has tirelessly sought a peaceful settlement, may be employed by Nasser so as to bolster his prestige.

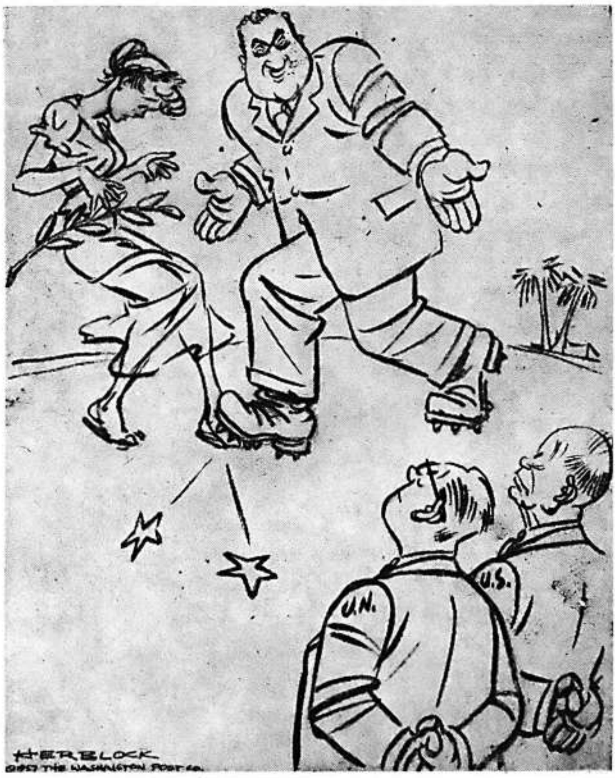
Whatever Nasser's plans, however, they will fail if the United States acts with determination. In concert with our western allies, our Government should insist that the United Nations grapples once and for all with the fundamental issues involved in the crisis.

> **". . . Nasser has used his merely nuisance value more skillfully, by far, than Hitler or Mussolini ever did. Hitler possessed the enormous industrial and military power of Germany plus the discipline of the German people. Mussolini used to be called a sawdust Caesar, but at least he had the military power to conquer Ethiopia, Possibly even Ethiopia and demonstrably Israel could conquer Egypt today, and would gladly do so, if the Western powers whom Colonel Nasser thwarts would stand aside and give their permission.**
>
> **"The crowning irony of the business is that Colonel Nasser owes his security most to the country whose interests he most injures.**
>
> **"And yet it has been the United States which has protected Colonel Nasser in his adventures and which saved him from the logical consequences when Britain and France set out to bring him down. He survives today in his palace in Cairo by grace of Washington, and the UN, the Soviet Union, and Asian-African opinion. It takes real skill to parley such meager assets into such power. . . ."**
>
> **(Joseph C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor, 3-27-57)**

The Society is under no illusions with regard to the complexity and difficulties attending the situation in the Middle East. Yet, we are confident that the United Nations with the active support of the United States and all freedom-loving countries can achieve positive results. In this connection we advocate the adoption of a program resting on the following principles:

1. **Unity of action in the Middle East with France and England;**
2. **Protection of the sovereignty of all Middle Eastern states, as envisioned by the Eisenhower Doctrine.**
3. **A fundamental Israeli-Arab settlement of outstanding differences through peaceful negotiations;**
4. **Insistence that all hate-inciting propaganda in the Middle East against the West cease and that Arab leaders publicly recognize the rights of the Israeli people to live a normal economic life with all of her neighbors;**
5. **A U. N. program to help the distressed Arab refugees and to contribute to the development of the resources of all the Middle Eastern countries.**

If the actions of the United States are based on these principles of justice, we shall have safeguarded our own interests while, at the same time, given new faith and confidence in the United Nations as man's best hope for world peace.



"I HAVEN'T LAID A HAND ON HER"

Courtesy, Washington Post

Editorials

WHO MAKES POLICY?

At the height of the Middle East crisis, Vice President Nixon hailed the Administration's break with Anglo-French policies as a "declaration of independence that had an electrifying effect throughout the world."

Seven months later, Secretary Dulles announced that "In anything which touched directly or indirectly upon Germany and its prospects for reunification, we would act only in the closest concert with Chancellor Adenauer."

The Nixon-Dulles pronunciamentos are essentially linked to each other and reflect the present basis of U. S. foreign policy.

The Chicago Tribune correspondent spelled out this shift reporting on the Nato Conference in May of this year, "Adenauer's talks today with Dulles added to the impression in some quarters that a Bonn-Washington tie-up had replaced the western big three of Britain, France, and the United States as the prime movers behind the Atlantic pact . . .

"Observers said that there was no sign of reviving consultations among the United States, Britain, and France, a common practice before Britain and France launched their ill-fated attack on Egypt.

"Even the Nato council statement last night reflected the image of a Washington-Bonn axis in the emphasis on German reunification, the observers said . . ." (5-5-57)

Let it not be forgotten that the change in U. S. foreign policy comes less than a dozen years after American GIs shed their blood with our British and French Allies in freedom's defense against German aggression.

The "Washington-Bonn Axis" received further support during Adenauer's latest visit to the U. S. A. As a short-term proposition his talks with the President and Secretary of State were summed up by the London Economist, "The aim of Dr. Adenauer's fifth visit to the U. S. was to give a decisive boost to his election campaign. It has been achieved." (6-1-57)

However, much more was accomplished by way of lasting value to Adenauer and the Germans. The radio commentator, Fulton J. Lewis, after praising Adenauer effusively as one of the "greatest political leaders of the century," declared that the conference in Washington gave West Germany "a guaranty of veto power" over American foreign policy.

That "veto power" culminates a trend that became discernible shortly after the end of World War II. Thus, by 1953 a German newspaper, the Deutsche Zeitung, was able to report a popular quip making the round in Germany, "Who makes Washington's European policy? Konrad Adenauer in Bonn."

The accuracy of this "jest" became painfully clear on the eve of the Summit meeting in Geneva in 1955. Adenauer was not officially present, but his voice in Allied councils was heard above all.

On the eve of the meeting, Business Week, 6-18-55, observed that in the whole question of disarmament and collective security "Adenauer will play a leading part" at Geneva. This authoritative publication further reported that the Chancellor "has been giving Eisenhower and then Dulles, MacMillan and Pinay, a fill-in on the negotiating position he wants the West to take."

The course of the Geneva Conference and the reports emanating therefrom indicated that Adenauer's hand determined many of the major moves of the Allied powers. When Anthony Eden put forth the idea of a demilitarized zone in Europe, Adenauer vigorously protested. Accordingly, the Allies dropped the plan. Adenauer's obstructive tactics contributed in no small part toward the inconclusiveness of the Geneva meeting.

This was precisely the precondition for his own journey to Moscow in September 1955 where he made his deals with the Russians. Though Adenauer had blocked serious consideration of the Eden plan, he welcomed the Russian proposal of November 17th, 1956, which, in principle at least, resembled Eden's idea. (N. Y. Times, 1-11-57)

Indeed, the Chancellor went further and called for the prohibition of the use of thermonuclear weapons which in the words of one U. S. official "is playing into the Russian hands." (N. Y. Times, 1-11-57)

In early May of this year, Adenauer told the press that his government would "gladly agree to (aerial) inspection." On May 21st, 1957, the Bulletin, published by the Bonn Government, elaborated on Adenauer's view, "The Federal Republic would agree to aerial inspection of the Federal territory, provided that the 'open-skies' system would also cover a corresponding area beyond the Iron Curtain; such an aerial inspection would be only the first step towards disarmament; therefore, the reunification of Germany is not considered by the Federal Government a prerequisite for trying out the 'open-skies' plan . . ."

It was only when disarmament negotiations in London showed promise that the Chancellor hurried to Washington. Once again it was the Adenauer of the Geneva days. He insisted that aerial inspection of Germany would have to wait until the Russians showed greater inclination to go forward on the reunification of Germany. As regards future meetings of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, Adenauer told the President that this might be permissible following the "conclusion of an initial disarmament agreement."

By blocking the aerial inspection plan, Adenauer had automatically scuttled the possibilities of Big Four negotiations even though, for the record, he said they were permissible.

As we go to press, Adenauer seems to have reversed himself again, intimating that he might approve aerial inspection for West Germany. Whether the new sommersault is due to electioneering considerations, or serves as a decoy to distract attention while he hamstrings disarmament negotiations by other means, remains to be seen.

In any event, the twists and turns in Adenauer's tactics have but one central objective, i.e., paralyze U. S. policy while leaving the Chancellor free to bargain with the Russians and to prove his usefulness to them.

This is the kind of diplomacy which has strong advocates in Germany today. In this connection, the Christian Science Monitor, 6-4-57, reported "with unanimity indicative of common origin much of the press here, June 4, advocated a more supple foreign policy for West Germany" . . . vis-a-vis the Soviets.

No matter what the rationalizations in defense of the "Washington-Bonn Axis," the Society, for one, cannot reconcile itself to a situation where vital aspects of our foreign policy are subject to the "nods and nays" of an alien politician representing a power which has twice challenged our security and independence within one generation.

Much has been said and written about the Status of Forces Treaties which, according to critics, deprive our servicemen abroad of their constitutional rights. Yet, hardly anyone has raised an eyebrow over the Adenauer-Eisenhower communique which placed an official stamp on Bonn's "veto" on foreign policies bearing upon the very security of our country.

". . . We need have no illusions about the difficulty of coming to an agreement among ourselves and with Russia which would limit and stabilize the competition in armaments. But this is the central and overriding task today as was the recovery of Western Europe ten years ago.

"The task is certainly not to disarm while the world is so divided. Perhaps it is not even to reduce substantially the present scale of armaments. The task is to bring the competition itself under international control before it becomes intolerably costly, and before the tensions of the nuclear testing and of the threat of nuclear war brings us to some breaking point.

(Walter Lippmann, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 6-18-57)

"The French newspaper 'Combat' writes as follows to the appointment of General Dr. Speidel to the command of Nato forces.

" 'Above all let us not be plagued by the childish argument, even more despicable than cynical, that Speidel was not a Nazi. If that were true then the affair Speidel would only be much worse. If, for a cause he did not believe in, he was responsible for having created martyrs, he would be a monster. We want to believe in Speidel's own interest that he was a Nazi.'

"Let it be said that such an 'exoneration' or 'de-nazification' is fairly bitter for a proven anti-Nazi!"

(Deutsche Wochenzeitung, 5-9-57)

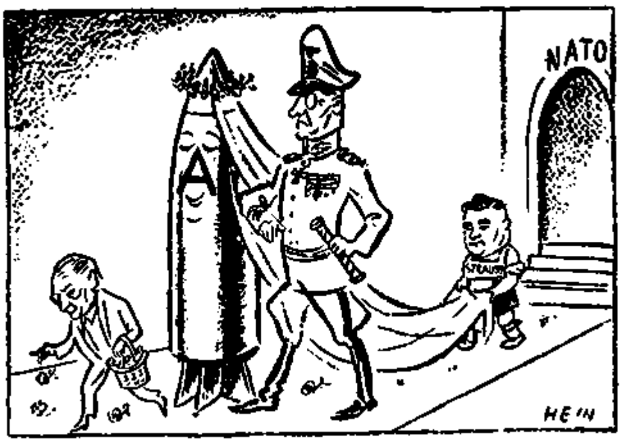
"The blunt, inside fact of the disarmament talks is that Russia jumped and took over much of the U. S. disarmament plan while the United States was bickering over two things:

"1. Old Guard Republican prejudice against modern Republican Harold Stassen as the disarmament negotiator.

"2. The traditional Dulles determination to put Germany ahead of peace with Russia.

"The Secretary of State has always bowed from the waist when anything German approaches, dating from the days when, as attorney for New York banks he urged the American public to invest in now worthless German bonds. So when reelection-worried Adenauer demanded that German unification come before disarmament agreement, Dulles got jittery." . . .

Drew Pearson, 6-10-57)



DANGEROUS MARRIAGE

Deutsche Volkszeitung

End of the Postwar World

By
WALTER LIPPMANN

The noted political analyst, Mr. Walter Lippmann, has achieved an international reputation for his brilliant commentaires on international Affairs. In this connection, the New Republic published a survey by Mr. Lippmann prepared originally as a Gideon D. Seymour Memorial lecture at the University of Minnesota. We have reprinted what we believe to be the highlights of Mr. Lippmann's analysis.

No one, I think, not even at the top of affairs and therefore on the inside of all of the available information, can as yet see clearly, can as yet see as a whole, where we really are and where we ought to go.

Everyone knows, of course, that we are in a time of rapid, radical and complicated change. Now, in itself, change is far from being a new experience for the generation to which I belong. We have lived amidst great events for which we were unprepared. We have become involved in wars which we expected to stay out of. We have hoped great things from victory and we have never seen a good peace. But now, if I may put it that way, the world is changed for Americans, not only in the degree of our involvement with the outer world, but in the very kind of our involvement with the rest of the world.

Throughout the 19th Century, and during the two world wars of this century, we have thought that we were living in one world. We have thought that this world had its political center in the western society, the society which consists of Europe and the Americas, the society to which we belong.

Even the most anti-imperialistic among us has assumed this. We have supposed that all the nations—the old ones who were breaking with the past, the new ones who were emerging from colonial status—that all the nations would have the same fundamental political ideals which we have, not because they are our ideals but because these ideals are universal.

The greatest and most fundamental change of our time is that this picture of ourselves and of our place in the world and of our role in the history of mankind is no longer valid. The culture, the ideology of the western society is no longer recognized as universal. It is challenged as it has not been challenged since Christendom was challenged by the expansion of Islam.

The one world which we always have taken for granted in our thinking has been succeeded by many worlds. We now live amidst these many worlds. They compete with one another, they coexist with one another. They trade with one another and, in varying degrees, they co-operate with one another. This change from one world to several worlds is a deep change. It is a change not only in what we think about our foreign policy but in the very way that we have to think about it. . . .

When the war ended in 1918, we hoped and believed that we had won a victory for the idea that the principles and ideals of the Western society are universal. Woodrow Wilson proclaimed a world order. But it was a world order based on our Western principles and ideals. Moreover, it was to be an order in which the nations of the North Atlantic region would continue to be the political leaders of mankind . . .

We now know that this was a brilliant illusion. Both France and Britain were profoundly weakened by their fearful losses in the First World War. As representatives of the Western philosophy, they were challenged as imperialists over all Asia and Africa. We did not know this in 1918. We took it for granted that with American military and financial help the worldwide predominance of the Atlantic community would continue.

In the Second World War, the role played by the United States was no longer that of an associated power bringing up the reinforcements and the reserves. But before Pearl Harbor, and before we actually entered the Second World War, we still thought of ourselves in terms of World War I. We used to talk, you may remember, about aiding the Allies to defend America. In fact, however, it was soon plain that we must take up the whole burden of the war in the Pacific, including the defense of Australia and of New Zealand. In Europe, the French Army had been defeated and Great Britain was under violent assault and strained to the limit. We had not only to supply the weapons and other economic necessities, but we had to raise a great army ourselves.

The difference between the two world wars is marked by the fact that in the second, as distinguished from the first, the supreme commanders on sea and on land were Americans. Nevertheless, until World War II ended, we could still believe—perhaps I should say that we tried still to believe—that when Britain and France and Western Europe recovered from the damages of the war, the North Atlantic community would still be the political center of the world.

I venture to believe that in the last analysis this was the underlying assumption in the minds of both Churchill and Roosevelt at the close of the war. They believed that with Britain and America acting as partners, they could handle Russia and have the deciding voice in the postwar settlement. They were mistaken. . . .

The greatest powers with which we have to concern ourselves are no longer in the North Atlantic region. They are in eastern Europe and in Asia. While the welfare of the Atlantic community is a close and vital interest of the United States, the Atlantic community is no longer the political center of the world. *We are living amidst the decline*

Britain as one of the leading powers of the world, and we find ourselves without a powerful ally in the face of the new powers of eastern Europe and of Asia and of Africa. . . .

As a result of the Yalta conference the world was divided into two great spheres of influence. In the one sphere, where the Soviet Union was supreme, Stalin tried to create a new Russian Empire. This empire was founded primarily on the power of the Red Army. In fact, the empire was the territory occupied by the Red army. Stalin's purpose was to make the people of Eastern Europe docile satellites or colonies of the new Russian Empire.

The other sphere comprised the rest of the world. It was an unorganized collection of old and new states. It consisted not only of Western Europe, Latin America, and the United States, but also of the old European empires, which then extended across North Africa, Egypt, and the Middle East through India and Southeast Asia to the Dutch Empire in Indonesia. In this sphere, the United States took the initiative in trying to make sure that the Soviet Union did not extend its empire.

As the principal military arm of the Communist sphere was the Red army, so the principal military arm of the non-Communist sphere was the United States Strategic Air Force equipped with atomic bombs.

This situation lasted until about 1950, as long as only the Soviets had an effective army and only the United States had the atomic bomb. In this uneasy balance of power, the Red army was supreme on the ground in all of Europe and Asia; the United States Strategic Air Force was supreme in the air over Europe and Asia. Each acted as a deterrent on the other. As against an invasion by the Red army, Western Europe was wholly defenseless. Yet the Red army did not and could not overrun Western Europe. It was contained because the Kremlin knew what the United States Air Force could do to Russian cities.

On the other hand, one might say vice versa, the United States was held in check by the Red army. Let me say a word about how we were held in check. The very highest American military authorities knew that if we struck at the Russian cities, the Red army, which was already in Eastern Europe, would overrun Western Europe. It would occupy the countries of Western Europe against which we could not use the atomic bomb, countries such as Western Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and France. When the Red army did that it would destroy the existing governments. It would liquidate the existing leaders in all classes and, before it could be forced to retire, it would probably destroy the big cities and the industrial plants of Western Europe.

This was the postwar stalemate, the Red army as against the atomic bomb. . . .

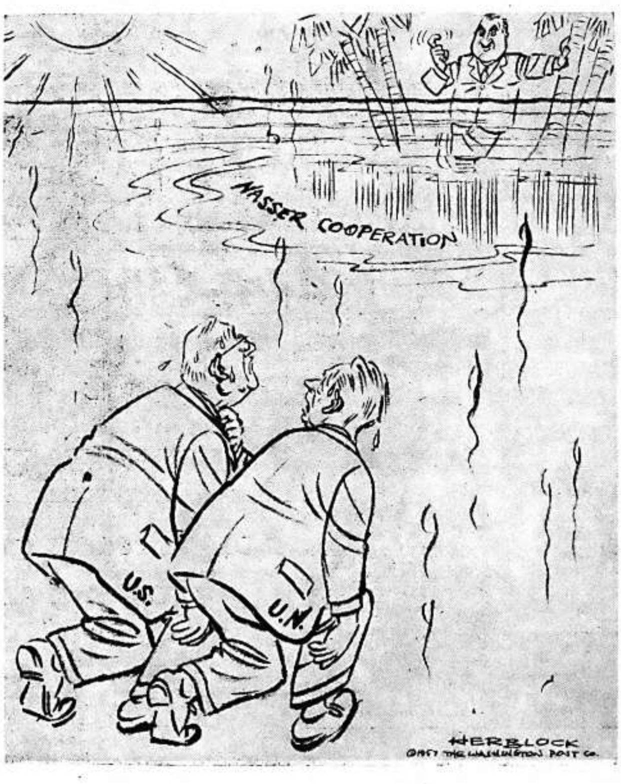
It was when he realized this, that President Eisenhower made his historic declaration that there is now no alternative to peace. The Russians had also realized what the revolution in military weapons meant. This common realization in Moscow and Washington led to the famous meeting at the summit, which took place in Geneva a year and a half ago, in July of 1955. At that meeting, Russia and the United States acknowledged publicly to each other and before the

". . . Contrary to widespread assumptions in the United Nations and in Washington, the issue is not originally the result of Israel's armed invasion of Egypt. The issue was raised by Egypt's long-standing insistence on maintaining a 'state of war' with Israel and implementing it by both guerrilla raids and a double blockade in the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran. It was this Egyptian maintenance of a 'state of war' and the exercise of belligerent rights which Egypt derives therefrom that resulted in Israel's military counter-action. Egypt has made no public move or promise to end the 'state of war' or to renounce the belligerent rights.

"The Egyptian claim to belligerent rights under its self-proclaimed 'state of war' against another United Nations member is both absurd and illegal. It is ruled out not only by the Charter, which bars the use or threat of force in settling international disputes, but also by the armistice agreement of 1949, which Secretary General Hammarskjold interprets as a virtual nonaggression pact. It was specifically rejected by the Security Council in 1951, when it denied Egypt any belligerent blockade rights. . . .

"In these circumstances it would seem that the first duty of the United Nations should be to call on Egypt to end the 'state of war' and renounce its claim to belligerent rights as a first condition of peace in the Middle East. . . ."

(Editorial, N. Y. Times, 2-26-57)



"DO YOU THINK WE'VE GOTTEN ANY CLOSER?"

Courtesy, Washington Post

world that with the advent of the new weapons they could not, they would not, they dared not contemplate war.

At the time of the Geneva meeting, we were all aware that, beyond these mutual declarations against war, there were no serious agreements reached, or even brought any nearer, on any of the great practical issues of the time—on, for example, the reunification of the two Germanies, on the problem of the status of the satellites in Eastern Europe, on the future of the Middle East.

There is no way of telling whether or not the opportunity existed to go on from Geneva to settlements of some of these problems. If the opportunity existed, it was missed. On our side, the President fell ill and was unable for some time to take the initiative in foreign affairs. On the other side, the Russians stood pat and were unyielding. We do not know what might have been. But what has actually happened is that while we have come no nearer to settlements in Europe, in the Middle East and in the Far East, there has been a rapid disintegration of empires and of alliances.

We can see what has happened to the French in North Africa and the British in the Middle East. We know from what has happened in Poland and in Hungary that the Soviet empire in eastern Europe is undermined, and that the Soviet military system, which is known as the Warsaw Pact, is profoundly affected. We know that if NATO is going to survive, it is going to have a very different future from what we expected.

A few months ago, at the end of October, the course of events, which I have been describing, burst into violence. It is a remarkable fact, which historians will long be studying and trying to explain, that the explosion in Hungary and the explosion in Egypt took place at approximately the same time. The fact that the two explosions came so very close together may not have been a mere accident. It may well be that the Israeli Government decided to strike when it saw that the Soviet Union was deeply entangled by the rebellion in Hungary. But the two explosions would not have happened if both in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East the situation had not become explosive. These two explosions marked the disintegration of the postwar world. . . .

There will remain the fundamental stalemate between the Soviet Union and the United States, the stalemate which was recognized by the President and the Soviet leaders at Geneva in 1955.

In all probability, neither of the superpowers will decide deliberately to make war against the other. On the other hand, both in Europe and in the Middle East, there are very grave issues which, if they cannot be settled by negotiation, may burst into violence. They may become uncontrollable, and they could involve Russia and America in a war they are both trying to avoid. . . .

The supreme question is whether we can, by a great effort of statesmanship, negotiate a settlement which averts these dangers. I am not saying that we can. But at least one can imagine such a settlement. It will have to be a settlement negotiated by the Western Powers with the Soviet Union and ratified by the two Germanies. It will have to provide for the reunification of the two Germanies. It will have to provide for the gradual but nevertheless definite evacuation of the European Continent up to the Soviet frontier by the Red Army in the east, and by the British and American Armies in the west. Only in this way can Poland, Hungary, and the other satellites be liberated.

But that will not be enough. The withdrawal of the armies, the unification of Germany, the liberation of the satellites will be possible, will be conceivable—only if we can construct by negotiation an all-European security system which is underwritten by the Soviet Union and the United States. It will have to be a sytsem which guarantees the European nations among themselves, and particularly against a revived and reunited Germany. It will have to be a system which guarantees all of Europe against Russia, and it will have to be one which guarantees Russia against Europe. Within such a European system there ought to develop an all-European economy, and beyond that—on the far horizons of hope—the prospect of a European political confederation.

In my view the issue of war and peace will be decided primarily in Europe, and, so to speak, along the line of Iron Curtain. The greatest question in the world is whether Europe can cease to be divided and can become united by negotiation and peaceable means.

I would go so far as to say that if we could engage the Russians in a serious negotiation which looked to a general European settlement, the problem of the Middle East would become—I won't say soluble—but manageable. I say this because Russia is not vitally interested in the Middle East. She does not need the oil, and she cannot be invaded from the Middle East. Russia is, however, vitally interested in Europe, particularly in Germany and in Poland, and it is there in Europe that we must make a settlement or live in continual danger of a gigantic war.

When I look into the future I think of this country as having two great missions to perform. The one is to bring about the European settlement I have just been describing. On this, as I have just said, depends the issue of peace or war. From such a settlement would come a new Europe, a Europe which had lost its empires overseas but had found a new strength, security, and prosperity in its own unity. Our other mission is, I firmly believe, to work out a new relationship between the Western nations and the newly emancipated peoples of Africa and Asia. The imperial and colonial age is over. The age which is to follow is only in its dim beginnings, and it is our mission to play a leading part in working out the terms on which the peoples of the East and the peoples of the West can live side by side in confidence, in security, and in mutual respect.

"An historic incident occurs this week. The Nato council gathers in Bonn for its first meeting in Germany.

"The event illustrates the ominous extent to which Germany has penetrated Nato. Already a German officer, General Speidel, commands the Western allies' armies.

"Germany is rearming even faster after Hitler's war than she did after the Kaiser's. German divisions are multiplying. The Luftwaffe is re-forming with jets. In Britain these developments rouse deep misgivings.

"The rearming of Germany is a foolhardy policy. It should never have been sanctioned."

(Daily Express, London, 4-29-57)

"Mein Kampf" Among Arabs *

Arabic editions of Hitler's book "Mein Kampf"—"Kifari"—were found among the personal possessions of some Egyptian officers captured by the Israelis during the Sinai campaign. These editions described (e.g., in the *Kölnische Rundschau,* 25-11-56) as "nine-volume kitbag editions," were published over a number of years . . .

The contents are not only extracts from the book but illustrations from Hitler's life and the glamorous Nazi Party Rallies at Nuremberg.

Hitler's book was brought to Arab notice for the first time in 1934 when the Iraqi periodical *The Arab World,* Bagdad, printed extracts in instalments. Two years later an Arabic version was available there, and towards the end of 1938 another version, translated by Ali Mohammed Mahbub, appeared in Cairo (Commercial Publishing House. 250 pp.), with the author's full length portrait presented on the cover as "the strongest man in the world . . ."

Extolling Nazi "Anti-Communism"

Apart from "Mein Kampf," Nazi ideas were spread among Arabs as early as 1934 in a eulogistic biography of Hitler published in Cairo: "Adolf Hitler, National Socialist Leader. The Jewish Question" (Egyptian Books Publishing Co. 1934. 166 pp.). The author, Ahmad Mahmoud Sadati, made up his 14 chapters almost entirely of German Nazi literature unaided by any first-hand knowledge of his own or other unbiased evidence. His sources which he faithfully listed at the beginning, included, in addition to "Mein Kampf," Goering's "Germany Reborn"; "Wie Adolf Hitler der Führer wurde," by Czech-Jochberg; "Die Juden," by Gottfried Feder; "Bewaffneter Aufstand (Der Kommunismus in Deutschland)," by Adolf Ehrt, also "Nazi Germany Explained," by Vernon Bartlett . . .

"Nasser, the Hitler of the Arab World"

In its regular column of extracts from the international press, *Die Welt,* Hamburg, 12-10-56, reprints from the not otherwise widely known "organ of the Moslem Brotherhood" at Damascus, *Mannar,* a passage entitled "Praise for Hitler." Commenting on the fact that Colonel Nasser is sometimes called in Britain and France "the Hitler of the Arab World," *Mannar* is quoted as having said: "It must not be forgotten that, in contrast to Europe, Hitler occupies a respected place in the Arab world. His name arouses in the hearts of our movement sympathy and enthusiasm. These sentiments are due not to his aggressiveness and greed for power but to the fact that he beat down our traditional enemies, Britain and France. The whole Arab world was pleased at the time when France was routed by the Nazis; it was regarded as retribution for the imperialist crimes which the French still keep committing.

"If this is the way we feel about Hitler, the Nazi who is no blood relation of ours, how much more must we support a Leader who has risen from among the Arabs themselves and is inflicting defeat after defeat on the Western Powers, our eternal enemies? Blessed be the Arab people who succeeded in producing, from its own midst, a 'Hitler' who has shown that the Arab nation is entitled to an honourable place in the family of nations and that its sovereignty and freedom must be recognised. The British and French journalists are mistaken if they think they can hurt our feelings by calling Nasser 'Hitler of the Arab world.' On the contrary, that title fills our heart with pride. Long live Hitler the Nazi who shot his arrows into the heart of our enemies; long live the Hitler of the Arab world who opened to his people the gates to glory and eternity!"

This passage from the journal of the Moslem Brotherhood at Damascus, quoted by *Die Welt,* was prominently reprinted in the monthly magazine of the former Waffen-SS members, *Wiking-Ruf,* November 1956.

(*Condensed, Courtesy, The Wiener Library*)

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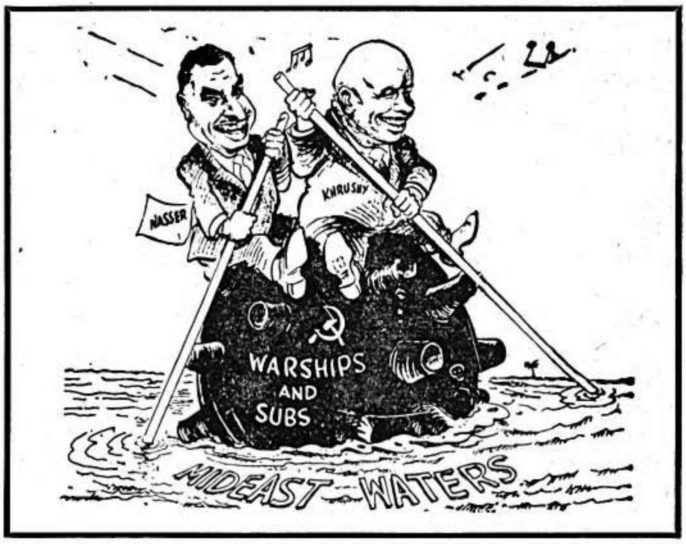
* The cover of the Arab version of "Mein Kampf" was reproduced in the No. 49 Issue of Prevent World War III.

". . . As the days go by, I wish more and more that the U. S. would make the effort to come to an agreement with the Soviet Union by which neither of these two countries would provide any arms to Near Eastern countries.

"This would remove all question of attempts on either side to control these nations, and we could leave the inspection to the UN forces so that we would be sure no arms were coming in surreptitiously.

"These nations could then proceed to receive economic aid from either the Soviet Union or the U. S. for projects to improve the standard of living of the people of their countries. . . ."

(Eleanor Roosevelt, N. Y. Post, 4-16-57)



"ROW, ROW YOUR BOAT"

Rosen in The Albany Times-Union

From Dachau to Cairo

The Middle East crisis is an extremely complicated problem made all the more difficult by outside influences including the nefarious activities of Soviet agents. However, it is a fact that German influences have also been operating in this area with considerable effectiveness. Pan-Germans and former Nazis have gained important positions in a number of Middle Eastern states, particularly Egypt. Prevent World War III has published detailed accounts of this development in the Nos. 41 and 47 issues. Additional information on the role of former Nazis in the Nasser Government is contained in an exclusive report published by the National Jewish Monthly (February 1957). These disclosures deserve to be pondered by all liberty-loving Americans and it is with this in mind that we have reprinted the report.

The violent actions taken by Nasser's government against British, French and stateless Jews resident in Egypt, the confiscation of their property, and their deportation on from 9 to 72 hours' notice, have provided the press with a flood of news which overshadowed the ominous fate that looms over the *native* Egyptian Jewish community of more than 10,000 individuals.

This ancient Jewish community is being systematically pauperized, maltreated, and interned together with common criminals in unspeakable places of detention. Together with the remainder of Egyptian Jews, they are left at the mercy of the State Security Cadre (SSC), which seems to be as precise a copy of the German Nazi Sicherheitsdienst as Egyptian inexactitude permits. This unit is the military junta's forceful arm which is responsible for Egypt's actions and policies to a far greater extent than is generally known.

The Commander-in-Chief of the SSC is Lt. Col. Al Nacher, formerly SS-Grossaktionsleiter Leopold Gleim, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Nazi government's SD-Geheimgarde.

Addressing a luncheon in Cairo given in his honor by the representatives of the League for (East) German-Arab Brotherhood (Al-akhwah al-Almaniyah l'Arabiyah, i.e., Deutsch-Arabischer Bruderschaftsverband) on December 17, 1956—Gleim frankly pointed out the significance of the SSC as the "backbone of Egypt's protective apparatus against the aggressive elements of Zionism and Imperialism." He thanked the League for its "vast help extended to this young State—a most significant contribution to the mutual efforts in the strengthening and stabilizing of Germano-Arabic friendship and relations."

Later on, during more intimate talks with members of the Bruderschaft—conducted in *Hochdeutsch* and made *gemutlich* by cigars, Bourbon, and coffee—Gleim gave an outline of his unit's short history and structure. This outline, when pieced together with additional facts on hand and the already known procedures of the Cadre's activities, sketches a tolerably clear picture of the Egyptian version of Nazism, which found in Egypt ideal conditions for its recrudescence.

The plan for the SSC was drawn up by "several technical advisers of German origin," approved by the Ministry of Interior. The Cadre headquarters were set up in Cairo, and its administration handed over to the 6,249 "arabized" Nazis presently in Egypt (aided by perhaps 70,000 Egyptians). According to Gleim, the unit consists of the following departments:

A: The Public Relations Department. (PR-Dpt.)

The executive positions in this section are entirely manned by Germans who are holding Arab passports. The PR-Dpt. is headed by SS-Gruppenleiter Moser, a Sudeten German who has now assumed the name of Hussa Nalisman. His right-hand man is SA-Gruppenleiter Buble, now arabized into Amman.

The propaganda machine operates with German precision, according to the Goebbels-Stuermer pattern. Its main target for attacks is, of course, the Jews. Egyptian youth has been responding enthusiastically to this propaganda.

The PR-Dpt. has branches in Berlin (East and West), Vienna, Stockholm, Helsinki, Rome, Milan and Bordeaux; it commands special squads of vans with loudspeakers, which cruise throughout Egypt constantly inciting against American, British, French, Imperialistic or Zionist Jews—the adjective changing with the broadcaster's mood; and it also owns an independent broadcasting station which assiduously cultivates the entire Arab world.

A flood of anti-Semitic literature is being published and distributed in the Middle East and Europe. Egypt's recent bestseller, however, was the new, popular edition of "Kefahi," the Arabic translation of Hitler's "Mein Kampf." This is an abridged, illustrated version which contains photo-reproductions beginning with Hitler's picture as a corporal in Hindenburg's army and up to his cock-posing as the Fuehrer.

The complete and unabridged version of "Mein Kampf" was first translated into Arabic in 1951 by the Syrian journalist, author, and owner of the Beirut Printing & Publishing House, Louis al-Haj, formerly Luis Heiden, director of Die Reichsdeutsche Presseagentur, Berlin.

Vulgar, colorful posters featuring the Israeli soldier as a bearded villain who bayonets an Egyptian baby, are blooming in many Egyptian towns. These posters urge the people of Egypt to rise in Jihad—the Holy War—against "the Zionist threat to Islam."

Egyptian youth is being assiduously educated for militarism. One of the outstanding examples of this campaign is the target-tent pitched opposite the SSC-HQ in Cairo's Liberty Square, where schoolboys are given an interest in usage of arms.

The PR-Dpt. also has a very special branch: the Youth Club of the Deutsch-Arabischer Bruderschaftsverband. Twice weekly this Club has a closed session, when many Egyptian youngsters are sworn in by the Club's chairman, Hussa Nalisman. This requires only one more comment: Colonel Abdul Nasser is the Honorary President of the Club, and had been sworn in as member No. 3.

B: The Economic Department. (EC-Dpt.)

The EC-Dpt., now so strongly associated with Jewish affairs, is a close enough translation of the SS-Wirtschaftsamt, and it operates on a similar basis. This Department was founded on February 2, 1954; it controls the SSC treasury, which is independent of the Government's Exchequer. Apart from the annual allowance granted to the SSC from the General Defense Budget, this treasury absorbs a considerable income from products of prison workshops throughout Egypt.

The archives of the EC-Dpt. have a "Jewish Section" with a register of all Jewish property in Egypt. It contains up-to-date information on this vital subject, which has now become a major source of revenue to the SSC treasury. Upon the expulsion of thousands of foreign and stateless Jews from Egypt, the EC-Dpt. cashed in 14 million Egyptian Pounds in currency, policies, and securities, and 27 million Pounds of real property and assets abandoned by the Jewish deportees. It is worthwhile noting that the majority of deported Jews had been very rich; this explains why there was no mass deportation of all foreign and stateless Jews, and why *individual* expulsion warrants were issued. The poorer stateless Jews have been left over, "to be dealt with later on"—as Colonel Abd-al-Qadir Hatem explained.

Colonel Hatem, of the EC-Dpt., declared that "not a single piaster or brick has been confiscated, as the Zionist lies alleged. We have documentary proof that property and currency abandoned by people who had to leave Egypt were voluntarily assigned to the administration of the EC-Dpt."

Another interesting branch of the EC-Dpt. is the Public Sales Center in Cairo. Whatever remained in the residences which the Jewish deportees "voluntarily" assigned to the administration of the EC-Dpt.—furniture, clothes, paintings, refrigerators, radios, entire libraries, etc.—is being auctioned off. It brings to the SS treasury weekly profits ranging from 500 to 3,000 Egyptian Pounds.

C: Secret State Police

That name rings a bell somewhere. If translated into German it would be Geheime Staats Polizei; and if abbreviated: Ge-Sta-Po. Its duties are now carried out by Army intelligence.

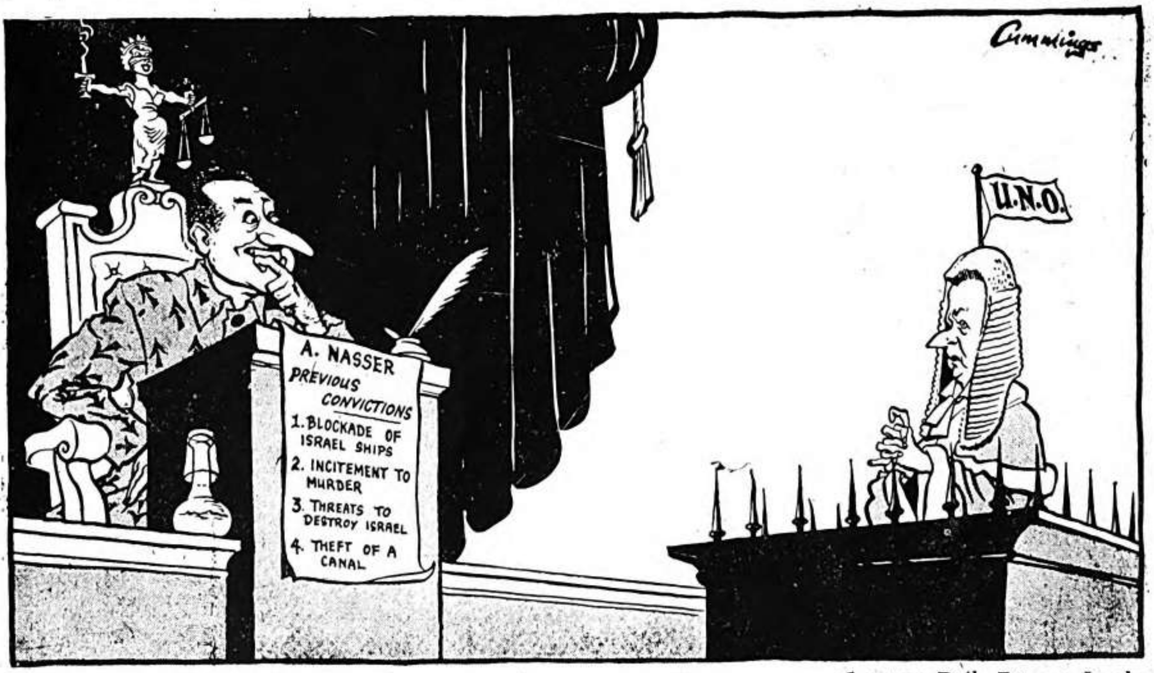
The major section of this Department is the center of the Egyptian Intelligence Service. Next to it is a section headed by Lt. Col. Ben Salem, former SS-Bannfuehrer Bernard Bender, who owing to his knowledge of the Yiddish language, was during the war Chief of the Gestapo Special Branch for detection of Jewish underground movements in Poland and Russia, and who is now playing an important role in Egypt's "economic and political administration." He is also the liaison between the Secret State Police and the EC-Dpt.

Nevertheless Lt. Col. Ben Salem is a very modest man, and while entertaining some of the young East-German visitors he declared "I never wear a uniform because it makes one look more important than he really is." This is a moot matter, because in addition to all his known and unknown tasks, humble Ben Salem is also Chief of the Interrogation Center of the SSC, better known to the Egyptions and to the Egyptian Jews in particular as "The Floating Hell."

The Floating Hell is an old, 12,000-ton cargo vessel, the former Italian "Marinajo Rosso," which has been converted into a floating prison of 80 cells where, according to Ben Salem, "only cases of special interest" are being held. The sole "practical device for bringing out the truth" which he was prepared to exhibit, was the recording center in the vessel's former radio cabin, from which a network of hidden microphones reaches all the cells. Thus, every word uttered during the interrogations or at intervals, while prisoners are together, is recorded.

The recording center is operated by two men only: tight-lipped Sergei Klinikin from Odessa; and his subordinate, Alexei Morganoff, a true Moscovite with an enchanting smile, huge feet, and a Swiss watch. Both have served under Ben Salem ever since General Vlassoff changed flags. Only . . . that was about all one could get out of them.

The Floating Hell performed a great



Courtesy, Daily Express, London

service for Egypt by helping the famous Jewish banker, Mr. Elie Politi, succumb there to the interrogation methods, and sign a document that he had voluntarily assigned 112,000 Pounds—all he possessed. The Floating Hell was also where Lt. Col. Ben Salem had been "most delighted to be able personally to handle the affairs of an Egyptian publisher, a Jew named Mr. Salama."

(Late news dispatches indicated that their confiscated businesses have been restored to a small number of Jews in Egypt—Editor.)

Early in November the first phase of Salem's "Solution of the Jewish-Zionist Problem" began to take shape:

Conducting 3,000 men of the SSC Executive Force (municipal police units, plainclothes men, and army squads), SS-Grossaktionsleiter Gleim personally supervised the combing of the Cairo and Alexandria rural districts, throughout the duration of the curfew. This action resulted in the seizure of 1,711 native Jews—men, women and children—inclusive of the six Jewish *fellahin* families of Mit Ghammar, who are the last survivors of a Jewish community believed to have lived there since 90 B.C.E.

During this action, looting, rapine, and eight killings were reported and confirmed. The officers in charge "regretted the incident which resulted due to the refusal of the subjects to follow instructions."

These captives have been classified as "Prisoners Category Alif (A)" and concentrated in the southern wing of the famous French-built prison, Des Barrages, in Cairo. No charges were made against them, but on the way to prison, all captives (exclusive of pregnant women and mothers of children below the age of 10) were handcuffed. The northern wing of Des Barrages is packed with "potential deportees" i.e., Jews who have no Egyptian nationality.

The sanitary conditions in which those prisoners are being held should be of speical interest to those members of the UN and of the International Red Cross who, during interviews with foreign correspondents in Cairo, denied any knowledge of such conditions or of the above-mentioned arrests.

Cells intended for 10 persons presently shelter 30; and Cell No. 73 is packed with 38 male Jewish prisoners "because they have their own water-closet," as explained by the Chief Warden, Hadji Mustaffa Ibn-Aziz, who is very friendly but responsive to *bakshish* only so far as "matters of non-political nature are concerned, because now-a-days politics are dangerous."

The male prisoners are not allowed out of their cells. Their sole opportunity to breathe some fresh air is while they carry out the waterbuckets—a task eagerly done every morning in rotation by a couple of prisoners—and while fetching food and water.

The daily rations consist of 500 grams of Pittah-bread and two litres of soup per head. Water (two litres per head) is being distributed only once daily, in the morning, and the male prisoners must drink it all at once, because they are not permitted to keep any containers in their cells.

Women Are Treated Better

The female prisoners are granted 20 minutes a day to walk in the prison courtyard, and mothers may, in addition to that, spend half an hour daily with their children, who have been accommodated very comfortably in the former recreation hall for prison personnel. Mothers with babies up to the age of three are kept in the prison dispensary and have beds to sleep on. The babies are being provided with adequate and appropriate food and with daily rations of fresh milk.

The 18,000 Alexandria Jews (among them some 6,000 natives) classified as "Category Ba (B)" suffered an attack which completely crushed their economic life. Alexandria's Military Governor, Col. Husseini, imposed under Security Act penalties, a permanent curfew which lasts from 5 p.m. to 9 a.m., and from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. The rest of the time is left for purchase of food which is usually bought with funds obtained through the sale of jewelry or other personal assets, because by order of the SSC. EC-Dpt., 93 percent of every Jewish bank account has been blocked "until the position of Category Ba is clarified."

Colonel Hatem elucidated this hazy statement as follows: "The Alexandria Jews are known to have strong connections with Israel; but since we cannot bring them to justice without concrete proof and simultaneously cannot let them endanger the State Security by letting them carry on with their underground activities, we are forced to take some slight precautions.

These are the "slight" precautions:

All Arab enterprises have dismissed their Jewish employees without any compensation whatsoever—as per government orders.

Most Jewish enterprises, including the Cicurel Stores and down to small shops, were taken over and only those few Jews who have inter-married were permitted to continue, but they closed their shops "voluntarily" because they were picketed by the Moslem Brotherhood and their show-windows were stoned. Any customers who attempted to enter Jewish shops were assaulted.

All Jewish professionals in Alexandria (with the exception of a few dentists) have been forbidden to practice. 710 prominent Jewish personalities, including a relative of Mrs. Mendes-France, Mr. Guy Cicurel, former President of the Maccabi, and Mr. E. Levy, President of Egypt's Stock Exchange Board, as well as most of the Jewish doctors, have been arrested. According to rumors, they will be tried on charges of treason in a closed session of the Supreme Military Court.

The Cairo Jewish community, however, is undergoing an even greater crisis:

All the Jewish schools have been closed, all communal activities paralyzed. The Jewish hospital has been taken over by Arab authorities and all Jewish personnel and patients, regardless of their condition, were ejected on one hour's notice. Relatives of some of the more serious cases applied for their admission to Arab hospitals, but met with refusal.

Five hundred Cairo Jewish men have been indefinitely interned in the English Grammar School, which was closed down and converted into a detention center with the outbreak of the Suez Canal crisis. Their wives and children, totalling 622, are held captive and 456 Jewish men, women and children are confined in the Hadrah Prison. 830 Cairo Jews are being held in the ruins of Qalat al-Qahira, outside the City. Three of these prisoners were "shot while attempting to escape"—the old Nazi gimmick. It was, however, not explained how they happened to be shot inside the dead-end underground passage of the ruins where six mutilated bodies of Jewish girls were also found.

"This Is Only the First Phase"

Being literally under house-arrest, imposed on them by the curfew, the remaining Cairo Jews are subjected to frequent raids of the Moslem Brotherhood. And over all this looms Nasser's State Security Cadre with its iron grip. Its commander, SS-Grossaktionsleiter Gleim, smilingly declared in front of his young German visitors that "this is only the first phase."

It can therefore be easily guessed that the "Second Phase" will be the completion of Ben Salem's "Solution of the Jewish-Zionist problem within territories of Sovereign Egypt"—a work which is now being implemented through five newly-established concentration camps: the Heliopolis Fortress, destined to absorb 2,000 internees; the Gizeb Barracks, which served during World War II as a P. O. W. camp, able to shelter 10,000 prisoners; two former army training centers, the Mustaffa Hanun-Pasha Barracks near Almaza City, originally built for 16,000 men, and the Borg al-Arab Barracks near Alexandria, which once sheltered two divisions of recruits.

A Grim Concentration Camp

The most threatening of all, however, is the fifth concentration camp: the Samarra Baracks in the Suheilla region of the desert, 200 miles west of Cairo. This camp, only recently vacated by the 3rd Regiment of the Egyptian Liberation Army (the unit which, commanded by Col. Nasser in 1948, withstood the Israeli attacks on Faluja) is now being converted at a cost of 17,000 Egyptian Pounds, and patterned on photo-copies of the original plan of the infamous Nazi "Medizinisches Versuchlager Mannerheime bei Dachau," otherwise known as "Block 10," where hundreds of Jewish girls were sterilized. The photo-copies of the original plan of this camp were supplied to the SSC by Karl Clauberg's direct superior, SS-Hauptstabsarzt Heinrich Willermann, presently "arabized" into Lt. Col. Naam Fahum, who is now in charge of converting the Samarra Barracks.

The stateless and foreign Jews still in Egypt are hoping, probably against hope, that the UN will take them under its protective wings. Should, however, the UN decide otherwise, they will respond to Nasser's "encouragement" and leave Egypt—impoverished, destitute, but alive.

But not the native Jews. They have tried to leave Egypt, but Nasser's government refused most of them exit visas, and most of the foreign consulates refused entrance visas as well as racial asylum—thus leaving this ancient and once flourishing community in the sinister grip of Nasser's legislative paradox.

Egyptian law imposes on them all its restrictions but deprives them of any rights or protection "within Sovereign Egypt"—thus preventing any foreign intervention on their behalf, except for . . . the UN, maybe?

Maybe.

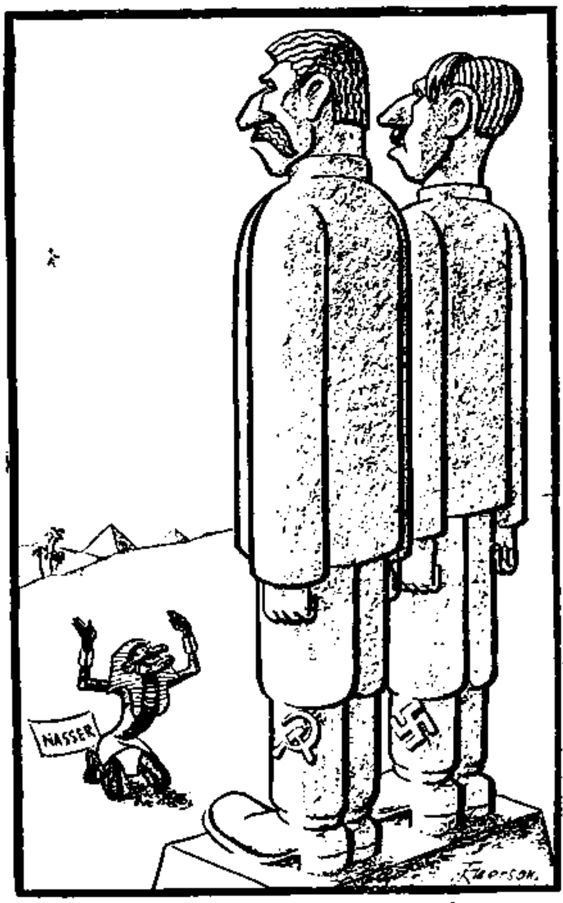
Because—in spite of the Cadre's strict censorship on publication of all events in Egypt and on news leaving the country—the UN has ample evidence and information on what is going on there. Why, then, its reticence? Why the passive attitude towards Nasser's ruthless violation of human rights? The UN must release the facts and warn the world of what Nasser is up to, so that appropriate measures can be taken. Because—although economically ruined, interned, maltreated, and humiliated—it is not too late yet. Egyptian Jewry is still alive.

(Courtesy, Nat. Jewish Monthly)

". . . When Egypt, in clear violation of her commitments and in defiance of the United Nations, excluded from the Suez Canal all shipping that served Israel, we did not bring pressure to bear on her. On the contrary, we continued to give her economic and military assistance, which we planned to increase. When Egypt conducted armed raids into Israeli territory and prepared for the day when she might conquer Israel, we refrained from urging enforcement actions that would have set all Asia against us. Here enforcement was not virtually impossible, as in the case of Hungary, but it was inexpedient.

"In the light of these facts is it proper to say that, in forcing the Anglo-French retreat, we were simply applying to our European friends a policy of enforcement which we had theretofore been applying to our opponents and to the nations of Asia? Or would it be more accurate to say that we could afford to enforce the law on our friends and clients, who were at our mercy—that we might even profit in Asia by doing so—while we could not afford to enforce it against the Soviet Union in Hungary, and the price of enforcing it against the uncommitted peoples of Asia would be higher than we found it expedient to pay? . . ."

(Louis J. Halle, The New Republic, 1-21-57)



WORSHIPER OF CRAVEN IDOLS!

Courtesy, N. Y. Daily Mirror

"Let Adenauer See to Politics..."

While an outraged world focussed attention on the Russian tanks crushing the Hungarian revolt, a group of German industrialists were enjoying the sights in Moscow. Of course, the West German Government had deplored the Soviet action. It is also noteworthy that Chancellor Adenauer's Government "was profoundly disturbed" over U. S. "hesitation" during the crisis (New York Times, 11-2-56). According to the New York Times, a senior official in the Bonn Government (unidentified) declared that the prestige of the U. S. "hangs in balance." He warned that if Washington pursued a do nothing policy in Hungary and permitted the Stalinist tyranny to triumph, the moral capital of the U. S. in Germany "will be worth nothing."

Bonn's "holy anger" and the visit of the industrialists to Moscow may best be understood not as a contradiction but rather as a division of labor. Berthold Beitz, Krupp's General Manager, put it succinctly: *"I am a businessman, so what do I care about politics? Let Adenauer see to politics, and let him leave me do my job. All embargo lists* (*on trade with the Soviet bloc*) *should be abolished immediately."*

The Eastern Contact

The "tourists" in Moscow representing some of the largest industrial aggregates including Krupp, Mannesmann, Siemens, AEG, Demag and Gutehoffnungshütte, were warmly received by the Soviet Minister for Heavy Industry. Their travels were quite extensive ranging from a visit to Moscow's industrial and agricultural exhibition to the factories and industries of the Ukraine and the Urals. Judging from subsequent developments, it appears that their sojourn in Soviet Russia has created promising opportunities for both, the Germans and the Russians. This is not to say that the visit of the German industrialists represented a radical shift in Soviet-German relations. It would be more accurate to say that the visit added a powerful stimulus to contacts which have steadily improved over a number of years.

In August 1952 leading spokesmen for the Ruhr conferred secretly with associates of Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Mikoyan in Copenhagen. The meeting was called at West German initiative with the prior knowledge of the Bonn Government. It took place only 3 months after the Allies had drawn up the Contractual Agreement which gave West Germany a free hand in her foreign relations.

The meeting remained a closely guarded secret until former Foreign Minister Molotov let the cat out of the bag during a Big Four meeting in Berlin in 1954. Commenting on this sensational disclosure the Christian Science Monitor (4-17-54) noted that talks between Moscow and West German industrialists had "been going on for about 3 years."

One year after the secret get-together in Copenhagen, Chancellor Adenauer made a public statement on Soviet-German relations which would be interpreted as a followup of that meeting. As reported in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (7-7-53) the Chancellor urged the strengthening of economic ties between West Germany and the Soviets and expressed confidence that this would facilitate closer political understanding. *"Already today the states of the European Schuman plan have formed a market of* 157 *million people. Thus from the point of view of the Russian economy these countries represent a highly interesting trade partner. Years ago there was a time when the economy of Germany and Russia complemented one another in a magnificent way. The economy of an integrated Europe, including Germany, could do vastly more. The greater the economic integration* (*between Western Europe and Russia*), *the greater the political security."*

Since then other German political leaders have repeated the Adenauer thesis. As recently as February 10, 1956, Foreign Minister von Brentano told the U. S. News & World Report: *"Without doubt the economies of both countries* (*Russia and Germany*) *could supplement each other in a most useful manner."*

Playing the Right Cards — At the Right Time

Quite understandably the delicate nature of Soviet-German relations has taxed the ingenuity and finesse of German officialdom. Bonn is inclined to discourage publicity about this side of its diplomacy since it could place the Chancellor, "God's gift to the West," in an embarrassing light. Consequently, the general line passed down to those who write about this touchy subject, may be summed up in these words: "The less said, the better." It was with this dictum in mind that Adenauer and his associates tried to deflate the importance of his trip to Moscow in 1955.

At a press conference in July of that year, Herr von Brentano assured reporters that Adenauer would remain steadfastly loyal to the West regardless of the impending talks with the Kremlin. Indeed, he declared, the Chancellor would not even think of going to Moscow if he felt there was no hope of altering the Russian stand on German unification.

Though Adenauer has shown a marked talent for talking one way to Moscow and another to Washington, this fact does not seem to have registered among our top policy makers. Prior to his trip to Moscow he conferred at length in Washington and told our experts that he would not agree to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Kremlin. He said he was going to talk tough and would insist that there could be no exchange of ambassadors until substantial progress had been made on the problem of German unity. It was only after his policy of toughness was transformed into a posture of meekness that U. S. policy makers showed the first signs of shock. It has always been surprising to us that Washington should have been taken aback by the results of the Bulganin-Adenauer get-together. After all, as early as May 7, 1954, the Chancellor specifically stated to his own people that diplomatic relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union "might be established in the not too far future." He said by way of explanation. "Our trade with the Soviets has been intensified lately." Thus, Adenauer consistent with his previous statement in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, had given clear indication of what he was up to. However

Washington in 1955 preferred to believe in the stories which Adenauer had handed out for American consumption.

Washington's chagrin over the diplomatic rapproachment between the Kremlin and Bonn was heightened still further when the U. S. Ambassador to Moscow Charles E. Bohlen reported that negotiations between Adenauer and Bulganin had been decisively in Moscow's favor. According to Drew Pearson (10-1-55) Bohlen reported to the State Department that Adenauer *"had been virtually putty in Russian hands, and warned that the U. S. could not trust the West Germans to stand up against the Kremlin in the future."* As if to anticipate criticisms of his dealing with Moscow, Chancellor Adenauer told the press just before departing from Russia, *"I swear that I made no secret agreement with the Russians."*

Fact and Fiction

In the maze of diplomatic maneuvering and intrigue, it is not easy to separate fact from fiction. The passage of time, however, does help to clear the air. Thus, in October, 1956, the Russians sent a long note to the West German Government on the problem of unification. The Kremlin complained that Bonn was not *"endeavoring to solve on the basis of mutual understanding questions that have not been settled and which interest both sides and obviously contradicts the agreements made between our governments during the Moscow negotiations in the year* 1955." While the note did not reveal all of the specific agreements which were supposed to have been reached between the two governments, it made reference to *"firm agreement on the question of the development of trade . . ."* It is significant, we think, that Adenauer has never denied that he reached such an understanding with the Russians. On the contrary, the information which has been published relative to this issue, points to the fact that the Germans no less than their Russian counterparts are very much interested in an agreement.

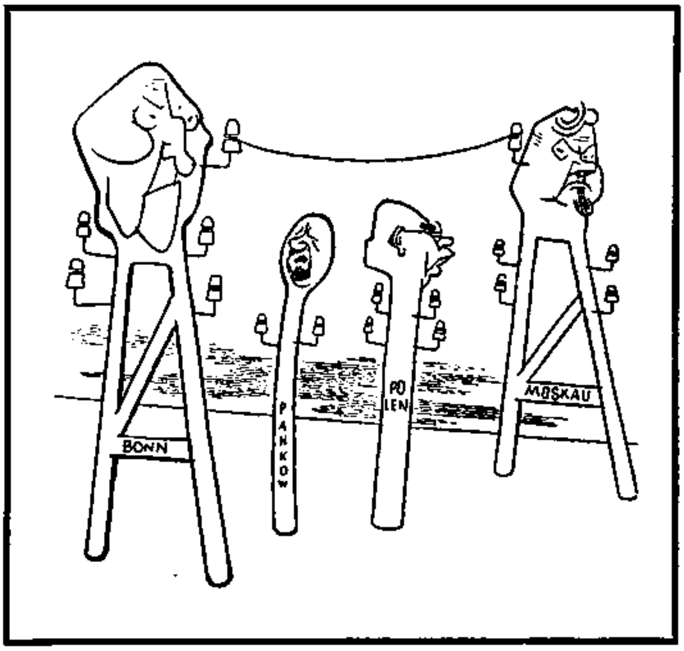
Shortly after the Russians had sent their note of complaint to Bonn, the new Soviet Ambassador to West Germany, Andrei A. Smirnov, received a cordial welcome from leading German officials. The New York Times (10-26-56) reported: *"The West German Government is eager to make use of Mr. Smirnov's presence here . . . The official policy now is to 'activate' Soviet-West German relations in the hope that bit by bit the basis for serious negotiations on German reunification can be established."* The Times referred to the first round discussions between the Soviet Ambassador and the Bonn Foreign Office which would include "an improvement of trade relations" and "a cultural and scientific exchange."

"Love Notes" and the Fair

As the new year was ushered in, the eagerness of the Bonn Government to talk about trade with the Soviets grew considerably. The Frankfurter Rundschau (1-5-57) reported that the West German Government *"no longer takes a negative attitude to the conclusion of a trade agreement between the Federal Republic and Soviet Russia."* A spokesman for the Government, according to the newspaper, declared that Chancellor Adenauer *"after his talks with Soviet Ambassador Smirnow shortly before Christmas seemed fully agreeable to take this subject under consideration."* The Associated Press of the same date reported that this development resulted partially from the pressure of West German industrialists who hope to profit from it. Several days after these reports appeared in the press, the Chancellor spoke at a news conference. The Times described him as "relaxed and in good humor" and "maintained his new 'flexible' posture while making it clear that he was not rushing out to curry Soviet favor." He emphasized that he wanted to expand trade with the Soviets.

In a message to the Soviet Govern-

> **". . . It will be recalled that the French government was able to obtain the approval of the National Assembly for the Paris Agreements only on the strict understanding that the new German army would never be equipped with atomic weapons.**
>
> **"But it is now affirmed that the weapons forbidden to Germany are to be fabricated in Spain.**
>
> **"According to recent reports, Franco has offered all facilities for their manufacture, and the United States is prepared to finance some extra ones for experimentation in atomic weapons—more for the benefit of Germany than of Spain.**
>
> **"If this information is correct it would be a repetition of what happened during the twenties. The Versailles treaty explicitly limited the number and kind of military equipment permitted the small new German army authorized by the victorious Allies. . . ."**
>
> **(J. Alvarez Del Vayo, Gazette & Daily, 1-30-57)**



THE DIRECT WIRE

Szewczuk, Die Welt

ment (March 1957) which referred to Bulganin's original complaint, the Chancellor agreed to discuss ways and means of expanding trade relations which would "improve the political atmosphere." Moscow seemed pleased to learn that the Chancellor felt this way and promptly notified Bonn that the Soviets were ready to conduct negotiations "in the very near future." The deal was sealed when the West German Government informed Moscow that it was prepared to negotiate trade and consular agreements (New York Times, 4-18-57). The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung viewed the exchange of these notes as *"a sure sign that the Federal Government plans concrete negotiations between the two countries in which diplomatic relations are not merely empty formalities."*

Following on the heels of this diplomatic exchange, the Germans opened their Hannover Fair. Judging from descriptions in the press, one is almost tempted to believe that a most important consideration governing the organization of this fair was to impress the Russians with the great possibilities of trade between the two countries. The London Financial Times (4-22-57) said that reports had been circulating that *"massive Soviet trade bids may be made"* at the fair where four Soviet trade delegations totaling 50 high ranking officials, were expected. A New York Times reporter observed that the Russian technical and trade experts were coming in sufficient strength *"to inventory the fair and draw up lists of manufacturers producing goods needed by the Soviet Union"* (4-27-57). Commenting on this development the Times correspondent stated that when the German trade negotiations arrive in Moscow, the Soviets will have conveniently prepared for them the lists of specific goods which they desire. On the following day (4-28-57) the Times correspondent reported that the Soviet Ambassador and his colleagues from Moscow *"made a bee-line for the Krupp pavilion on their arrival at the fair."* He also mentioned that such great concerns as Demag, Kloeckner and Rheinstahl received "the personal attention of the Soviet officials."

The fair made a hit with the Russians. The Soviet Ambassador sent a telegram to the exhibition stating that it had aroused great interest in Russia. He expressed the hope that through this event Soviet officials would *"be able to make valuable contacts with German businessmen and thus strengthen economic and scientific relations"* (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 4-27-57).

Wilfried Braun, Chairman of the Board of Hartmann & Braun A. G., Frankfurt, told the Frankfurter Allgemeine that the embargo on Russia was no longer "disturbing" his exports to that country. He informed the press that within a few weeks he would fly to Russia with a private delegation of German industrialists. He saw great possibilities in exports to the eastern bloc and said that payment arrangements were always prompt and never produced any difficulties.

The "Fire Burns Bright"

Obviously the profit lure has kindled a fire among the Ruhr industrialists. Under these circumstances the task of diplomacy became more difficult. In simple terms, the problem is to contain this enthusiasm so as to avoid giving alarm to Washington which has placed so much trust in "der Alte." Thus, we find reports in the press (which seem to be inspired) indicating that the Germans are "reluctant" to deal with the Russians and are "worried" lest the Soviets demand too much. The New York Times (4-21-57) describes how West German officials are allegedly concerned over the Soviet Government's propaganda for large scale trade relations. We are told that Bonn is determined to place a limit on commercial transactions with the Russians. We have also been given to understand that Adenauer will not enter into "a formal trade agreement with Russia" but will only consent to "an informal trade agreement . . ." (New York World Telegram, 4-27-57). Can one think of a better example of hairsplitting?

It is hard to believe that the mores of the German cartellists are so unique that they will go out of their way to avoid making as much profit as they can from trade with the Eastern bloc. Fact is that German trade with the Soviets and the satellites has risen spectacularly. West Germany's trade with the East was 710 million DM in 1950. In 1955 it reached the figure of 1,351 million DM and for the first 10 months of 1956 1,786 million DM. In 1956 trade with the Soviet Union alone was 250% of what it had been in the previous year. These statistics tell the trend. In some respect trade with the Russians is even more significant than the overall statistics indicate. According to an article published in the Soviet publication New Times "West Germany's Stake in Soviet Trade" (March 1957) it is stated that in 1956 *"the USSR stood first in Western Germany's imports of pig iron (23 per cent), second in her imports of rye (26 per cent) and third in her imports of asbestos (17 per cent). It was the second biggest buyer of West-German shipping (18 per cent) and copper wire, and third to fifth biggest buyer of certain types of rolled steel."*

Studies conducted by West German Government experts show that exports to the Soviets could reach as high as $1 billion annually. These export plans will unquestionably be borne in mind by Bonn diplomats in future negotiations. "The fact that German experts drew up these plans would appear to contradict the internal propaganda line that trade with the Soviet Union does not have a future" (New York Times, 9-18-55). The Times report could have added that these statistics and studies also belie the propaganda which the Germans have been passing out to the West.

Bonn has not only pretended that future trade with the Soviets will be of little value but its top leaders are always careful to assure the West that commercial dealing with the Russians will not assume diplomatic significance. On the other hand, the German people are told a different story. The German newspaper Die Welt (4-15-57) carried a special editorial under the title "Trade with Russia." It noted that a future trade agreement with Moscow would not only step up contacts between the two countries in the economic sphere but in the political as well. *"There is,"* the editorial observed, *"the desire to again take up old contacts and connections with which we have had such favorable experiences between the two wars. Politically the creation of trade relations with Russia can become a trump card for us. A genuine trade agreement would really be the biggest trump of all . . ."* Because of the importance of future negotiations which would involve vital political considerations, the editorial believes that Bonn should entrust these negotiations "only to the best man who is in a position to maintain relations to the Committee for Eastern Matters of German industrialists."

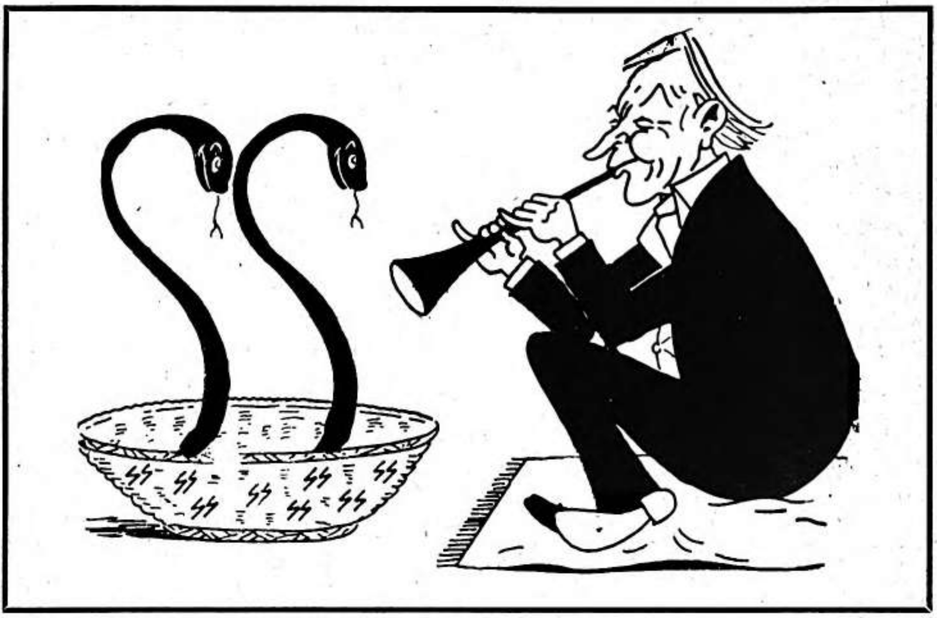
The above editorial was in sharp contrast to previous positions taken by the Bonn Government. On May 2, 1956, a spokesman for Chancellor Adenauer told the press that the Bonn Government would not negotiate a trade agreement with the Soviet Union until the Soviet Government was ready to consent to the reunification of Germany in "peace and freedom." A few weeks later von Brentano repeated this point at a press conference and dismissed a trade agreement with the Russians as "by no means urgent." As recently as January 11, 1957, Adenauer declared that his government would not negotiate a commercial treaty with Moscow. But this promise may be evaluated in the same light as Adenauer's previous pledge not to establish diplomatic relations with Moscow. Fact is that such negotiations are now under way. Ironically, agreement to negotiate came shortly after Adenauer had succeeded in obtaining a veto power over vital aspects of US policy (see p. 4). As previously noted, Germany went into secret conference with the Russians in Copenhagen after winning the Contractual Agreement. They seem to be repeating!

The Larger Goal

There is no question but that leading circles in West Germany look upon the trade negotiations as a stepping stone toward resolving political issues between Bonn and Moscow. Chancellor Adenauer has stressed this tie-up and the Soviets, too, share the same views. Thus, alongside the preparatory steps for the conclusion of a trade agreement we find Soviet and German sentiment speculating on the wider ramifications. In the January 1957 issue of the Russian publication *"International Affairs,"* several illuminating documents on former Soviet-German economic relations are reproduced allegedly taken from German archives. On February 17, 1920, the top executives of the Allgemeine Elektrizitaets Gesellschaft, Felix Deutsch and Walter Rathenau, wrote a lengthy memorandum dealing with the problem of establishing economic and political ties with the Bolshevik Regime. The German industrialists urged that Germany *"with all haste"* should establish contacts with the new Russian regime and declared that Germany's future relations with the East *"will evidently be brightest if German foreign policy succeeds as soon as possible in establishing relations between Germany and the Eastern states which would make the latter refrain from agreeing to desires of the Entente for a restriction of relations between Germany and Russia."* They expressed alarm lest the Entente took the initiative before the Germans. They further warned, that the closer the understanding between the Entente and the Soviets *"the greater the danger that Germany will miss the moment for laying the foundations of a successful Germany policy in Eastern Europe."* Elaborating on their views the memorandum said, *"The decisive point is that Germany will be either a colony of the Entente countries, the object of exploitation by them, and if necessary a purveyor of hired troops who will have to fight for the glory of the Entente anywhere in the world where the criminal working of the Versailles Conference kindles a war; or she will succeed in exploiting the political possibilities which offer themselves in the East of Europe and winning a modicum of independence and freedom which will guard her against the worst privations and oppression. Besides the fact that Central and Eastern Europe are neighbours and economcially complete each other, they also have common needs, and Russia and Germany have the common fate of defeated nations. Cleverly and carefully to make use of the points of contact given here, and by developing them to construct a dependable framework for German foreign policy is a need the importance of which has probably never been felt so strongly as today, when the demands of the Entente for extradition (of criminals—Ed.) are aimed at tainting the name of Germany with indelible disgrace for centuries."* Toward the conclusion of this memorandum the industrialists declared: *"But the revival of German influence in Russia gives Germany at the same time the possibility of being an intermediary between Russia and other countries, particularly the United States of America. These countries call for German mediation because psychologially the British and Americans do not understand the Russians as well as the Germans who have at least had the rich experience of the pre-war period."* The Russian publication also reproduced letters from Stresemann and from Krupp, stressing the importance of the Eastern contact. It does not take a bright mind to figure out why the Russians should have reproduced these documents at this time.

Bulganin's note to the Germans of February 5, 1957 seems to fit in exactly with the Russian propaganda offensive designed to reawaken the "good old times." Bulganin did not equivocate and the letter is particularly warm and friendly. Here are some choice excerpts:

"Whether there will be peace or war in Europe depends above all on the future relations between our peoples. That is why both our Governments must be aware of their responsibility for the des-



THE SNAKE CHARMER

Deutsche Volkszeitung

tinies of the peoples of their countries and for the destinies of peace in Europe . . .

"After thoroughly analyzing the present situation my colleagues and I have come to the conclusion that the vital interests of the Soviet and the German peoples call for a decisive turn in the relations between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany . . .

"Only such a turn in the relations between our countries can guarantee that the two great peoples—the Soviet and the German—will never again be forced to squander their forces and wealth, bleeding each other white . . .

"It is not difficult to understand that those who want to push the Federal Republic of Germany onto the road of war least of all care for its future, or the interests of the German people. They obviously count on evading the retaliatory atomic blow and on placing in jeopardy the Federal Republic of Germany hoping that others will pull their chestnuts out of the fire . . .

"We hope, however, that the national patriotic forces that will not allow their country to be drawn into war gambles will prevail in the Federal Republic of Germany . . .

"It was not without reason that in the past the most far-sighted statesmen of Germany, attaching great importance to the strengthening of German-Russian relations, vigorously denounced the attempts to set Germany at loggerheads with Russia . . .

"It is no exaggeration to say that there are tremendous possibilities for the large-scale development of over-all economic contacts between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany to the mutual advantage of both sides. The Federal Republic has a highly developed industry and can count on big and advantageous orders from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union in its turn also has broad possibilities for selling goods to the Federal Republic of Germany needed by its industry and agriculture.

"We raise the question of expanding trade with the Federal Republic also because the Soviet Union regards the development of such contacts as a firm foundation for improving the political relations between states."

Business Week (2-16-57) reported that the Bulganin message to Adenauer looked *"like the first gambit in a different Soviet approach to the German question . . . Bulganin wrote as though he thought a Soviet-German agreement would settle all the problems of Europe."*

Mutual Admiration Society

Soviet propaganda latched on to the note with a steady drumbeat on the enormous good that would come from close ties between Moscow and Bonn. One Russian commentator reported an important conference to be held in Düsseldorf by West German business circles. According to him, the meeting evoked great enthusiasm and was filled to capacity—200 people were refused entrance. The same commentator quoted German newspapers and businessmen to the effect that good relations with the Russians was a "must." He referred to an article published by the Rheinische Post, an organ closely associated with Adenauer's party, which said that a trade treaty with the Soviet Union would be of mutual benefit. Another publication associated with German industry, West Post, declared that a trade treaty with Russia "would help to improve the political climate in the relations between the two countries . . ." It also noted that one of Germany's top financiers, Robert Pferdmenges, perhaps Adenauer's closest advisor, had also spoken favorably for the conclusion of an agreement with the Russians.

As the political flirtation grew warmer, Soviet propagandists began to recall the halcyon days of the 1920s and 1930s when close economic and political cooperation existed between Germany and the Soviets. Thus, a special article recently appeared in the government newspaper Izvestia entitled "The Spirit of Rapallo and Our Times." The writer of the article, N. Polyanov, spoke about "the lessons of Rapallo" which marked what he called "sincere friendly cooperation" between the two countries. Surely, he said, this spirit must still be alive. *"Is it not time to achieve a decisive change in relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR, a change towards confidence and friendship? The possibilities in this direction have by no means been exhausted."*

The love note excited Adenauer too, and he publicly declared that it was of decisive significance. At the same time, he told reporters that he would not discuss its contents because the time was premature. The Russians, always with an eye towards exploiting the propaganda value of their diplomatic moves, were uninhibited and publicized the contents of the note all over the world. Bonn was extremely annoyed by this publicity. One German newspaper, the Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, published a cartoon of "Auntie Adenauer" watching Marshal Bulganin announcing in a television screen the text of his latest note; Adenauer is incensed and says, *"But I thought that was our special secret."* Poor Adenauer did not take into account the Russian temperament which can be embarrassingly frank.

The well-known German commentator Reinhard Gerdes, speaking over the radio on February 8, 1957, found great potentialities in Bulganin's note: *"They (the Russians) may wish to obtain a disarmament agreement through the mediation of the Federal Government. The Chancellor should see to it that despite all caution the Soviet request will not be turned down."* The idea of Germany holding the last word on East-West relations is certainly an attractive one for German diplomacy, especially if Adenauer is able to prove to the Russians that they can obtain advantageous terms through his good offices.

On February 10, Herr Gerdes returned to this theme mentioning that Adenauer's statement on the possibility of halting the test of H bombs "was also designed to increase Soviet readiness for talks with Bonn . . ." As though he was talking to the Soviets, Gerdes once again emphasized Adenauer's "position of trust in the Western world" and the role that he could play as mediator between the United States and Russia. Another German radio commentator, Otto Herr, also waxed enthusiastically over Bulganin's note. Here was a great opportunity which the Federal Republic must not neglect. *"Among the Western nations,"* he told his listeners, *"the Federal Republic is the biggest supplier of the Soviet Union anyway."*

It has been rightly stated that a well informed public opinion is the surest guaranty for an intelligent and farsighted foreign policy. In our opinion, it is a real tragedy that the American people, as we have stated many times in Prevent World War III, have come to know only one side of the German coin. Responsibility for this state of affairs which can do great harm to the national interest, rests in the first place with those who formulate our policy towards Germany.

"Lebensraum Afrika"

American Pro-Adenauer Paper Predicts the Coming Showdown Between Germany and the U. S. A.

Dear Editor:

Scanning some German language newspapers printed in the United States, I came across an article which amazes even the hard-boiled observer of German geopolitical scheming.

On April 24, 1957, the "America-Herold," a political weekly printed in Winona, Minn., carried an article "The Grab of Africa" which is translated below. The article reveals Germany's true aims in Africa and anticipates in the not too distant future a showdown over the Dark Continent between a United Europe and the "greedy Wall Street imperialists." In essence the "America-Herold's" article could be regarded as Bonn's prematurely issued ultimatum to the United States "to keep hands off in Africa."

The America-Herold has been an outspoken apologist on German war crimes. Among its regular feature writers are such prominent political figures as Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein and Dr. Hans von Hentig, two Pan-German propagandists whose activities have been disclosed by the Society in the past. The America-Herold also publishes articles by leading Bonn politicians such as Chancellor Adenauer, Foreign Minister von Brentano and the State Secretaries Hallstein and Lenz. In addition, this German paper is often filled with Bonn's official propaganda handouts or with unsigned articles which deal with certain "hot" geopolitical questions. In short, the America-Herold, as so many other German language papers in the U. S., functions as an unrestrained propaganda wheel for the interests of the Bonn Republic.

The record shows that almost all of the German language papers in the U. S. have served the Nazi cause and were subsidized by the Hitler government in one form or another. Today these papers, supposedly American publications, serve Dr. Adenauer's game of "Weltmacht" politics. Let me demonstrate what this means by pointing out the highlights of the article in question.

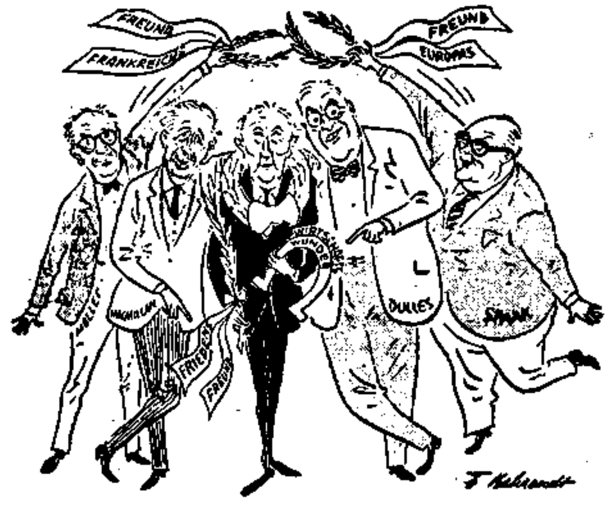
Interpreting Vice President Nixon's recent state visit to several countries in Africa as a demonstration of "Wall Street's greedy designs," the author expects in the future "very serious tensions between Europe and the United States." Africa, warns the article, is the last underdeveloped continent, a rich storehouse of raw materials that must not fall into American hands. To secure the limitless raw materials of Africa for the industrial plant of the old continent, is for Europe "a question of life or death." Wall Street's present "offensive" to grab the riches of Africa must be stopped. Therefore, Germany must regain her strength and rally the forces of Europe in order to "defend" Africa. The showdown will come when the reunification of Germany will lead to a unified and strong Europe. That, says the article, will change the whole balance of power in the world and a situation will develop in which "the American people will be confronted with the necessity, forced upon them, of paying the bill for Wall Street's greed for money!"

The "America-Herold" article demonstrates two facts very clearly: First, that the ruling circles in the Bonn Republic, the industrialists, the Ribbentrop diplomats in the Bonn Foreign Office and the geopolitical schemers of the Hitler-Haushofer tradition still adhere to the old German blueprint of "Weltmachtpolitik"; secondly, that these planners are convinced that Germany's "third try" again will be a showdown with the Anglo-American world. The political planners in Bonn certainly do not want to fight the Bolsheviks in the Urals. Of this they have had enough! Their hopes today center around the thought of how they can undermine the British and American world position.

The issue is quite clear: The coming German battleground is Africa, the only great raw material storehouse available to the West. Here the Germans are determined to tell us point blank: Stay out or you Americans will have a fight on your hands! This is frank geopolitical language in the best Hitler style.

It is my hope that this article will serve as an eye opener. By now our diplomats and intelligence scouts should know the whole story about Bonn's planning in Africa. Enough of this self-incriminating material has been published by Dr. Adenauer himself and by

> **"A German parliamentary delegation has recently returned from a trip of inspection of commercial possibilities in Asia which went as far as Bangkok, Thailand. One aftermath of this trip has been a spate of proposals designed to attract Arab and Asian students to German universities and technical schools and applicants for industrial training to German factories. At the present time there are 3,000 or 4,000 Asian students and some 5,000 trainees in factories and it is hoped to multiply these figures. . . .**
>
> **"The intensive development of commercial and educational contacts with the nations of Asia and the planned expansion of these contacts is one of several proofs that Germany, after Hitler tried to solve its problem of earning a national livelihood by military conquest and exploitation, has now set out on a much more promising road. It is the absence of any specter of German political ambition that is an asset to the German businessman and engineer in this 'anti-colonial' age."**
>
> **(William Henry Chamberlin, Wall St. Journal, 1-29-57)**



FRIENDS . . . IN AN ELECTION YEAR . . .

Die Welt, Hamburg

his whole group of assorted geopolitical masterminds. To refresh our memories we need only mention but a front page article which appeared many years ago under Dr. Adenauer's own signature in his ideological mouthpiece, the "Rheinischer Merkur" (5-20-50). Dr. Adenauer then acclaimed the Schuman Plan as the beginning of "a long-range economic venture in Africa" that would bring fulfillment to the German dream. A few years later the same Rheinischer Merkur (6-24-55) complained bitterly about "America's economic offensive into Africa, the last available raw material storehouse in the western world." The paper then warned that it would be foolish for Europe to continue an ostrich-like head in the sand policy in face of America's dangerous penetration of Africa. In a similar vein the nationalist German magazine "Nation Europa" wrote in its August 1954 issue that Germany and France together must rally their strength, organize Africa and then "convince the Americans that it might be wise for them to scurry on to their ships and get out."

For many years now the German industrialists and geopoliticians have clamored in secret memoranda, in books and articles, that Europe and Africa must be wielded into a new super-continental bloc far more powerful in population and economic resources than the U. S. S. R. and the United States. This great African venture is pushed quietly and relentlessly by the industrial and financial barons of the Rhine and Ruhr. Up to this time nobody in Washington has dared to intercede against Dr. Adenauer's "tremendously bold plan": First the creation of the new Leberstraum, Eurafrica, followed by rapproachement with Russia. If this comes to pass, the United States will soon be confronted with the showdown "made in Germany."

Every diplomatic move by the U. S. A. which has resulted in undermining the traditional position of Britain and France in the Middle East and Africa is hailed and exploited by the Bonn Republic. Washington's past policies have contributed enormously to a development that has played right into the hands of the German schemers. They know only too well that fruition of their plans would bring them the gift of a rich continent to replace a few more or less important colonies which they lost after World War I. Today the Germans can well afford to be against "colonies" if they are in the process of taking over two continents.

It would be wise if our Germany Firsters in the Pentagon and the State Department would place the following article as a permanent reminder on their desks.

T. H. Tetens.

THE GRAB OF AFRICA

(A Translation from the "America-Herold" Winona, Minn.)

The official trip of U. S. Vice President Nixon to Africa, carried out with such great pomp, awakened world public opinion for the first time to what attentive observers have foreseen with great worry: American big business is beginning to take over the "black continent" for its own expansion as a sort of "second South America."

This development should disturb every friend of peace; more so, it should most deeply disquiet all those desirous of good relations between Europe and America, for it contains potentialities of new and really serious friction between Europe and America, which for the present—due to the preponderous power of America and the present division and weakness of Europe—may still seem unimportant, but which in the years to come will put the greatest strain upon the relations between Europe and America.

Let us first look at the facts: big business in America for a long time has recognized in Africa a chance to recover its source of raw materials and its market for its products which it lost to the Red Moscow-Peiping imperium in Asia. Wall Street adroitly understood, and continues to understand to project itself in the foreground as the natural heir to the colonial powers, above all, England and France.

Wall Street is repeating the same game in Africa that it has played so successfully in Burma and India against England, in Indonesia against the Netherlands and in Indo-China against the French. In the role of a champion in the fight for national freedom, Wall Street Dollar imperialism becomes the successor of the economic position held by the former colonial masters. The new nations only discover very gradually, that national independence without economic and financial freedom amounts to only a half-baked thing.

This game, which Wall Street has played so successfully in the Far, Middle and Near East since 1945, is now to be repeated in Africa. In the light of the commercial interests of Wall Street, the economic and financial points of view have priority, but they will be masked through political moral attitudes—a procedure for which England itself for centuries has furnished the pattern!

Any one aware of history will react with a disdainful smile when reading American Vice-President Nixon's remarks: that America only wants to draw Africa within its orbit, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the communists! This is how it looks according to the report of the "Züricher Tat" of March 12, 1957:

"U. S. Vice President declared at a Press Conference on Saturday, Africa with its tremendous resources and 200 million inhabitants constitutes 'object number one for the communist movement'."

It would be wise to consider Wall Street's intention in this situation more seriously, than within the motivations advanced by Nixon! There can be no doubt about world capital, concentrated in Wall Street and controlled from there, being increasingly determined, to exploit Africa's wealth for itself and turn its 200 million inhabitants into cheaply paid industrial proletarians: they would be used as replacements for the "far too costly" white industrial workers and thus increase the profits of financial capital manifold; on the other hand it would open up the possibility of a continuing pressure against the unions for lower wages.

Above all, Africa represents a challenge to world finance because of its immense riches in ores of all kinds, of which until now only the deposits in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo have become known and developed; the vast wealth of Morocco and Ethiopia staggers the imagination. Oil of course, ranks in second place, its existence having been proven by French discoveries in Algeria, Mauretania and the Sahara in large quantities; without doubt it also occurs in other regions of Africa.

In this sequence there follows uranium, important today, absolutely indispensable tomorrow; as is generally known, the Congo is still its greatest world supplier—and the gamut of all known minerals, which Africa offers in sheer inexhaustible volume and which only await development and transportation.

All this is understandable! But all this is also known in Europe—with this difference: that *these raw materials represent a question of life and death for factory Europe! Whereas for Wall Street they only are a question of monetary gain!*

This leads to serious and compulsively increasing conflicts of interest between American high finance and European economy—the results of which is partly dependent upon the attitude of the American people, partly upon the unity and strengthening of Europe, and, last, not least, upon the attitude of the peoples and nations of Africa.

The American people must know that, due to the greedy grab of Wall Street in Africa, it will find itself in serious and compulsively increasing opposition to all European peoples, for whom this is a question of life or death! American politics, whose dependence upon Wall Street is at least as large as it is upon the American voter, may be indifferent to this for the time being; but when the day of the coming reunification and strengthening of Germany arrives—and *with this*, the unity and strengthening of Europe—then the weight of this problem will increase; and the American people could be confronted with the necessity, forced upon them, of paying the bill for Wall Street's greed for money!

Decisive will be, what solution *the peoples and nations of Africa* will choose: for submission to Dollar Imperialism or for co-operation with Europe! For unhealthy industrialization by transformation of its own inhabitants to industrial proletarians—or for an economy complimentary to that of Europe, whereby Africa will develop its agriculture in full freedom and self-determination, while the distribution of its—mutually developed—natural resources to "Factory Europe" will offer a secure basis.

That such a *"natural symbiosis" between Europe and Africa* simultaneously represents the best, in fact, the only bulwark against the infiltration of Communism in Africa, is just as certain as the fact, that the cultural self-development of the African peoples will be secured through their own development of the economy! Nothing would be more ominous for Africa than the proletarianization of its masses enforced by big finance: the slums of Johannesburg, created by the Rothschilds, Rhodes and Oppenheimers and painfully being illuminated by the Boer government, bear witness to this.

Wall Street's grab of Africa is just as much of a threat to Europe as it is to Africa—and, in the final analysis, against the American people themselves! The exploitation of human beings through Financial Imperialism is more throttling and worse than that experienced through old-style power imperialism—and the solution is *solidary cooperation of the free peoples*—in this case: the free peoples of Europe and Africa!

H. HOOVER JR.'S THREE HATS

"According to reports published in the American and European press . . . Mr. Herbert Hoover, Jr., former Under Secretary of State, has accepted General Franco's invitation to be chief engineer of Spain's oil trust . . .

Mr. Hoover's mission, according to reports, "can facilitate the exploitation by a Spanish-American group of the oil deposits in the Sahara, which up to now have only been tapped by France."

(Iberica, 2-15-57)

★

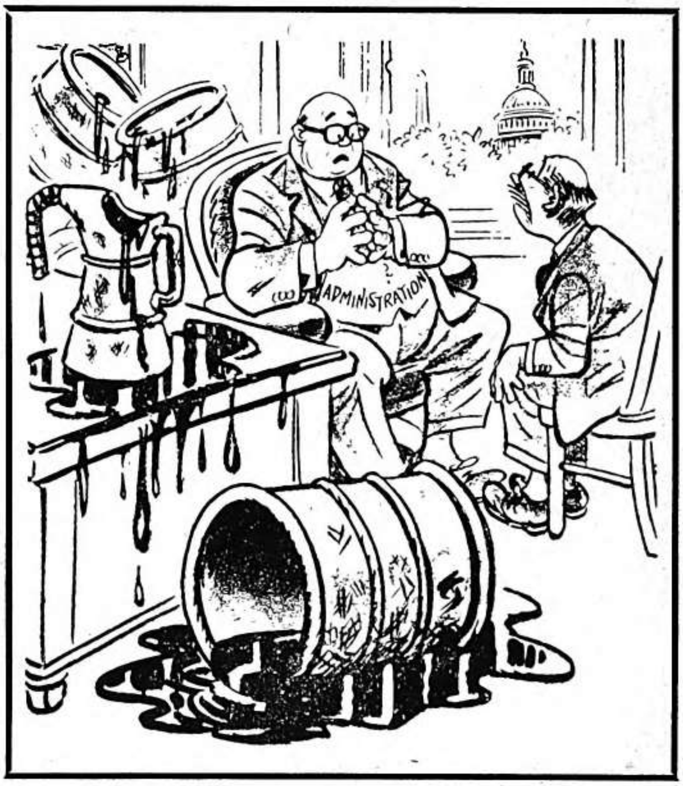
"Herbert Hoover, Jr., former Under Secretary of State, returned to the State Department as a part-time consultant on oil imports and Middle East affairs."

(U. P., 7-1-57)

★

"Herbert Hoover, Jr., who is retiring from his job as Number One to John Foster Dulles at the State Department, has agreed to go to the Middle East to act as a special 'adviser' to King Saud on behalf of President Eisenhower . . ."

(Sefton Delmer, Daily Express, 2-12-57)



"YOU SAY YOU HAVE THIS IMPRESSION THAT YOU KEEP SMELLING OIL?"

Herblock, Courtesy, Washington Post

"Der Weg"

Dr. Johann von Leers and the Ex-Mufti

All-out support for Egypt is proclaimed in the German Nazi journal still published in Buenos Aires, *Der Weg*. Whatever may be thought of Colonel Nasser's action in nationalising the Suez Canal, he was right, says an article in the September 1956 issue, and all blame must lie with "the hare-brained policies of some Western Powers." (Pleasure is expressed at the fact that "step by step the imperialist powers are being deprived of what they once grabbed and through generations exploited.") Conveying their "sincere wishes" to the Arabs in their "faithful struggle," the German Nazis in Argentina affirm the "inconquerable hope" that "this new rebellion will catch on among our own people."

It will be remembered that already last year (see this Bulletin, September-December 1955) one of the *Weg's* most prominent contributors, Dr. Johann von Leers, now in the employ of Colonel Nasser's foreign propaganda services in Cairo welcomed the Arabs' "struggle for independence" on the ground that "anything calculated to destroy the Democratic-Communist world tyranny forced upon us in 1945 is a clarion call of freedom to us Germans." He was pleased to think that "the idea behind the rising of Arab nationalism" was "to prepare for the approaching struggle against the oppressor Powers."

"Jewish Bolshevism"

Presumably he does not now include among the oppressor Powers Soviet Russia. But it is interesting to recall how, true to the doctrine of "Mein Kampf," he used to denounce "Jewish Bolshevism" whenever Hitler prepared for fresh aggression. One wonders what he thinks now of Cairo as he wrote in 1938 about Prague: "That place has really become a branch office of Moscow, just as Moscow is a branch office of World Jewry. It is often by no means easy to distinguish where Czech propaganda ends and Bolshevist propaganda begins. They shade off into one another, working hand in hand." (*Hakenkreuz-Banner,* Mannheim, 23-9-38).

Leers probably owes his present employment in Cairo to the good offices of the ex-Mufti who keeps in close contact with *Der Weg*. In the January 1953 issue he had complimented Leers on his "very important work in favour of the traditional friendship between the German and Arab Nation." Now (August 1956) he compliments *Der Weg* on having "always championed the Arabs' righteous cause against the powers of darkness embodied in World Jewry."

In the course of an interview with him, printed in the same issue, the ex-Mufti is stated to have denounced "the support given to the Zionists by the Christian churches in some European countries, especially Germany." "Are they going to call for a crusade against Islam?", he blandly asked. The interviewer remarks: "The new anti-Islam tendency, especially among Protestant theologians, is well known and being carefully and suspiciously watched. We clearly see the parallels between German nationalism and the Arab struggle for freedom, both nations writhing under the same imperialist oppression," etc.

"The Old Paganism"

Der Weg recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. In a leading article, No. 7-8, August 1956, the editor, Eberhard Fritsch, explains how he had always hoped to keep alive the "fire" of Nazi "truculence." If he were to sum up what it was that caused people to read his journal, he would say, he writes, "it is the old paganism that was aroused in them."

A characteristic representative of that paganism is Dr. J. von Leers. In his anniversary contribution, on "The New World Age," he forecasts the end of the Christian era, as he had already done in a booklet 22 years ago ("Der Kardinal und die Germanen"). He thinks that "it will soon be impossible for people performing miracles with hypnotism, spiritual healing, telepathy and occultism, to be fobbed off with the tribal god Jehovah and to force their new piety into old bottles."

A reference to the "dying faiths" which, through their "neglect," had caused "the reactions of National Socialism and Bolshevism," is also contained in a long Open Letter to the Editor by Hans Grimm, the author, who rehashes most of his sanctimonious tricks of white-washing Nazism. The German people's "will to live and to assert itself," he writes, had "to a terrifying degree been reduced by the much invoked repentance."

In its devout effort to defend the Nazis cause, *Der Weg* does not mind representing Hitler who had always boasted of his infallibility, as a fool who was deceived by "thieves within the house . . ."

An interview with Léon Degrelle, the Belgian quisling, is printed, on the occasion of his 50th birthday, in the journal of the "Belgian Social Movement," *Courrier du Continent*, July 1956. . . .

The September 1956 issue of *Der Weg*, Buenos Aires, which reprints this from the Belgian paper, also carries a leading article by Sir Oswald Mosley, the British Fascist Chief.

Contact in the U. S. A.

The *Weg* publishing firm, Dürer Verlag, has a "United Nations Correspondent" in New York. He is H. Keith Thompson, describing himself as a "journalist and public relations counsel," who was mentioned as a joint director of "Le Blanc Publications" in the *Wiener Library Bulletin*, No. 1-2, 1956. On October 1, 1956, he sent a telegram to Admiral Doenitz to mark "the occasion of his release from 11 years of illegal confinement by the 'Allies' for 'war crimes'." In this telegram, Thompson referred to the "despicable Nuremberg proceedings brought about by the criminal co-guilt of the U. S. A. and world Jewry."

An appeal in October to the American News Company to discontinue distribution in the United States of *Der Weg* remained unanswered. In letters to Mr. Henry Garfinkel, President of the American News Company, the American Jewish Congress described *Der Weg* as a "mouthpiece of present-day Hitlerism." (*Condensed, Courtesy, The Wiener Library*)

Two War-Commanders on War and Peace

The following quotations have very exceptional meaning, coming as they do from two national heroes: the French victor of the two decisive Marne battles of World War I, Marshal Foch, a deeply devout Catholic, and Field Marshal Hindenburg, the vanquished general in this campaign, whose insolent words reveal all of the unchanged mentality of Prussianism.

Because the "spirit" of Hindenburg continues as part of the "equipment" of the German officer, his words assume added importance in the face of German rearmament.

Die Oesterreichische Nation.

Marshal Foch (on the centenary of Napoleon's death, 1921):

"Napoleon had to fall, because he forgot that no man is God, that the nation is above the individual, that morals stand above the man, and that peace is enthroned above war."

Hindenburg (in an interview with U. S. Captain MacMahon, May 15, 1923):

"We will take revenge, even if it will take 100 *years, for history repeats itself, and what I want more than anything in this world, is, that I myself can take up arms against France."*

Foch:

"As if our nation could live on glory instead of by work! As if in a decent world the moral concept would not prevail over power, depending solely upon force, no matter how ingenious!"

Hindenburg:

"War cannot be conducted with sentimentalism. The more bitter a war is conducted, the more humane it is in reality. War agrees with me like a rest cure at a spa.

Foch:

"It is the absolute duty of all, a duty higher than the command of victorious armies: to serve the people for its happiness, just as the people believe in itself; to help justice attain the upper hand. For, above war, there is peace."

Hindenburg (addressing the "Stahlhelm" in Gross-Schwuelper):

"You are young people and you have played the Triumphal Entry of Paris march very well for me. But I hope, that you will play this march at some time in the future, where it belongs, at the right place, where I have already been in 1870."

Foch ("Soldatenworte):

"The wisest man will err, if, in questions of decisions affecting humanity, he depends only upon his own views and insight and distances himself from the moral law of society, which is founded upon respect for the individual and the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, the basis of our culture, as it was conceived by Christianity."

"A pattern of peril develops in British policy towards Germany.

"First the Government agrees to rearming the Germans. And now Mr. Macmillan assures them that Britain also supports their ambition to reunite with Eastern Germany.

"He tells them: 'We shall do everything we can to help you.'

"Britain should do nothing at all to further this dangerous German ambition.

"It is bad enough that Britain should ever have been led into accepting German rearmament. But this new commitment is even worse.

"For what is the danger? That one day the Germans will use their new guns to fight for their old lands. And then Britain will be dragged in to help rescue these allies of hers from the Russians.

"There is only one safe policy for Britain to adopt towards the Germans. No reunification. No rearmament. No commitments at all."

(Daily Express, London, 5-9-57)

"Of course, there's no such thing as the German Riviera. But with an apt sardonic turn of phrase, the French today call their Cote d'Azur by another name—Cote d'Allemagne, or the German coast.

"For the Germans, who are collectively and individually the richest people in Europe, have this summer almost replaced the Americans as the No. 1 tourists here. . . .

"The recent headlines show the power that Germany commands and which gives their tourists today a special ascendacy—" 'Dulles to Work With Adenauer On Arms Plans. . . . U. S. to Seek Bonn's View Before Making Any Accord With Russia on Europe. . . . Germans to Be Consulted by U. S. . . . Atomic Arms for U. S. Forces in Germany. . . . Krupp to Enter Atom Field. . . ."

"But what one wonders most objectively of all is: Where do all the Germans come from? In the past year, one has seen them in multitudes in Cairo, in Lebanon, Syria, even in Iran and Iraq. Passing through Germany last week, they seemed to be more numerous than ever before in the Fatherland. The roads through France are jammed with them. . . .

(Bill Richardson, N. Y. Post, 6-23-57)

Nasser's "Expendables"

It seems that modern dictatorships, by their very nature, thrive at the expense of their strongest supporters. Both Hitler and Stalin turned their friends and allies—domestic and foreign—into obedient satellites. When this was achieved, they liquidated the leaders who had helped them, and replaced them with their own henchmen. Those who remember the prewar Hitler and Stalin period, will also recall how these dictators cooperated with the various kings of the Balkan countries only to undermine their positions and oust them at the opportune moment.

The "Expendables"

Egypt's "strong man," Gamal Abdul Nasser, is filled with the same "gratitude" toward the Arab Kings. They are pawns —his "expendables." Yet, Nasser would have never reached the position he now enjoys, without the concrete help and financial support of the Arab Kings.

If the Kings ignored the fate which befell a number of European rulers, one would expect them to sit up and take notice when one of "their own," former King Farouk, was sacked by the Egyptian dictator. However, this did not happen. Instead, they heaped praise on the "bright young man." There appeared to be no doubt in their minds that Nasser's sole ambition was to revive the ancient glories of Islam. After all, it was he who outlined the grand design which made such a marked impression on the Kings.

"When I consider the 80 million Muslims in Indonesia, and the 50 million in China, and the millions in Malaya, Siam and Burma, and the nearly 100 million in Pakistan, and the more than 100 million in the Middle East, and the 50 million in the Soviet Union, together with the other millions in far-flung parts of the world—when I consider these hundreds of millions united by a single creed, I emerge with a sense of the tremendous possibilities which we might realize through the cooperation of all these Muslims, a cooperation going not beyond the bounds of their natural loyalty to their own countries, but nonetheless enabling them and their brothers in faith to wield power wisely and without limits." (Egypt's Liberation by Premier Gamal Abdul Nasser, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., page 113.)

Whatever aspirations the Arab Kings may have had with regard to this project, it goes without saying that Nasser had no intentions of taking a back seat. Possessed with the "Fuehrer complex," he wrote: "And now I go back to that wandering mission in search of a hero to play it. Here is the role. Here are the lines, and here is the stage. We alone, by virtue of our place, can perform the role" (ibid., page 114). In Nasser's self-appointed role "supporting actors" are superfluous. This holds especially true for the Kings who are logically regarded by Nasser as a barrier to his insatiable ambitions.

Discussing one of the chief elements with allegedly prevented the Arabs from destroying Israel in 1947-48, Nasser writes, "... then, each in its own internal affairs encountered the same factors, the same ruling forces that had brought about their defeat, and forced them to bow their heads in humiliation and shame" (page 95).

Therefore, it is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Arab Kings are regarded by Nasser as an intolerable stumbling block. It is they who must submit completely to his will. But submission is only a temporary respite. They will live on his sufferance until the day that he prepares his assassins for the coup de grace.

Former French Premier Mollet referred to Nasser's book as the new "Mein Kampf" wherein an oriental Hitler lays bare his boldest dreams. The French statesman was not playing on words. Nasser's book shows all the earmarks of German geopolitical theory and even terminology. Nasser writes about the allegedly outdated concept of political boundaries and national states (page 84) and stresses the need for "living space" (page 85). In developing his thesis he delineates the three "circles": Arab, Islamic and African. Nasser tells us that they are tangent to each other through the center which is Egypt. To hold the three "circles" firmly and to wield them as a gigantic geopolitical unit which can, if it wills, strangulate the world, is Egypt's holy mission "since no one else is qualified to play it" (page 88.).

King Hussein vs. Nasser

The crisis that shook Jordan in the Spring of this year has its roots in Nasser's dreams. Like Hitler, the Egyptian dictator operates according to plan. When Hitler marched into the Rhineland, some people thought that this was merely the act of a German patriot asserting "the God-given rights" of his people. If those trusting souls had seriously studied "Mein Kampf" they would have recognized that Hitler's move was but a preparatory step toward wider pickings.

Nasser's seizure of Suez was also praised by many people as the expression of a legitimate national aspiration. A careful examination of Nasser's writings shows that the grab was not the work of an Egyptian patriot but the initial thrust of a man who desires nothing less than to be the lord and master of the whole Islamic world and its resources. It was a move to prepare the groundwork for the Jordan "Anschluss" with Syria and Egypt—the nucleus for the Arab "circle."

That Nasser and his strategists were working day and night toward this goal was hardly a secret. Yet, the king of Jordan, entranced by the thought of becoming a "big" king, seemed oblivious to the facts of life.

Nasser had carefully prepared the attack. The governmental apparatus in Jordan was honeycombed with his agents and stooges. However, it seems that the rather crude methods of Nasser began to tell on the king. Toward the beginning of the crisis Hussein found his tongue. He warned his then Prime Minister Suleiman Nabulsi that the Communist danger had grown. There were individuals, he declared, "who feign loyalty to Arab nationalism, indulge in hullabaloo, prevarication, falsehood and heroics, thereby seeking to conceal their evil designs against Arab nationalism and the fact that they cooperate with our enemies in misleading the masses and exploiting the people."

Nabulsi contemptuously ignored Hussein for he knew that the King had become more and more isolated since the British had been ousted in March 1956. At that time Hussein was hailed as a great patriot. Actually, the riots and demonstrations resulting in the removal of the British General Glubb as the Chief of the Arab Legion, had been engineered by Egyptian agents together with an assortment of pro-Communists and Nasserites who had infiltrated Jordan's government. Hussein's difficulties were compounded by the fact that by losing the British subsidy of 30 million pounds annually, he had placed himself at the mercy of Nasser who had solemnly pledged that Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia would make up a great part of the deficit.

While the noose around Hussein's neck was drawn more tightly, Prime Minister Nabulsi, an ardent devotee to the Nasser cause, was already speaking of the end of Jordan. On one occasion he proclaimed flatly, "Jordan's destiny is to disappear." Another time he said, "Jordan cannot live alone. Our intentions were from the beginning to work for Arab unity. The first step is a sort of federation and the first phase of federation is to have it between Syria and Jordan . . . Practical negotiations are now making progress . . . There is no longer any doubt that federation is coming."

Nabulsi's words were translated into the demonstrations and riots in April which threatened to overthrow King Hussein. The London Economist (4-27-57) reported how the rioters carried the flags of Jordan, Syria and Egypt. Nasser's picture was most prominent. The main slogan of the mobs was, "Federal Union With Syria and Egypt!" It was these initial demonstrations which broke Nasser's spell over Hussein. By the end of April the King, with great courage smashed the conspiracy and the Nasserites fled or were imprisoned.

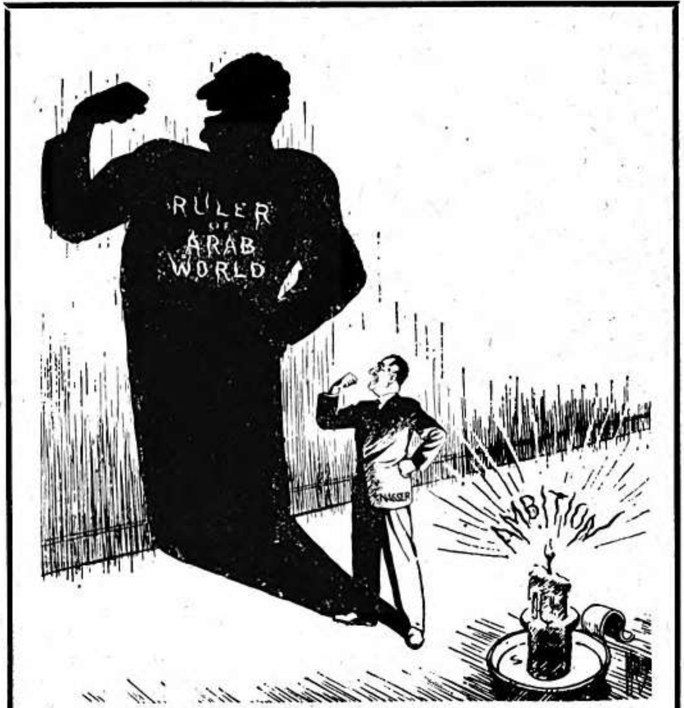
Provocation Through Propaganda

At the beginning of the crisis Nasser was confident of success. Although he regarded Hussein as "an emotional, irresponsible playboy" (New York Times, 4-28-57), he was sure that his loyal followers in Jordan would keep the King in line. Egyptian propaganda reflected the carefulness with which Nasser played his cards during those dramatic days. On April 18, 1957, the Cairo radio reported a commentary from the Syrian newspaper Barada: *"The battle is now tense in Jordan between the forces of imperialism and reaction and the forces of patriotism, and the Jordanian people who are renowned for their gallantry and strength in defense."* The radio also referred to another Syrian newspaper, An-Nasr which said that Hussein should seek the advice of his Arab "friends," i.e., King Saud and Presidents Al-Quwwatli (Syria) and Nasser. The paper declared that they were the true "trustees" of Jordan and that they were dedicated to helping Hussein achieve complete freedom. *"We do not believe that King Hussein's opinion is different from that of the three leaders or that his means are different from ours."*

Nasser's propagandists were trying to give Hussein the benefit of the doubt. With a condescending air they portrayed him as the innocent victim of an *"alien imperialistic conspiracy."* The Cairo radio (4-22-57) pretended to weep over Hussein's plight and charged that the ousting of Nabulsi and a couple of pro-Nasser generals was really the work of the "imperialists." Yet, even in this broadcast there was already a faint hint that perhaps Hussein himself was no longer willing to toe the mark: *"Is it possible by these torturous means, devoid of honor, sincerety, straightforwardness and respect for the will of the people, to succeed or divert a people from their aims and objectives?"* Hussein's name was not mentioned but this ominous warning was made: *"Those who planned the plot, who participated in it, and those who supported it, will relent sooner than they imagine . . ."*

Thus, Nasser's propagandists shifted to a bolder line as it became apparent that Hussein was "getting out of hand." On April 23, the Egyptian radio denounced what it called the "conspiracy against Jordan." It named the "heroes" of Jordan's independence, i.e., Generals Nuwwar, Huyari and former Prime Minister Nabulsi. Since it was the King who had eliminated this trio from positions of power, the Egyptian propaganda guns were inevitably shifting their sights on the King himself. This was the meaning of the Egyptian radio broadcast on the following day which termed the strife in Jordan *"the struggle of Arabdom."* The broadcaster affirmed that the "Arab nation" was in the midst of the battle in Jordan and that Jordan *"will triumph in the same way the Arab nation has triumphed."*

As the plot against Hussein unfolded with all its ramifications, the King finally took to the radio on April 25, 1957. Though he castigated Israel he also leveled a sharp attack against his Egyptian "friends": *"I had to believe that the slightest duties of cordiality and gratitude would have required our brethren in Egypt to cease at least inciting the people through the press and radio by attacking my person—I who had sworn my blood for the sake of dear Egypt at the time of its catastrophe—and to cease fabricating statements and falsifying utterances in an attempt to plot out the con-*



SEEING THINGS

Cartoon by Marcus, Courtesy, N. Y. Times *spiracy against the throne—the plot which is being investigated by a reliable group headed by a higher ministerial committee, the plot which is confirmed and upheld by the fleeing of certain conspiring officers for fear of being uncovered.*

"I was patient for a long time regarding the mistakes of these Egyptian tongues and pens which attacked and defamed us, which attempted to incite certain of our people against us and destroy the true situation in our country and which released lies, rumors, and propaganda. We were patient and will remains patient, suppressing rage and forgiving (them?) in fulfillment of our promise to Egypt and in maintaining our solidarity, fraternity, Arabdom, and unity. We had hoped that this misleading propaganda would not flare up, spread, and become brutal in a way which has become difficult for our Arab dignity and prestige, and our national heritage to tolerate injustice and wrong."

On April 27, the Egyptian radio toned down—apparently stung by Hussein's accusations. Once again Cairo pretended to shed tears about the dangers to Jordan's independence and security. *"O Arabs,"* an Egyptian radio commentator declared. *"Who is Jordan? Jordan is your country and mine. Jordan is our country, my brother. Jordan is the country of all the Arabs. The independence of Jordan is my independence and yours, my brother. The independence of Jordan is our independence; it is the independence of all Arabs. The security of Jordan is your security and mine, my brother. The security of Jordan is the security of all the Arabs."*

The "new" approach emphasized that Egypt had not been interfering in Jordan but was only naturally solicitous for her welfare. *"We of the Voice of the Arabs,"* the Cairo radio said, *"have no right to speak in the name of Jordan. Jordan has its own nationalism . . ."*

In this connection it will be recalled that on April 18, the Egyptian radio had named Nasser as one of the trustees of Jordan's fate, but Hussein's surprising show of defiance obliged the Egyptian propagandists to disclaim any thought of intervention. However, the change was of short duration for on May 4, the Cairo radio once again began to employ threats and innuendoes: *"Those who concocted the Jordanian plot did not take into consideration the fact that the day will come when the plotters will be disgraced, when everything will be exposed before the eyes of world public opinion, and when the mask will be taken off the faces of those who plotted and committed crimes without heeding the lessons of history. Truth can never be suppressed, and crime will never pay."* The following day (5-5-57) the Cairo radio sought to discredit Hussein's policies: *"The Jordanien budget, which the present government will submit, cannot be described as a budget of an Arab state proceeding in the caravan of liberation. It is a novel budget, the main item of which is American aid given to this Arab country as a reward for those who hatched the imperialist plot and for the bold measures they took against the free and struggling people."*

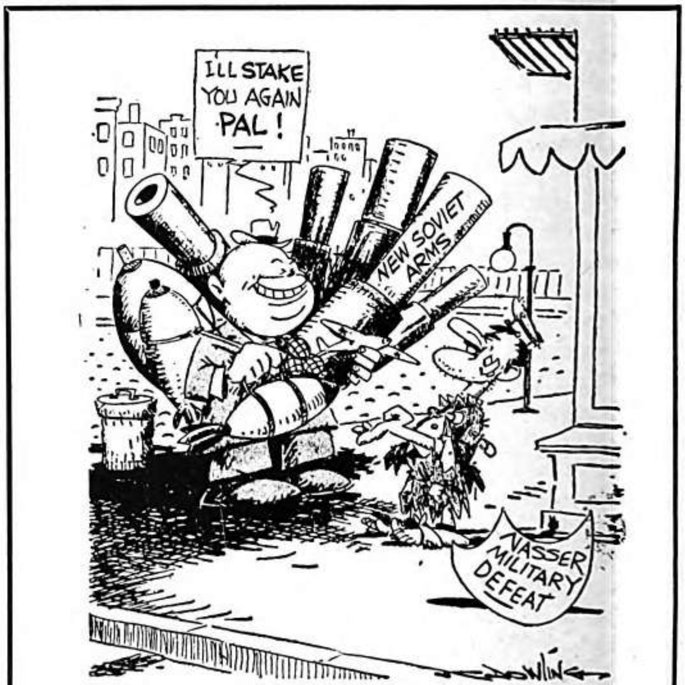
On May 8, it became clear even to Egyptians that the King was winning out. The Cairo radio was incensed and railed against "the imperialists and their stooges." As if it were warning Hussein directly, the radio quoted Nasser: *"We shall antagonize those who antagonize us and we shall be peaceful to those who are peaceful to us."*

The Egyptian Home Service, broadcasting on May 10, deplored that Jordan *"by virtue of the plots of imperialism and its lackeys has been transformed into a state about which the imperialists deem it their right to speak with malice . . ."* It charged that Jordan's status had changed *"after it permitted the supporters of reaction and imperialism to raise their hands and stand in the way of the people's will."* The broadcast concluded with the warning that the "people" would yet emerge victorious "for the sake of the whole liberated Arab world."

Exposing Nasser

However, by this time the Jordanian propaganda machine had largely outgrown its fears and inhibitions and struck back. It noted that at one time the Egyptians would praise Arab leaders when they did the bidding of Cairo and would denounce them when they strayed from Nasser's camp. The broadcast referred to the stand taken by the Egyptian press on the crisis in Jordan. It charged that the Egyptian papers relied on information of traitors to Jordan and accused Egypt of having lied about the true conditions obtaining in the capital of Jordan. The broadcast noted that when General Hyari first accepted the post Chief of Staff under Hussein, the Egyptian press smeared him as an "imperialist stooge." On the other hand, when he fled to Damascus the same paper praised him.

The Jordanian radio commentator, understating the case, noted that this kind of propaganda based on false reports and provocation, "harms relations between Egypt and the other Arab states." In conclusion the commentator said: *"We request that the Egyptian Government and the Ministry of Guidance in Egypt reimpose supervision of the Egyptian press and the Voice of the Arabs broadcast so as to avoid in the future any misunderstanding between sister Egypt and any other Arab state."* As was to be expected Cairo, by this time, arrogantly ignored Jordan's rather mild protest of interference.



SKID ROW

Courtesy, N. Y. Herald Tribune

This forced Hussein's hand and on May 11, the Jordanian newspaper Al-Urdan broke wide open the conspiracy hatched by Nasser and his cohorts. It was a plot, the newspaper declared, which not only involved the overthrow of King Hussein but also the thrones of the kingdoms of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Libya. The newspaper named names of key Egyptian agents and also revealed the identity of certain representatives from the various Soviet embassies in the Middle East. The people of Jordan were told the pertinent facts concerning the nefarious role of Egyptian representatives in Jordan. King Hussein was their target and one of the leading organizers of the plot against the King was the Egyptian Military Attaché Fuad Hilal. Together with the Egyptian Consul General in Jerusalem he was expelled from Jordan. The expulsion deepened the rift between Jordan and Egypt and showed that the King had become disenchanted with Nasser's Pan-Arabic schemes.

In recounting the "zigs and zags" of the Egyptian propaganda line during the crisis, one thing becomes clear, i.e., Nasser strove with all his might to control the events in that country so that his dream of absorbing Jordan would be fully realized. It was a cat and mouse game—first pretending to be concerned about Hussein's difficulties—pretending that Egypt had no desire to interfere but on the contrary wished Hussein well. When Hussein sought to clean out the nest of Nasserites the Cairo radio began to squeal like a stuck pig, yet even then direct attacks against the King were avoided. However, the logic of events in Jordan could no longer contain the feeling of outrage which grew in the breasts of Nasser and his co-conspirators. They threatened Hussein and even now seek in every possible way to turn his people against him.

The Jordan story has had a profound effect on recent developments in the Middle East. Like a flash of lightning it cleared up the heavy atmosphere of confusion and illusion made impenetrable by the cunning propaganda and bold activities of Nasser and his henchmen.

King Saud vs. Nasser

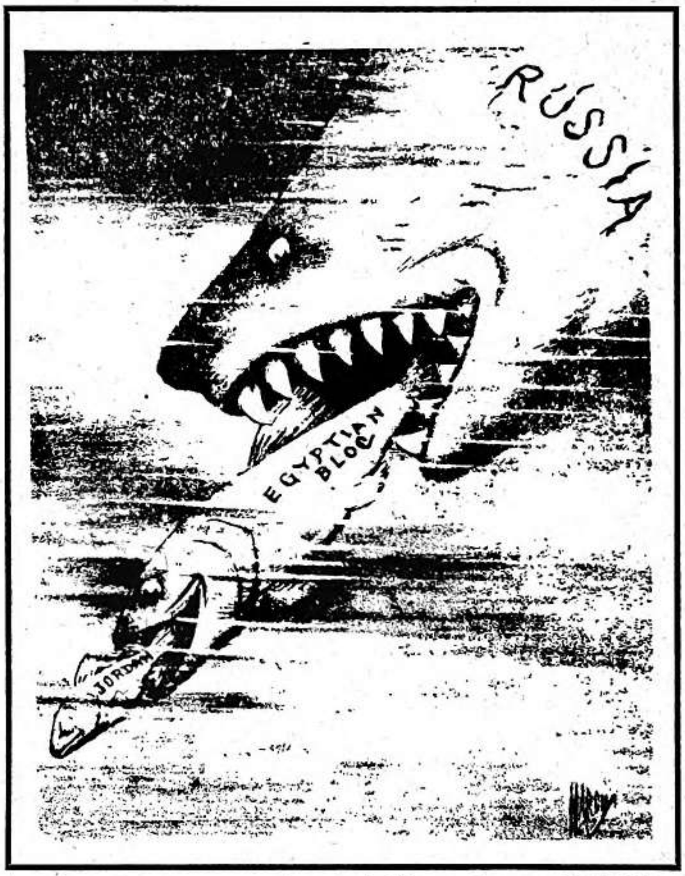
The crisis in Jordan would have never reached such grave dimensions, had it not been for the fact that Nasser not only received help from the minions of Moscow but also from King Saud of Saudi Arabia. Saud, too, had sat at the feet of the "bright young man" from Cairo. Nasser fascinated him and undoubtedly the King dreamt about the day when the whole Moslem world would lay prostrate before his throne. It was therefore relatively easy for King Saud to provide millions of dollars for the terrorists and propagandists who flooded the Arab world under the direction of Nasser and his Nazi advisers. It was Saud's money received from the royalties paid by American oil companies, that subsidized the activities of Nasser's men in Jordan.

Events in Jordan shocked King Saud and the confidence which he reposed in Nasser, began to wane. Indeed, it has been reported that after Nasser blocked the Suez Canal thereby cutting off much of Saudi Arabia's oil revenues, the King began to wonder where Nasser's program would lead to. King Saud received his answer in relative short order. According to reliable reports, the King discovered that the Egyptian Military Attaché in his capital had organized and financed a terrorist band whose ultimate target was the King himself. Saud's security police arrested the plotters who were armed with guns, grenades and explosives. The men admitted planning the King's assassination and implicated Col. Ali Khashaba, Egypt's Military Attaché. According to Time Magazine (5-13-57), the King was outraged and expelled a number of Egyptians and ex-Palestinians. "He then backed Hussein to the limit."

Nasser was dumbstruck. The idea that he might lose Saud's subsidies made him desperate. According to Joseph Alsop (New York Herald Tribune, 5-6-57), top Nasser representatives sought out King Saud in the very shadow of the sacred Kaaba in Mecca. One Egyptian member of the delegation swore that Nasser was innocent as a newborn babe! Nasser did not deny that the plot existed but disavowed personal responsibility! By this time even Saud seems to have reached the point of understanding that he might suffer the fate of other leaders, including King Michael of Rumania and Jan Mazeryck of Checkoslovakia. Reports in the press now tell us that Saud has definite second thoughts with respect to Nasser's dream world. Saud who financed Nasser in Jordan hoping that he would be richly rewarded for the money; Saud who had helped Nasser in spreading terror throughout the Middle East; Saud who paid for the riots against the King of Iraq, was sobering up at last.

Nasser Reaches for Iraq

The Government of Jordan had accused Nasser of fomenting rebellion against other thrones in the Middle East. These facts have been published in the West last year. The



Cartoon by Marcus, Courtesy, N. Y. Times noted British correspondent Sefton Delmer reported to the London Daily Express (1-23-56) that the King of Iraq had proceeded to purge his army, having learned that Nasser had infiltrated "the officer corps with the aim of overthrowing Iraq's anti-Soviet Premier Nuri, forcing the abdication of the King and establishing the same kind of military dictatorship in Iraq as in Egypt."

As in Jordan and Saudi Arabia the Egyptians worked through their military attaché. Col. Mahmoud Gamel Al Hinawi, Cairo's Military Attaché in Baghdad, was responsible for the operation. Only the quick and resolute action of the Iraqui Government uncovered the plot which resulted in the arrest of Col. Hinawi's number one agent, the German trained Egyptian Commando Officer Cpt. Mohamed Ali Issa. Commenting on the plot, Delmer wrote: "Yes, it is a strange world when ultra-rich princes of Saudi-Arabia distribute dollars they have received from American oil companies to Communist agents in order that the Communists may spread chaos and anarchy in the neighbour country."

Undermining Libya

The King of Libya has also found his friend Nasser a bit difficult. Nasser's agents are omnipresent in Libya—as they are in other countries of that area. The London Economist (4-13-57) noted that many of the townspeople in Libya and especially the youth "feel the attraction of the Pan-Arab ideas and methods of which Col. Nasser has made himself the exponent."

Nasser, of course, has fully exploited these Pan-Arab sentiments and his agents have distributed tons of propaganda material throughout the country. The propaganda has been markedly effective to the extent that "humble Cyrenaican parents can be seen urging their children to lisp the name of Gamal Abdul Nasser as they gaze at portraits of the Egyptian leader in the windows." Nevertheless, King Idris has also become uneasy. The Egyptian military attaché in that country, Ishmail Sadek, organized a so-called "Front For The Struggle Of The Libyan People." Ignoring the fact that he was but a guest of Libya, he publicly accused the Government of King Idris of being "the servant of imperialism." He backed up his charge by smuggling in at least 28 cases of automatic arms which were hidden in the Egyptian Embassy for future distribution at the appropriate time. The activities of Sadek impelled King Idris to take a stand. The Government sent him out of the country along with a number of "teachers" supplied by the Egyptian Government to instruct young Libyans.

Nasser Is "Pro-Nasser"

Perhaps some people who like to indulge in historical analogies might want to depict Nasser as Egypt's Thomas Jefferson resolutely opposed to monarchy. However, such comparisons are preposterous and misleading. It is a known fact, for example, that Moscow, too, has disposed of kings but who would want to compare Stalin with Thomas Jefferson? "Pro-republicanism has no part in Nasser's philosophy. The Lebanese Government which is a genuine republic, can testify to that. The Egyptian dictator, under the guise of fighting "imperialism," has been busily at work trying to undermine Lebanon and its republican institutions.

The Lebanese Government has already exposed this conspiracy hatched by the Egyptian Ambassador Abdel Hamid Ghalib. The Ambassador has had large funds at his disposal to interfere in the political life of Lebanon. Joseph Alsop, reporting in the New York Herald Tribune (5-20 and 5-22-57), states that the Egyptian Embassy in Beirut is the chief political headquarter for the pro-Egyptian forces. These elements have tried to create turmoil and civil war during the recent elections, but the Lebanese leaders who apparently have been wise to Nasser's designs for a much longer time than the Arab kings, have successfully smashed the plot.

The "Education" Angle

Nasser's drive to subvert the regimes of the Arab kings not only involves terror, assassination and civil war, it also includes a carefully laid out program to win over Arab youth. The London Economist (4-27-57) devoted an informative article on this subject under the title "Egypt's Empire-Builders." Realizing the growing urge on the part of the Arab youth to gain literacy and taking advantage of the fact that in most Arab countries there are few native born teachers who are equipped to meet the educational needs of the people, Nasser has developed a corps of teachers throughout the Arab world. While the standard and quality of Egyptian pedagogy may be inferior to that of western standards, it is still high by the standards of the Middle East. *"In each oil-bearing country, therefore, the protagonist of a 'greater Arab nation' under Egyptian management has an instrument ready to hand—the schoolmaster for the new school, not to mention the inspector for the schools systems as a whole."* Even in the tiny sheikdom of Kuwait the number of Egyptian teachers is more than double that of native teachers.

While not all of the Egyptian teachers in the various Arab countries are pro-Nasser, the London Economist notes that everywhere they are interspersed *"with members of Egypt's Cultural Mission—men and women glib with patter from*

NASSER'S NETWORK

"Nasser is rapidly building up a new spy-network in Arab countries in place of his badly discredited military attaches—expelled from five Arab countries during the last 15 months for espionage and sabotage.

"Most advanced is his reorganization in Libya-area holding best British and U. S. air bases in North Africa.

"Here the new spy chief is Tewfik Shallabi, ostensibly a modest embassy archivist.

"(His predecessor, Colonel Sadek, the military attache, was expelled in November.)

"Shallabi's deputy is an Egyptian brigadier named Muhamad Tabei. But Tabei is in mufti, listed as a consul.

"The Egyptians have at their service a platoon of Libyan agents indoctrinated in Egypt.

"Shallabi and Tabei have ample funds and they are using them lavishly. Three new Egyptian clubs have been opened to replace the one closed by the Libyans.

"Newspapers and journalists are being bought to print anti-Western propaganda.

"A special effort is being made to buy leading trade unionists so that control of Libya's trades unions may pass into Egyptian and Soviet control.

"My information is that they are proving successful."

(Sefton Delmer, Daily Express, London, 6-13-57)

Cairo's Ministry of National Guidance and capable ('like the one rotten mano in a basket,' as an Iraqui put it) of injecting into a whole school the tincture of disloyalty to the local ruler or government." From time to time some of these teachers are dismissed for becoming too enthusiastic over Nasser and for paying little heed to their duties as teachers. As noted in the case of Libya, a number of the 600 Egyptian teachers in that country were deported. The same holds true for Iraq where groups of teachers have been dismissed although there are still about 500 of them in the country.

The Economist observes that even when the more ardent Nasserites among the teachers are removed, there are still jobs in other Middle East countries. "A point that at once strikes anyone who scrutinizes the efficient work they are doing, is their proprietary behavior. 'We are doing this and that. We intend to run a university here.' Who is we? Egypt's greater Arab nation, not the Kuwaitis." Wherever they go, these Egyptian teachers who are subsidized by Cairo, faithfully spread the gospel preached by the "bright young man." Hitler saw the value of this kind of operation and succeeded in establishing powerful fifth columns in many countries abroad as an adjunct to his military plans.

The amazing influence that Nasser's teachers exert throughout the Arabic world, prompts the Economist to ask the "$64,000 question": *"How far is a ruler such as King Saud, or the Sheikh of Kuwait, aware of the anomaly whereby he is paying Egyptians to teach the next generation of his subjects that thrones and hereditary rule are out of date, that the western race that has created the wealth that produces superb classrooms and self-wiping blackboards, is fit only to be booed, and that a role of importance for the Arabs hangs on creating a greater Arab nation run in subservience to Cairo?"* To what extent the question can be answered, only the future will tell. If the rate of present developments continues, the kings may have to give their answer sooner than they expect.

"To the Bitter End"

Nasser's role in Jordan has helped to dispel many illusions. The kings are no longer as comfortable as they were when Nasser first came to them. His initial failure in Jordan was in no small part due to the support that Hussein received from the Kings of Saudi Arabia and Iraq. This cold fact must have made a profound impression on the Egyptian dictator and may induce him to take more drastic measures.

Will the Kings be prepared for the coming counter attack? Nasser's next move may be camouflaged by the smokescreen of a new drive on Israel. The "bright young man" has been adept in employing the bogey of Israel as a means of whipping recalcitrants back in line. Will the Kings dare to penetrate the anti-Israel fog which has already led them to the brink of self-destruction?

There is no doubt that the struggle between Nasser and the Arab Kings will continue to the bitter end. Nasser will never give up his dream to rule the Arab world and only the Kings stand in his way. If the Egyptian dictator is to succeed, he must eliminate them.

AMONG NASSER'S ELITE

"For the Just-So-We-Know-Where-We-Stand-Dep't.: Back in 1938, when the Hitler hordes putched their way into Austria, a Dr. Herman Neubacher, engineer and high-ranking S.S. official, was named Mayor of Vienna. He was well remembered by the populace for having had a hand in the assassination of the nation's beloved President Dollfuss. In '45 Neubacher was sentenced by the Tito government of Yugoslavia to twenty years as a war criminal—and released after 5 years. What is Neubacher's current assignment? He's one of the most trusted advisers of Dictator Nasser of Egypt..."

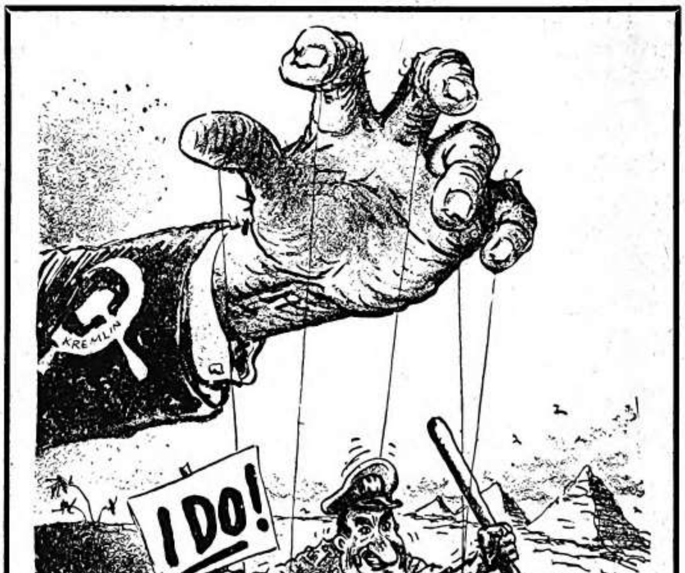
(Hy Gardner, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3-12-57)

WHAT HE WANTS

". . . A few months of Nasser's bluster and plotting have done more to destroy his prestige than years of delicate diplomacy.

"For he has revealed to the Arab lands which he aspired to lead that he has nothing to offer them. On the contrary, it is he who wants something from them—their oil and their independence . . .

(Daily Express, London, 6-15-57)



WHO CONTROLS THE SUEZ CANAL?

Courtesy, New York Herald Tribune

Views on the Middle East

"The Arab states don't want the refugees settled, for if they were they would lose their most precious propaganda piece against Israel. As Ralph Galloway, until recently head of United Nations relief in Jordan, has said, 'The Arab states do not want to solve the refugee problem. They want to keep it an open sore, as an affront to the United Nations and as a weapon against Israel. Arab leaders don't give a damn whether the refugees live or die.'

"Recently, Henry Labouisse, director of U. N. R. W. A. declared that the Arab states have placed so many obstacles in the way of U. N. help for their own fellow-Arabs that it may be necessary soon to suspend such relief entirely. The Arab aim is to foster in the refugees the notion that return to their former homes is the only desideratum."

(James A. Pike, N. Y. Times, 5-19-57)

* * *

". . . The crack-up of the Arab alliance so proudly proclaimed at Cairo only a few months ago provides convincing evidence that events in the Middle East are not turning out to Nasser's liking. Jordan and Saudi Arabia have rejected his brand of leadership as well as the Soviet influence that lies behind it. They have found that the United States stands ready to offer help and support with no strings attached.

"But even if Nasser's ambitions have been temporarily checked they have by no means been crushed. Indeed, the setbacks administered to them may well have the effect of pushing the Egyptians and Syrians into further dangerous adventures . . ."

(Editorial Excerpt, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 6-18-57)

* * *

". . . It must be clear, especially from the recent disclosures on the Aswan Dam, that Dulles regards Nasser not as a friend but as someone to be overcome and brought to terms. Dulles' defect is that he dare not will the direct means to achieve the end he desires. Caught between his religious heritage, his legal training, and his Machiavellian self-image, he must always seek the means that will square all three.

"As a result he is always seeking policies that will enable him to be a legal expert, to pose as a great moral champion, and at the same time use the most cynical duplicity in the history of American foreign relations. If the results prove disastrous, as they have on the canal, he falls back on the belief that the judgment of history will prove him right . . .

"My own theory about Dulles is that he is a vain man who has a glory-image of himself as a great adventurous diplomat, even when the truth is that most of his moves are confused and often contradictory ones, taken without any real pattern or any basic philosophy . . .

"To be sure, some of his gambits—including the one on Nasser have proved disastrous blunders. The double-take on the Aswan Dam led by a fateful inevitability to the Suez war, which Dulles then tried to retrieve by betraying our allies and stripping both them and ourselves of bargaining power—which is where we are now . . ."

(Max Lerner, N. Y. Post, 4-3-57—4-21-57)

* * *

"When United States aid was being pumped into Egypt Nasser planted the idea that Egypt might be anxious to join a western defense alliance if only the British would give up Suez first. And so, under pressure from the United States, the British got out of Suez and Nasser immediately nationalized the canal. Now we are witnessing the results of a new mistake in foreign policy.

"For a long time Nasser was a darling to many of our diplomats and State Department officials even after he made his arms deal with the Soviet Union. And he still continues to get aid from us . . ."

(American Taxpayers Association, 1-57)

* * *

"It is time that we stopped being frightened by false stereotypes and propaganda clichés about the Arabs and the Middle East. The illusion of a united, all-powerful Arab world ready to act as one force in a holy war against the outsider has been shattered by the events since October 29. Words like colonialism, imperialism, and Arab nationalism have taken on an unwarranted power to frighten and intimidate . . .

"The policy of arming the Arab rulers which was begun by this administration is one of the major factors in the Middle East crisis and a contributory reason for the state in which we now find ourselves. This policy was responsible for stirring up the rivalry between Iraq and Egypt to a new high pitch and tempted Colonel Nasser to open the gates of the Middle East to the Soviet Union, thus giving the Kremlin the opportunity she had been seeking in vain for more than a century. The extent of Communist penetration of Egypt, the large numbers of so-called technicians, and the vast stores of Soviet-bloc arms that were built up in Egypt shocked the free world when they were exposed by the Israeli sweep across the Sinai . . ."

(Cong. James Roosevelt, Congressional Record, 2-14-57)

* * *

"Secretary Dulles has a painful propensity for toying with brinkmanship, but in our opinion he has reached the brink of another lower depth when he exposed himself as an apologist for King Saud's discrimination against American citizens of the Jewish faith.

"Mr. Dulles has gained for himself the reputation of being not only a semantic contortionist, but an historic distortionist. Some months ago he tried to explain away Saudi Arabian discrimination against Jews with the wholly false rationalization that the Arab animosity against Jews derived from the fact that Jews had killed their Prophet Mohammed. Now he has come to Arab defense with the preposterous thesis that King Saud's continued discrimination against American Jews was partly motivated by the fact that he was discriminated against by New York City when it refused to give him an official reception on his recent visit to the United States.

"Since Mr. Dulles did not quote the King as having said that, it must be assumed that the effort to equate New York City with Jews was the exclusive brainchild of our Secretary of State. Secondly, even a Secretary of State is expected to know that Saudi Arabia's discriminatory policies against Americans of the Jewish faith antedate his visit to this country . . ."

"Mr. Dulles' whitewashing attempt will be rejected not only by the Jewish citizenry of the country, but by decent men of all faiths and colors . . ."

(Seven Arts Feature Syndicate, 5-2-57)

* * *

". . . When this correspondent was in Cairo last summer, another reporter was thrown out of the country for writing that he had met Dr. Johann von Leers, a notorious Nazi propagandist during World War II, and identified him as the head of the Egyptian Government's anti-Israel propaganda work. The report persists, however, that von Leers is in Cairo as a propaganda consultant to the regime.

"It is no secret that the regime has called upon Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, one of Hitler's economic brains, for advice in that field. What is perhaps ironic, however, is that the method which the Communist bloc is using to penetrate Egypt—gaining the country's economic dependence by becoming almost the one and only market for its principal export commodities—strikingly similar to the methods employed by Dr. Schacht to bring Rumania into Hitler's camp . . ."

(Arch Parsons, Jr., N. Y. Herald Tribune, 2-21-57)

* * *

"The greatest and most powerful weapon in world politics today, more powerful than even the H-Bomb, is ready to our hand. I mean the weapon of the appeal to genuine nationalism, as against the brand of Nasser and Khrushchev.

"Yet it is almost wholly, and tragically, an unused weapon. If we fashioned our foreign policy by reason and logic and national interest we would use this unused weapon . . ."

(Max Lerner, N. Y. Post, 4-15-57)

* * *

"The United States brought to bear the full weight of its power and influence to bring about the withdrawal of France and England from Egypt, even as it has now done to bring about Israeli withdrawal.

"It cannot therefore evade the moral and political necessity to use the same power and influence, within and outside the United Nations, to make Nasser desist from blackmailing France, England and Israel. Washington, almost single-handedly, rescued Nasser from total military debacle. Short of sacrificing every shred of honor and prestige, it cannot accept a slap in the face as reward for that service . . .

"Appeasement of Nasser now, in the light of United States and United Nations commitments to Israel—and by implication to France and Britain as well—could only bring nearer and perhaps make inevitable the crisis of war which it seeks to avoid."

(A. N. Spaniel, Chairman, International Latex Corp., N. Y. Times, 3-21-57)

* * *

". . . Israel, which got a legitimate start in life with U. S. doing the mid-wifery, is uniquely the one state in our day threatened with annihilation.

"As proof of its intent, Egypt openly engaged in acts of war against Israel, such as blockading the Strait of Tiran. U. N. hardly more than yawned.

"Is then the new rule for intervention, which U. N. seeks to enforce as a principle, that if a nation formally engages in war, after what it considers due provocation, it must be denied any remedy, any spoils, any possibility of corrective action? To accept that idea must say, in effect, that it is a respectable act to fight and die in self-defense but unpardonable to disarm one's assailant. Absurd, of course, but not more absurd than to call Israel a lawbreaker . . ."

(S. L. A. Marshall, Detroit News, 3-3-57)

* * *

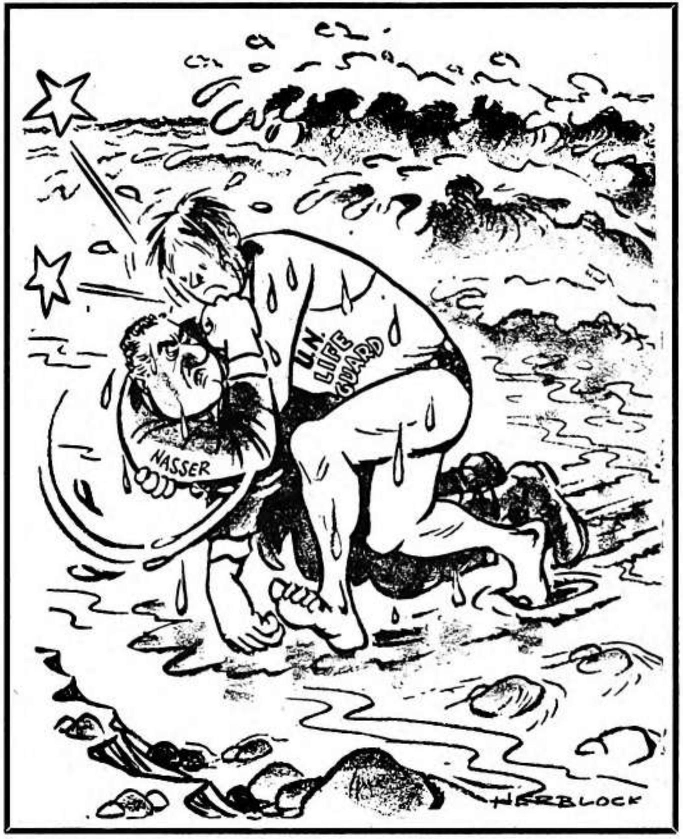
". . . Like all movements that live by the appeal to hatred, this nationalism, which attracts so many young people and idealists, is none the less an inwardly ugly movement. It is capable of such dark treachery as the bomb plot against King Saud of Saudi Arabia, organized by the Egyptian Military Attache. In propaganda and in organization, it employs every device in the Fascist book. It has now even produced a Middle Eastern 'La Prensa' case, in the form of Nasser's recent seizure of 'El Ahram' which used to be the most respected independent newspaper printed in Arabic.

"By hatred, this nationalism wins support. But it is also a betrayal of the masses to whom it beckons. For every practical Arab interest now calls for equal friendship with the West. Yet Nasser is moving more and more rapidly toward the kind of overt cold war with all the Western powers, including his recent rescuer, the United States, which will surely condemn the masses he leads to another generation of squalor and suffering . . ."

(Joseph Alsop, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5-23-57)

* * *

"The agreement between King Saud of Saudi Arabia and U.S.



"OKAY — NOW SCRAM"

Courtesy, Washington Post

that 'the two governments will exert efforts to settle justly President Eisenhower, as published in a communique, pledges the problems of the Middle East by peaceful and legitimate means within the UN Charter' and that 'they assert their firm opposition to the use of force in any form as a means of settling international disputes.'

"I hope that by this it will be understood that our friendly feeling extends to all of the countries of the Middle East, including Israel, and that we recognize the fact that economic sanctions are sometimes a form of force. These sanctions, as we know, have been threatened against Israel . . .

"There can be no disagreement with the paragraph of the agreement that recognizes the independence of all peoples . . . If this part of the agreement applies to Israel as well as to all the Arab states, then a beginning has been made toward a good understanding.

"I am not sure that the strengthening of the armed forces of any country in the Middle East has much value. I would much rather see an agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the U. S. against supplying military equipment to any country . . ."

(Eleanor Roosevelt, N. Y. Post, 2-12-57)

* * *

". . . Secretary of State Dulles is technically correct when he claims no secret deals were made at the Bermuda Conference. Inside fact is, however, that President Eisenhower initialed nine secret memos spelling out general policy agreements.

"Some memos actually were nothing but agreements to disagree . . .

"Other memos dealt with the Middle East, guided missiles, atomic tests, British arms reductions, and German reunification.

"Most interesting fact about the memos was that the British demanded they be written and initialed because they recalled how other agreements had been forgotten about or denied by Dulles.

"They also remembered how Mrs. Meir, the Israeli foreign minister, had submitted her U. N. speech to Dulles in advance and received his complete O. K. only to have him renege on certain parts of it later . . ."

(Drew Pearson, Gazette & Daily, 4-4-57)

* * *

". . . Britain's decision to permit its ships to use the Suez Canal was inevitable. Thanks to the United Nations the canal is open; thanks largely to the United States it is under Egyptian control. With Middle Eastern oil so vital London had little choice but to accept use of the canal on whatever terms it could get . . .

"Beyond all these factors lie the basic discontent of the West over a situation which leaves the canal's future involved in inter-Arab rivalry and the Soviet effort to expand its influence into the Middle East. What it all boils down to is that Nasser has won a big victory. The West has suffered another painful demonstration of the impossibility of reasoning with an arrogant, power-thirsty dictator. Only force makes an impression on such people. And if power is lacking, or if the exercise thereof is impractical, then there is no use of continued prattling that the U. N. can somehow win through with high-sounding principles.

"The plain fact is that Nasser had his way, and those who don't like it had better get to work on ways and means of applying the screws to the Egyptian boss. That means, among other things, to build tankers and pipelines as substitutes for the Suez Canal. Then Nasser, with a shrunken treasury, might learn something."

(Editorial Excerpt, New York Herald Tribune, 5-13-57)

* * *

"Vice President Richard Nixon's highly publicized friendship tour of former Anglo-French African colonies has left a bitter after-taste here which may sour America's relations with its French ally long after Suez and Colonial Nasser have been forgotten . . .

"A majority of Frenchmen have come firmly to believe that Washington's anti-colonial policy is nothing more than a cloak to hide the real goal of replacing European commercial and financial interests with American firms and American money . . ." (Claudia Parker, Gazette and Daily, 4-10-57)

* * *

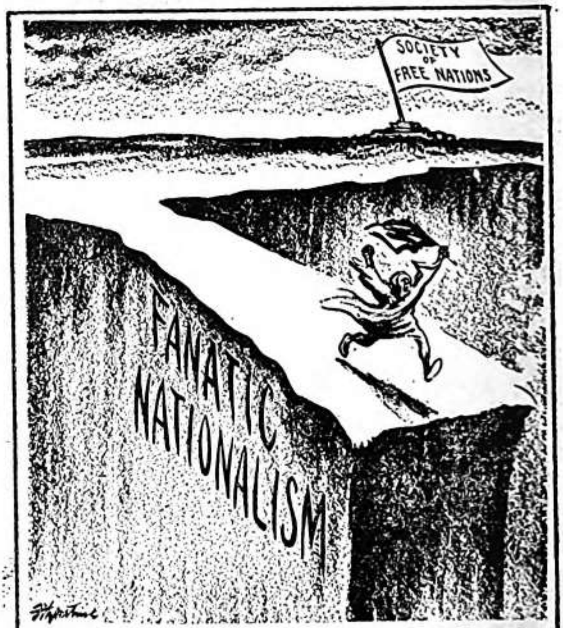
". . . Meanwhile, there is one problem which cannot await a general settlement—the Arab refugees. This ever-growing Communist infection must be tackled in Jordan, where they number 500,000, if nowhere else. Four governments hold the key—America, Britain, Jordan and Israel. If Israel would take back 100,000 or so—and Ben-Gurion gave me good grounds for hoping she would if Jordan would play her part—America and Britain should spare neither money nor effort to get Jordan to resettle the residue by promoting largescale irrigation schemes."

(Anthony Nutting, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5-24-57)

* * *

"It is surely a strange situation when the great powers of the West must rely on the doubtful reasonableness of the Egyptian dictator, rather than their own power, to get an acceptable settlement of the vital Suez Canal issue. The situation arose because blind folly on both sides permitted the Western Alliance to come apart at the seams . . ."

(Stewart Alsop, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3-25-57)



—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Secretary Dulles and the Arab Plot Against Israel

By

G. F. HUDSON

In a public statement issued on March 15, after the arrival of Major-General Abdel Hassan Latif as Egyptian Governor in Gaza, the Israeli Foreign Ministry declared:

"For the Egyptian dictator there is apparently reserved a unique code of international law and conduct whereby, while waging a one-sided warfare against Israel, he is to be given the shelter of the United Nations."

This sentence does not exaggerate the state of affairs which has arisen as a result of the application in the United Nations of a double standard of law for judging the actions of Israel and Egypt respectively. It is now a fact of history that the United Nations under the leadership of the United States and the Soviet Union, and with the active connivance of the Secretary-General, has shown extreme partiality and injustice in dealing with the Israeli-Egyptian conflict. It remains to seek an adequate explanation for this extraordinary episode and to consider what it implies for the future.

There has never been an international crisis in which the facts have been so little in dispute. Nobody denies—least of all the Egyptians themselves—that Egypt claims to be in a state of war with Israel and therefore to exercise belligerent rights. Nobody denies that Egypt has for six years kept the Suez Canal closed to Israeli shipping in defiance of a resolution of the Security Council, has forcibly kept Israeli shipping out of the Gulf of Aqaba, and has organized systematic raiding of Israeli territory by *fedayeen* bands. Nobody, in other words, denies that Egypt has been committing acts of war against Israel ever since the conclusion of the 1949 armistice, which was supposed to lead to a negotiated peace settlement.

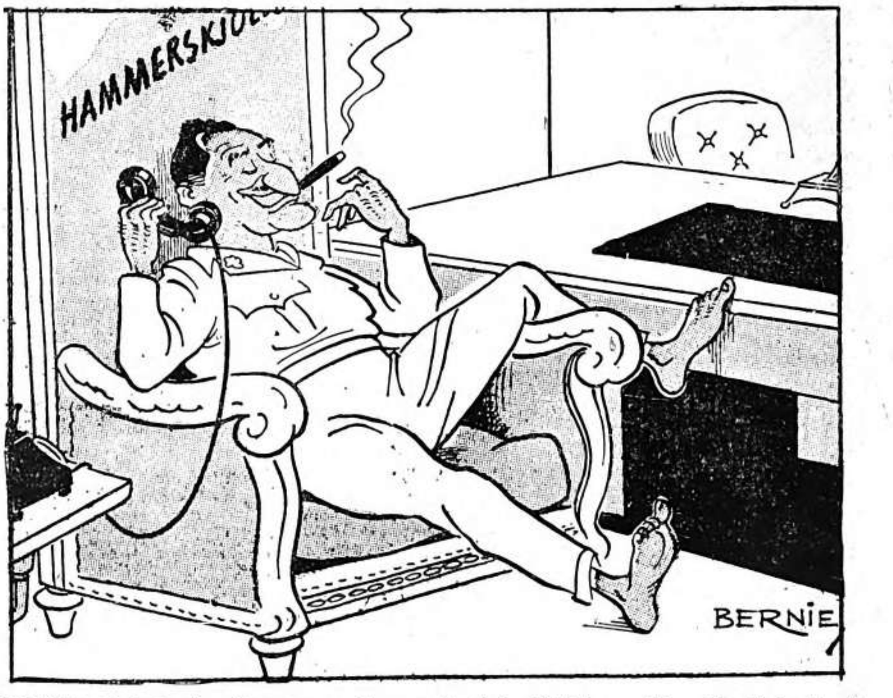
Yet, as soon as Israel also exercises belligerent rights and commits acts of war against Egypt, virtually the whole world as organized in the United Nations (including not only the Arab and Moslem states, which were predisposed to side with Egypt, but also governments which might have been expected to approach the issue impartially) agrees to treat Egypt as an innocent victim of aggression and order the Israeli forces to withdraw without exacting from a defeated Egypt any renunciation of belligerency.

It can, of course, be argued that military occupation of another country's territory is so different from blockade and guerrilla raids that the one must formally be reckoned as war and the other not. But it is clear that governments which invoke this distinction in regard to the Israeli-Egyptian conflict would not be willing themselves to accept the logical implications of the principle.

If, for example, the Russians were to start firing on American ships in the Baltic or shooting rockets into California from submarines in the Pacific, one cannot imagine John Foster Dulles explaining to the American people that nothing had been done to justify armed retaliation because no Russian troops were in occupation of any part of American territory. It is only Egypt which is deemed to possess, uniquely among the nations of the world, the right to wage war without interference and yet to be protected by the world's security organization from the normal risks of belligerency.

It was also argued during last month's crisis that no Israeli conditions for withdrawal could be accepted because it was not for the aggressor to lay down terms for the cessation of his offense. Any pledges given to Israel, it was held, would mean that a nation was profiting by an act of aggression, and this was something the UN could not tolerate.

But it should never have been necessary for Israel to demand guarantees and be put in the position of bargaining with the UN over terms for evacuation. The UN of its own accord should have required a renunciation of belligerency by both sides as part of an Assembly resolution for putting an end to the state of war between Israel and Egypt.



NASSER: This is the Secretary General of the U. N. . . . Yes, I'm listening!

Aux Ecoutes, Paris

In view of the fact that Egypt openly claimed belligerent rights, it was the plain duty of the Assembly to call on Egypt to renounce these rights at the same time that it required Israel to evacuate Egyptian territory—especially as Egypt was manifestly incapable of bringing about an Israeli withdrawal by her own strength.

If the Assembly failed to perform this duty, it was in no way due to any moral scruples about "rewarding aggression," but solely due to the formation of a log-rolling bloc of interests which made it possible to obtain a two-thirds vote for sanctions against Israel, but not for any restriction on Egypt . . .

The Arab world is up for auction to the highest bidder, and the bids are required not only in economic aid or concessions but also, and above all, in toleration or support for the pan-Arab designs against Israel.

Nobody acquainted with pan-Arab propaganda and the sentiments of Arab politicians can honestly doubt that these designs, unless checked and restrained from outside, must sooner or later lead to an all-out Arab-Israeli war. The majority of Arab leaders frankly declare that Israel must be eliminated as a state; the few moderates who are willing to accept the existence of an Israeli nation insist on such a reduction of its territory that it would cease to be viable. Not only does the anti-Israeli cause arouse the strongest emotions among Arabs, but it is also the only issue on which the separate Arab states can effectively be combined. And this means that it is a political necessity for politicians aiming at increased influence in the Arab world to dwell on it and exacerbate it as much as possible.

Since the Israelis have no intention of submitting to national extinction (or even to deprivation of territory which they now hold) without a desperate fight, the present policies of Israel's Arab neighbors must inevitably result in war —whenever the Arab leaders feel that they have attained military superiority over Israel and are reasonably sure there will be no great-power intervention against them.

The military superiority they require is a matter of modern arms, of training in their use, and of close coordination between the forces of the Arab states directly concerned. Manpower is not a problem, for the odds in terms of population are overwhelmingly on the side of the Arabs. But time is needed to bring the Arab armed forces to the point where they will be qualitatively a match for the Israelis. The arms deliveries from the Soviet bloc, by nullifying the Western attempt to keep peace in the Middle East through a balance in military supplies, have made the project of a serious attack on Israel one of practical politics.

Last October, when the Israelis struck against Egypt, the confederates were still unprepared. The Egyptians had not yet had enough training to handle the heavy weapons with which they had been provided, their staff work proved quite inadequate, and neither Syria nor Jordan took any military action in support of Egypt. The result was a setback in the Arab timetable.

But this cannot be more than a postponement of the day of wrath, and the former buildup has now been resumed: Soviet arms are again coming into the Middle East, and the United States, under its agreement with Saudi Arabia and the provisions of the Eisenhower Doctrine, is also engaged in arming Arab states, even if supplies are not at the moment going directly to Egypt. The recent proceedings in the United Nations and the course of American diplomacy as conducted by Secretary Dulles have given the Arab leaders more reason than ever before to hope that they can achieve the destruction of Israel without serious interference from outside. They have, therefore, only to wait until their military strength matures and meanwhile keep the pot boiling by agitation, propaganda, threats, incidents and the partial exercise of belligerent rights.

There is only one thing that can stop this rake's progress toward another war in the Middle East, and that is a firm declaration by the Western great powers that they will not allow what the Arab leaders intend to do.

If the United States, with or without Britain and France, were to give Israel within her existing frontiers a definite guarantee against armed attack (as unambiguous as that which has been given to Formosa) and at the same time to recognize Israel's right to retaliation for as long as Egypt claims to exercise rights of belligerency, then the propagandists of the destruction of Israel would have to desist from their perpetual rabble-rousing. They would then know that they could never make war on Israel without making war on America, and that they could never, therefore, deliver the goods which they teach their mob-audiences to expect from them.

The long-term effect of such a declaration would be to pacify the Middle East by removing the hope of destroying Israel from the realm of practical politics. But the immediate result might well be an outburst of fury and resentment among the Arabs which might be damaging to American oil interests and lead the Arab rulers to make dramatic gestures of appealing to Russia. There would, in fact, be little danger in this, for if the Soviet Government were convinced that America would protect Israel against an Arab attack it would be very unlikely to support such an attack, unless it intended to go to war with America in any case.

But clearly the short-term tension would involve a period of unpleasantness for the Secretary of State, and Dulles is not willing to face such a prospect. His idea of a Middle East policy is to win the friendship of the Arab states, particularly Saudi Arabia, and to avoid offending them in any way—a policy which is obviously incompatible with any sort of guarantee to Israel.

It is charitable to suppose that Dulles believes that he will be able to use the influence he expects to gain in the Arab world to restrain its leaders, when the time comes, from an all-out attack on Israel. If so, he has fatally overestimated the restraint which can be exerted by counsels of moderation on an inflamed nationalist fanaticism when there is no deterrent of military commitment to support them.

But it is really not fair to Dulles to assume that he is the victim of such illusions. He is a diplomat of great knowledge and experience; his defects are not of intellect, but of character. The only reasonable inference to be drawn from his recent behavior is that he understands very well the price that has to be paid ultimately for the ends he pursues and that he is prepared to pay it.

The man who goes to an auction determined to get what he wants must be ready to bid as high as is necessary. The Arabs require payment primarily in the form of material and diplomatic support for their design of destroying Israel. Arab friendship as between America and Russia is to go to the power which will make the better offers to this end. And if Dulles is to beat Russia in this game, he must in the long run do everything to help the Arabs short of using American bombers to wipe out Tel Aviv. But why should he not? Israel is not his country, and he thinks it important to conciliate the Arabs.

In such a policy, Dulles can expect to find a good second in Selwyn Lloyd, a worthy representative of the pro-Arab "camel corps" school of British Middle Eastern diplomacy. Britain was trying to buy Arab friendship by an anti-Israeli policy long before the Eisenhower Administration entered the market. Nothing during the last two years has whetted Arab appetites more than Sir Anthony Eden's Mansion House (Guildhall) speech in the autumn of 1955. Eden indicated then that the condition of a Palestine peace settlement must be an Israeli willingness to make territorial cessions.

Britain's subsequent quarrel with Nasser over Suez superficially brought her into an alignment with Israel against Egypt, but British-Israeli relations in fact remained as bad as ever. Eden appears to have imagined that by proclaiming the Anglo-French intervention in Egypt to be a move to separate the Egyptian and Israeli forces he could dissociate Britain from the Israeli action. As it turned out, nobody took the Eden version seriously; in the eyes of the Arabs, the British were acting in collusion with Israel, and the universal Arab sympathy for Egypt was far greater than it would have been had Britain used force against Egypt immediately after Nasser's rejection of the London Conference proposals for international administration of the Suez Canal.

Since the fiasco of the Suez intervention, however, the British Government has been making tentative attempts to regain Arab favor by showing hostility toward Israel. Selwyn Lloyd has publicly returned to the Eden thesis that Israel can have peace only if she is willing to cede territory. Since Israel's present territory is the bare minimum needed for strategic and economic viability, and since there is no juridical or moral ground for requiring territorial cessions from Israel any more than from the Arab states, this attitude is nothing but an encouragement to the Arab leaders to intensify pressure and threats against Israel. It is a way of giving notice that Britain is not committed to any protection of Israel.

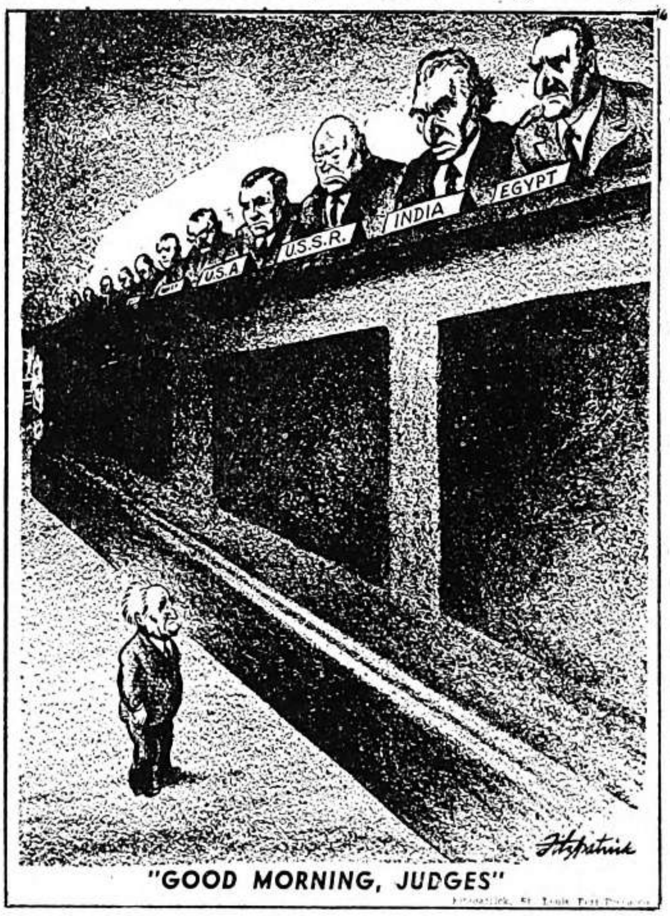
The American and British policies toward Israel are also in harmony with the attitude of the Soviet Union. The Communists have always been hostile to Zionism—in the early days because it was a rival to Marxism for the ideological allegiance of the younger generation of East European Jewry, and later because the state of Israel, allegedly an outpost of American imperialism, was feared as a source of influence over Jews in Russia and the satellite countries.

Since the Eisenhower Administration took over in Washington, it must have been obvious to the Kremlin that Israel no longer enjoyed American favor or support, but Russia has found a new motive for hostility to Israel in the desire to obtain predominant influence in the Arab world. Recent Russian policy has been to suggest to the Arabs that if only they will dissociate themselves sufficiently from all ties with the West, they can count on Russian help to achieve the aim of eliminating Israel.

It is this Russian championship of the Arab cause which has created the market in Arab friendship open to bids by the Western powers. In the Middle East, competitive coexistence between Russia and the West has become competitive anti-Zionism. It may be a source of satisfaction to those who feel nostalgia for the good old days of Big Three unity that America, Britain and Russia have found in a common partiality for the enemies of Israel at least one subject in world affairs on which they can agree. Their concord in conspiracy for the obliteration of a small people is all the more impressive in that it would certainly have had the unreserved approbation of Hitler.

But a rivalry for the more effective fulfilment of Arab desires is not, of course, the same thing as a real agreement about the future of the Middle East. The Russian purpose is to become sole patron of an Arab confederacy and to exclude the influence of the West. Thus, Moscow has no interest in cooperation with the West for a settlement, even at Israel's expense.

With America, Britain and Russia all competitively aligned against Israel, France is the only power which definitely takes Israel's side in the conflict. This is not, it must be admitted, because the French have a greater regard for abstract



"GOOD MORNING, JUDGES"

Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

justice, but because their view of their national self-interest happens to coincide with the aim of preserving the Israeli state instead of aiding and abetting Arab plans to destroy it. The French have no oil holdings in Arabia or Iraq, or pipelines through Syria, and therefore less susceptible to blackmail from that quarter. Their attention is concentrated on North Africa, where they regard Egypt as their principal enemy, and they are therefore ready to support Israel as a check on Egypt.

But it is not primarily on French support that Israel, apart from reliance on her own right arm, bases her hopes for future survival. It is on the general attitude of public opinion throughout the Western world, and not least in America and Britain. This public opinion holds that Israel is entitled to national independence and security, that the same principles of law should be applied impartially to Israel and the Arabs, and that a "solution" of the conflict which compels withdrawal of victorious Israeli forces while leaving Egypt with belligerent rights is unjust and absurd.

The feeling of the American people on the matter was shown clearly enough, both in the press and in Congress, when it was a question of the United States voting for sanctions against Israel. Not even President Eisenhower's broadcast availed to persuade the nation that black was white when it was so obviously black. Nor was the verdict of public opinion any different in Europe . . .

It is this strong current of public opinion which will in the end frustrate the schemes of the American and British Foreign Ministers for buying the Arabs by complicity in the murder of Israel. The American people are too decent for Dulles and the British nation is not bad enough for Selwyn Lloyd. A series of episodes in recent history has shown that the foreign policies of democratic nations cannot in the long run be conducted along lines which are repugnant to the consciences of the great bulk of their citizens.

The policy which has recently been pursued by Secretary of State Dulles must lead inexorably, if it is continued, to the perpetration of a great international crime. But it can be foreseen with a high degree of certainty that, before that point is reached, the American people will rebel against the policy. The danger is that the turn will come too late to avert war in the Middle East, and that catastrophe will overtake the Western democracies while they are trying to extricate themselves from commitments to the Arabs. A world war can start in Palestine if there is doubt about America's position—as there was over Korea in 1950. Today there is still time to reconsider policy and relate it to the fundamental principles for which the Western democracies stand. But the time is short.

(*Condensed, Courtesy. The New Leader*)

Items of Interest

WILL WE LEARN THE LESSON?

"... Here is where the lessons of history should trouble our awareness. What happened in 1933 and 1934 and 1935 and 1936 under the Nazis? Oh, they weren't killing any Jews then. There weren't any concentration camps or gas chambers or crematoria then. The Nazis were only making things unpleasant for the Jews ...

"And now we are confronted with a new totalitarianism, a new dictatorship on the banks of the Nile. And to what lengths this dictatorship program of persecution may go, the thinking mind fears to contemplate. In the 1930's there were those who said that the Nazi treatment of the German Jews is an internal matter. Why worry about some 600,000 German Jews when world peace is on our agenda? The massacre of 6 million was in part a result of the world's indifference. Today, in 1957, we cannot say, 'Why worry about the Jews in Egypt? It's an internal Egyptian matter; after all, there is the Arab-Israel conflict.'

"It is not without significance that much of this anti-Jewish program in Egypt is being directed by former Nazis, and that there is today an axis between Dictator Nasser and the Soviet Union with its history of Stalin's and Khrushchev's antisemitism ..."

(From Congressional Record, 2-14-57, excerpts of address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland, at public meeting on Egyptian Terror against Egyptian Jewry, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C.)

* * *

"BEST SELLER"

"On the occasion of its fifth anniversary, the journal of the former Waffen-SS, Wiking-Ruf, November 1956, states that it now has a five-figure circulation with readers in 28 countries including Scandinavia, Spain, France, Belgium, Italy, Britain, U. S. A., the Middle East, Africa, Indochina, Latin America and Australia."

("Bulletin," The Wiener Library)

* * *

HITLER'S ECHO

"Nasser's anti-Jewish arm has reached out to South Africa in Swahili-language broadcasts from Cairo clearly aping the rantings of Hitler, Goering, Himmler and the rest of the barbarians who fed on the blood of six million Jewish victims of the aberration of the century.

In a broadcast pretending to cement a base of friendship between the peoples of Egypt and East Africa, the Voice of Hitler speaking through the Voice of Cairo delivered itself of this filth: "The British have filled the colonies chock-full of Jews, and if a son of the country finds himself in need, he has no one to go to except a Jewish moneylender. The usury of these Jews, brought in and looked after by the British themselves, is unmentionable." Hitler's ghost directed the venom against the Jews in Kenya, Tanganyika and Malaya."

(WNS, 4-26-57)

* * *

DANGEROUS CRITICISM!

"We learn from an absolutely reliable source that Mr. Bohlen was recalled from Moscow and sent to the golden retreat of Manila for having violently criticized Mr. Dulles' policies in the Near East.

"In a series of reports Mr. Bohlen attempted to put Mr. Dulles on guard against his tentative folly of appeasing Nasser. It was necessary, according to him, to support France and Great Britain in their endeavors to put an end to the dictatorial adventure which imperiled the most important strategic crossroad of the world, or convoke a four-power conference with the Russians on all the pending problems. In one case or the other, Nasser would have had to go and the Suez Canal would have returned to its international status.

"For having foreseen the truth, Mr. Bohlen had to go; just as before him, Mr. George Kennan was ditched for having condemned the policy of the 'rollback,' the liberation of the satellite nations."

(Aux Ecoutes, Paris, 4-12-57)

★

NASSER'S EXTERMINATION EXPERT

"John Stanley Grauel was a minister before he made history running the gauntlet of the British Navy aboard the famous Israelian vessel, 'Exodus 1947.' He now describes himself as 'The only Methodist minister who ever became a Rear-Admiral in the Jewish Navy.'... At a luncheon of the radio, teevee, stage, musicians and bandleaders division of the U. J. A. Grauel revealed that Eichmann, a released war criminal, has joined Egyptian Dictator Nassers' inner-circle. His experience qualifies him perfectly for the job. At one time Herr Eichmann was 'Extermination Engineer' for Hitler. This was back in the dark ages when rats exterminated people..."

(Hy Gardner, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5-10-57)

★

FILLING THE "VACUUM"

"...In the Middle East, German companies have achieved the upper hand as a result of Arab reluctance to deal at present with the British, the French, as well as the Americans in the light of the confusing Suez crisis. Germany is seriously expounding the possibilities of extending its economic interests in the Far East, as can be gathered from the fact that thus far in 1957 two leading German government officials have visited the area with declared economic purpose. This emphasis followed closely a business mission to the area which reported that all German industry needed to expand its markets in the Far East were long-term, low-interest loans..."

(Curtis J. Hoxter, N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 5-4-57)

★

NO COMMENT

"Because no adequate German equipment was available U. S. army trucks brought an 18-ton monument to a cemetery in Herborn, Germany.

"The huge statue is being erected to honor German soldiers killed in World War II."

(A. P., 5-10-57)

★

"THE WORST"

"Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is 'the worst Secretary of State in modern times,' Rep. Wayne Hays (D-Ohio) told the Gazette and Daily. Hays is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

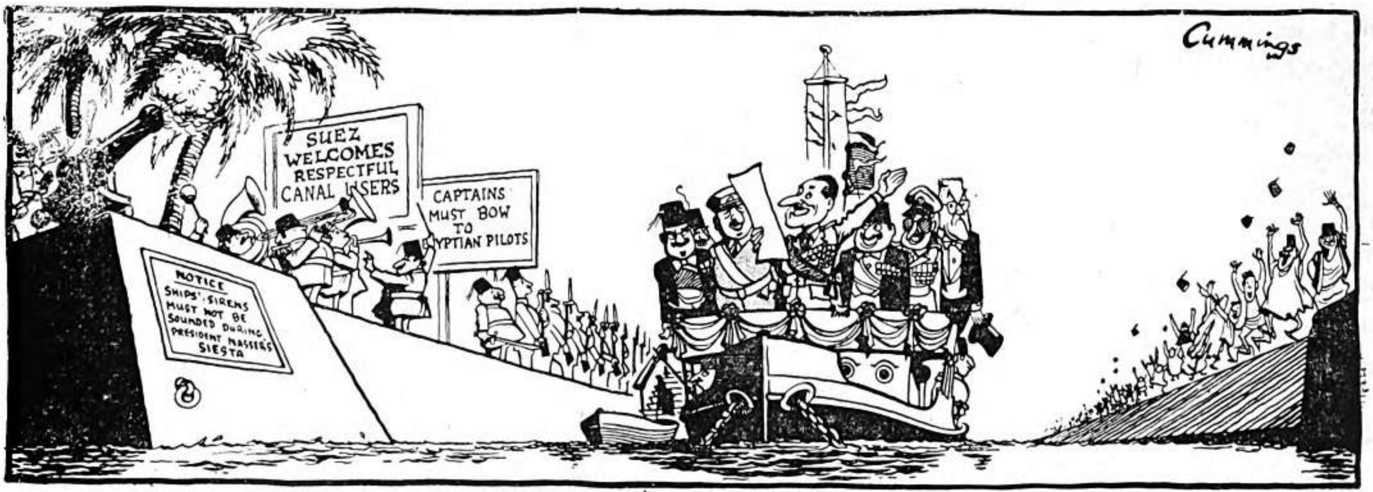
"He stalked out of a committee hearing in protest against Dulles' insistence that part of his testimony on the administration's Middle East plan must be given in secret.

"'The damage that Dulles has done will live with us for generations, 'the congressman said...'

"Hays' criticism followed a similar attack on Dulles by Democratic Sen. Kerr Scott of North Carolina. Scott called for Dulles' resignation..."

(Gazette and Daily, 1-17-57)

★


Cummings
SUEZ WELCOMES RESPECTFUL CANAL USERS
CAPTAINS MUST BOW TO YPTIAN PILOTS
NOTICE SHIPS' SIRENS MUST NOT BE SOUNDED DURING PRESIDENT NASSER'S SIESTA

"And now it gives me great pleasure to close the Canal, not only to British, French, and Israeli ships —but to all ships that do not think Egypt the most advanced and wonderful nation in the world!"

Daily Express, London

A "NEW" CONSORTIUM

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's six-day visit to Iran is one in a series of visits which West German officials are making abroad, principally to different parts of Asia . . .

"Chancellor Adenauer's visit to Teheran, the press points out, is primarily due to the Chancellor's love of travel . . . But the fact that his entourage included Dr. Albert-Hilger van Scherpenbeg, chief of the economics section of the Foreign Office, carries its own significance.

"In fact, it is assumed that Bonn expects from this visit a great increase in German-Iranian trade and that arrangements for large German credits to make this possible may be reached. Simultaneously, it is hoped that the German-Italian-Japanese consortium which is seeking concessions for building a pipeline from Qum will be successful.

"Germany has been a very welcome economic partner of Iran during the past few decades. This is strengthened by the fact that West Germany has had no political position to defend in the Near East and that Soraya, Empress of Iran, has close German family connections . . ."

(J. Emlyn Williams, Christian Science Monitor, 3-29-57)

FROM SUEZ TO GIBRALTAR

"Egypt soon will buy arms from Spain as well as from the Soviet bloc . . .

"This assumption stems from the recently concluded visit to Spain of a military mission headed by the Egyptian Army's chief supply officer, Gen. Rizkalla Attia . . .

"General Franco defined his position in the Israel-Arab dispute. He said: 'We can assure you that we have not been insensible to your sufferings and that we share the feelings of the Arabs who have been expelled from their homes.'

"General Attia had told the Spanish press earlier that the link between Spain and Egypt was very important because Spain holds the key to the Mediterranean at Gilbraltar, whereas Egypt at Suez holds the key to the Arab people."

(Richard Mowrer, in Madrid.
Christian Science Monitor, April, 57)

TAPPED

". . . West German industrialists were stopped from smuggling the machinery and prefabricated parts of an entire steel rolling mill to Russia. Telephone calls between the West German agents and the go-between in East Berlin gave the game away."

(Sefton Delmer, Daily Express, London, 6-13-57)

MOVING INTO SYRIA

"The German concern Dickers has been given a Syrian £270,000 contract to supply 32 oil storage depots with a total capacity of 50,000 tons. Syria has been receiving refined oil from Russia and Lebanon."

(Financial Times, London, 3-21-57)

INTERESTING

"The United States Department of State desires West Germany to take over the badly shaken trade positions of England and France in the Near East. This information was given by Arab King Saud at a secret conference on the Mediterranean island of Ibiza, attended by Arab and Spanish politicians, as well as U. S. Ambassador to Madrid, Lodge. Saud declared, however, that during his talks in Washington he stated his doubts about this project due to Bonn's close collaboration with French colonial policy within the framework of the common market. Similar misgivings were transmitted to Bonn by the new Spanish Phalanx Minister Solis, who maintains good relations to West German industry." (Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 3-23-57)

SO VERY PEACEFUL

"Russia has signed an agreement with Egypt for construction of an atomic reactor and laboratory for nuclear research in Egypt, a member of the Russian United Nations delegation said.

"Vladimir Barkovsky, counsellor of the Russian delegation, told the all-college conference on 'Tensions in the Middle East' at Iowa State Teachers College that the Soviet Union also would train Egyptians to operate the reactor . . .

GUESS WHO DID IT!

"Unknown persons overturned and demolished twenty-six Jewish tombstones at the cemetery of Tholey, the Saar.

"This was the third incident of the kind in West Germany within four weeks. Last month, eighty Jewish tombstones at the international cemetery at Salzgitter, Lower Saxony, were overturned and demolished . . .

"At the Salzgitter cemetery, the vandals also put up a sign bearing the Swastika that read: 'Germany awaken—Israel perish.' . . ."

(N. Y. Times, 5-12-57)

OPERATION "CANADA"

"The Mannesmann combine, having acquired $20m. of the share capital of Algoma, Canada's second largest steelmakers, through its subsidiary, Mannesmann International Corporation, of Toronto, is now the largest single shareholder in Algoma . . ."

(Financial Times, London, 5-2-57)

IN SUNNY SPAIN

"Private West German business interests are negotiating with Madrid for the development of a German armaments industry on Spanish soil.

"The two principal figures are Willy Messerschmitt, Hitlers' ace aircraft designer, and Claude Dornier, another World War II plane builder.

"Krupp, the Ruhr steel magnate, and Henschel, the locomotive and truck manufacturer, are among the leading industrialists involved . . .

"Anticipating armaments orders, Messerschmitt and Dornier already have bought into the Spanish aircraft industry . . ."

(Gazette and Daily, 3-7-57)

FULL BLAST IN TURKEY

"Renewing prewar ties with Turkey, West Germany's Krupp will build a new blast furnace at Turkey's only steel mill, in Karabuk. Other straws in the wind for Krupp; construction of a second steel mill in Turkey and a railway between Turkey and Iran, also development of wolfram deposits, and help in building a bridge across the Straits of Bosporus."

(Business Week, 6-8-57)

★

STEEL FOR THE SOVIETS

". . . Embargo lists do not seem to have hampered German trade with Soviet Russia. Considerable quantities of steel sheet were sold to Russia last year, and talks about the export of plate are in progress.

"Germany does not insist on payment in hard currency any more; both limited convertible marks and transferable sterling are being accepted."

(Financial Times, London, 2-13-57)

★

BACK IN HARNESS

"Okinori Kaya, paroled war criminal and author of Japan's 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,' is reported to be planning to try to make a political comeback. Kaya, 68 years old, was Finance Minister under Hideki Tojo, World War II Premier. He applied for membership in the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party and was said to be planning to run for the House of Representatives in the next national election."

(A. P., 5-14-57)

★

ATTENTION: STATE DEPARTMENT

"Tourists visiting the Syrian Embassy and consulates for travel literature today reported receiving copies of the anti-Jewish forgery, 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.'

"The pamphlets are printed in French from plates believed to originate in Nazi Germany. They are given out along with maps and customary travel folders to Americans who inquire about visiting Syria. The 'Protocols' allege to be a blueprint of a Jewish plot for world domination. The forgery originated in Czarist Russia in 1905. It was revived in the 1930's by the Nazis."

(J. T. A., 6-11-57)

". . . The second chance to revise our European policy, created for us by the satellite revolt, will not last forever. Given time, the Kremlin will bend every effort to restore its position in Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, if we fail to seize the opportunity of the moment and continue along our present course, it is not hard to see what will happen. The British will reduce their forces stationed in Germany. The French will remain bogged down in North Africa. Germany, now at long last seriously at work to create an army, will definitely become the dominant power in Western Europe. This will mean that, eventually, the fate of Europe will be decided, not by the United States, Britain and France in negotiation with the Soviet Union, but by Russia and Germany." . . . .

(James P. Warburg, Forum Foreign Policy Assn., 4-11-57)

MORE LOOT FOR ABS?

"The Deutsche Bank Group has become a partner in a European bank group which is to render financial assistance in the economic development of Africa and the areas of Africa held by France. It has taken over one-half million Luxemburg francs of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ million francs of the capital of the newly founded 'Consortium European pour le developpement des resources naturelles de l'Afrique' in Luxemburg. The German interests on the Administrative Board of this bank group are in the hands of the Chairman of the Board of the Sueddeutsche Bank, H. J. Abs, and the Chairman of the Board of the Deutsche Bank West, F. Groening."

(Sueddeutsche Zeitung, 12-12-56)

★

HE GETS AROUND

"Close cooperation has been arranged between the Deutsche Bank group and the Banco Commercial Transatlantico in Barcelona.

"Herr Abs, of the Deutsche Bank, will join the Board of the Barcelona bank and up to 10 per cent of its share capital will be acquired by a subsidiary of the Deutsche Bank, the Deutsche Ubersee Bank."

(Financial Times, London, 1-4-57)

★

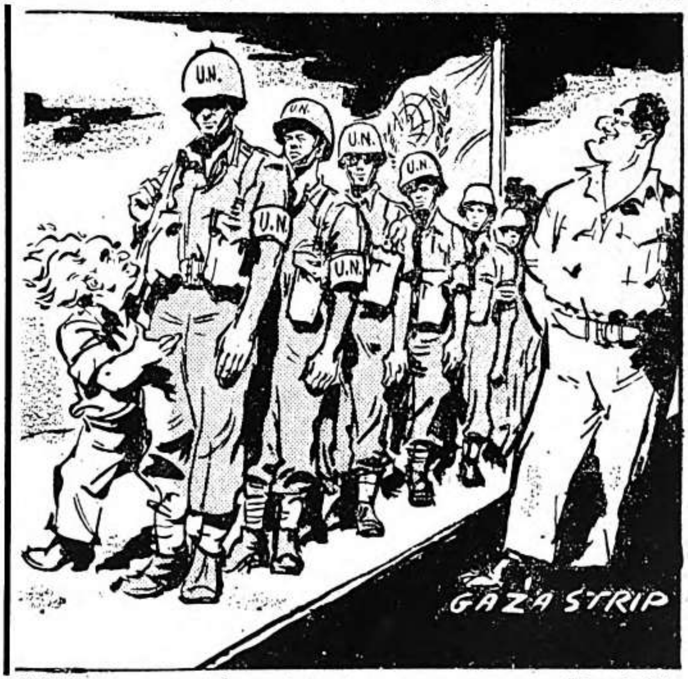
BULWARK AGAINST COMMUNISM

"The firm of Friedrich Krupp announced it received orders to build a $4 million plant to produce man-made fibers in Soviet Russia.

"A Krupp spokesman said this was the first large industrial order by Russia to a West German firm.

"A contract for construction of the plant was signed in March. It needs government approval, said the spokesman, adding that Krupp was certain of getting official consent for the project..."

(N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 6-20-57)



"Were you sent here to get me out, or to get him in?"

Scott in The London Daily Sketch

What About the German General Staff?

It is reasonable to assume that most persons conversant with the history of German militarism must think, above all, of the German General Staff. The character of this "Institution" is unique and in fundamental respects differs from the role of the general staffs of other major countries.

John W. Wheeler-Bennett, in his exhaustive study of this subject (The Nemesis Of Power), notes that the forces controlled by the German General Staff *"dominated the Weimar Republic from the moment of its birth . . . first supported, and then condoned the overthrow of the Republic and . . . made a major contribution to Hitler's coming to power."* The basic reason why the German General Staff (hereafter initialed GGS) bears these responsibilities lies in the fact that its functions encompass far more than the military phases of planning and waging wars.

The GGS was the clearing house and ultimate arbiter of the political and economic policies pertaining to the domestic and foreign affairs of Germany. It coordinated the activities of powerful interests and groups ranging from the ardent Pan-Germans to the traveling salesmen of Krupp and IG Farben. It served as the final censor of ideas and, at the same time, was the fountainhead of the German dream to rule the world.

The power and the influence of the GGS was recognized by the Aliles after World War I, and the Versailles Treaty called for its suppression. However, the proscription was to no avail as the GGS, under various guises, succeeded in maintaining its grip on Germany's destiny.

The Danger to Peace

The demand for the abolishment of the GGS and the German Officer Corps which replenished its ranks, rose again after World War II. The US Foreign Economic Administration which made a thorough analysis of the German war potential at the end of the war, declared that peace could not be won without the elimination of the GGS and its reestablishment prohibited under any circumstances.

At the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials the Allied prosecution charged that the GGS was a criminal organization and should be so judged by the Tribunal. In his summation of the Prosecution's case against the GGS Brig. General Telford Taylor referred to a passage in Sumner Welles' book, Time For Decision: *"The authority to which the German people have so often and so disastrously responded, was not in reality the German emperor of yesterday, or the Hitler of today, but the German General Staff. It will be said that this insistence that the German General Staff has been the driving force in German policy, is a dangerous oversimplification. I am not disposed to minimize the importance of other factors in Germany history. They all have their place but I am convinced that each of them has played its part only in so far as it was permitted to do so by the real matser of the German race, namely, German militarism, personified in, and channeled through, the German General Staff . . .*

"Whether their ostensible ruler is the Kaiser, or Hindenburg, or Adolf Hitler, the continuing loyalty of the bulk of the population is given to that military force controlled and guided by the German General Staff. To the German people, the Army today, as in the past, is the instrument by which German domination will be brought about. Generations of Germans may pass. The nation may undergo defeat after defeat. But if the rest of the world permits it, the German General Staff will continue making its plans for the future."

Similar warnings were raised by other prominent Americans. General Julius Ochs Adler, the late treasurer of the New York Times, urged that the GGS should be "imprisoned for life if not shot" because it represented a continual danger to world peace (New York Times, 7-6-45). President Eisenhower minced no words on this subject. He declared: *"The German General Staff itself must be utterly destroyed. These wars of Germany's have been, from the standpoint of the general staff, merely campaigns—merely incidents. They started back in 1806 under Scharnhorst, and they have determined to rule Europe, and, in my opinion, they have used these political leaders that have come along in order to implement their own ideas and planning. If they found a Hitler-like leader with his tremendous ability of mob psychology, who could get the whole German nation behind him, he was useful. It happened he got so powerful he dominated them.*

"Now, how are you going to destroy that German general staff is something else again, because many of them have the excuse they did their duty as honorable soldiers. But my opinion is that it should be made utterly impossible for them to function again" (New York Herald Tribune, 6-19-45).

The numerous voices of Allied leaders calling for destruction of this dangerous "institution" reflected the deepest wishes of the peoples who had been victimized by German militarism. Have their hopes been realized or are we going through the same make believe world as after World War I? This question inevitably arises as both, East and West, race to rearm the former enemy.

Does the rearmament of Germany preclude the resurgence of the GGS—or are we closer to the truth when we say that German rearmament without the GGS is as inconceivable as a flame without oxygen? Toward the end of World War II Life Magazine carried an article on German militarism wherein it was stated that the GGS "is reborn as soon as two trained German officers meet in a ratskeller and talk war or simply sit and think about how to win the next war." Even if we should regard Life's description as an oversimplification, it is none the less essential to know what is happening today and what may be anticipated. Admittedly this is a difficult assignment and we do not pretend at this juncture to be able to draw hard and fast conclusions. The difficulties are compounded by the fact that by tradition and practice the GGS is a highly secretive organization. Moreover, news about military affairs in Germany is scant and superficial. For example, we are told that military uniforms will no longer be styled along the old Wehrmacht lines, nor will there be any more goose-stepping. This may make good news but it hardly tells us anything about the inner developments relative to the new German armies.

Recognizing these handicaps it is possible to gather tidbits of information which come to the surface now and then. Though they do not form a complete picture, they are straws which we dare not ignore. The remainder of this article is devoted to an examination of these bits of evidence.

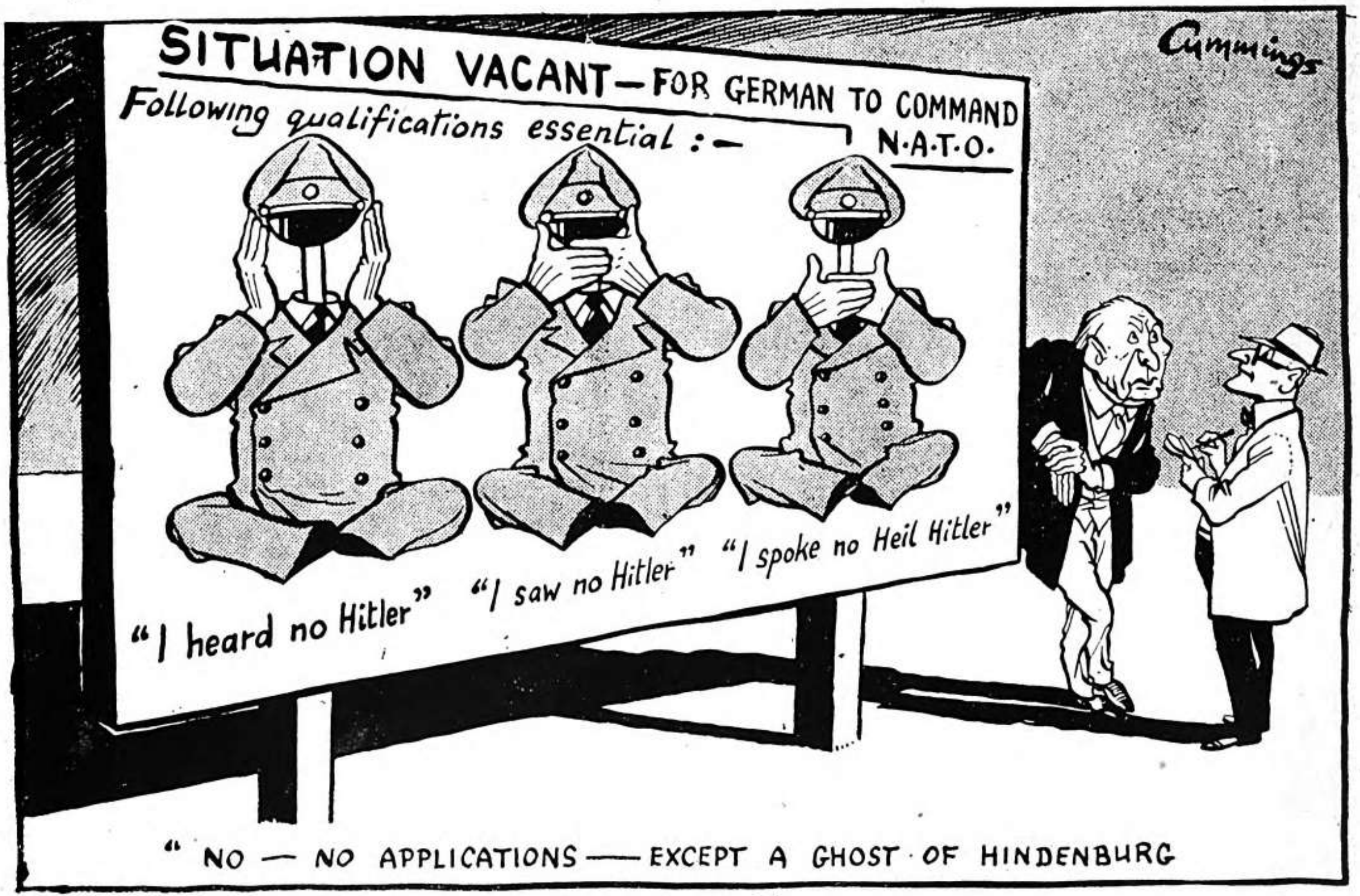
Post-War Signs

In the January 29, 1950 issue of the New York Times, Drew Middleton wrote a lengthy article under the title Ghosts Of The Old Wehrmacht. He discussed the dangers inherent in the revival of Germany's military power. *"What insurance,"* he wrote, *"has the West that the re-establishment of the German army will not produce some new von Seeckt or Scharnhorst?"* Answering his own question, Mr. Middleton said: *"It may be argued that the German officer corps was decimated in World War II, which is true, and that the General Staff is scattered and impotent in Germany today, which is also true. But, given the basic condition of a German army, would not these elements reunited, especially in a period when Western eyes are fixed on Moscow rather than on Bonn?"*

On March 6, 1950, the Associated Press reported from Bonn that German generals "of the old GGS have started a campaign to restore the German Officer Corps to its former glory." One of the members of this group, Gen. Fritz Koch, boasted that contact was maintained between some 4000 generals, members of the GGS, the Supreme Command and others who held key positions under Hitler. While former High Commissioner McCloy minimized this development other Allied officials, according to the A. P., said that this movement "might serve as the nucleus for a new GGS."

Gen. Koch was not bashful when he was questioned by western newsmen with respect to the activities and possibilities of his group. *"Money is only a secondary problem,"* he said. *"We want our honor restored,"* he declared. *"We want an apology for the post-war defamation of the German Officer Corps."* In defiant tones he declared that the Allies could not prevent the German Military from recovering its strength and unity, *"we top flight officers have known each other for decades and nobody can keep us from keeping in touch with each other."*

The year 1950 also marked the appearance of the so-called Brüderschaft. As far back as the No. 35 issue of Prevent World War III, the Society exposed this organization as consisting of former German army officers under the leadership of General von Manteuffel, former commander of the Greater Germany Division. It was ascertained that the Brüderschaft membership consisted of a number of high ranking former officers of the GGS who receive the support of powerful financial circles in Germany, including Chancellor Adenauer's close friend and advisor, the bank-


Cummings
SITUATION VACANT—FOR GERMAN TO COMMAND N.A.T.O.
Following qualifications essential :—
"I heard no Hitler"
"I saw no Hitler"
"I spoke no Heil Hitler"
" NO — NO APPLICATIONS —— EXCEPT A GHOST OF HINDENBURG

THOSE SPEIDEL DISCLOSURES — BY CUMMINGS

Courtesy, Daily Express, London

er Robert Pferdmenges.

The first meeting of this militaristic organization took place on December 11, 1950. Its deliberations were secret but nevertheless there were sufficient leaks to indicate that the Brüderschaft's main aim was to uphold the traditions of German militarism and to rally those forces that were associated with the various enterprises undertaken by the GGS.

he Brüderschaft paid particular attention to Russo-German relations and veered toward the Bismarckian policy of close union between Germany and Russia. We shall refer to the Brüderschaft again when we deal with German militarism and Russo-German relations at the present time.

The activities of German militarists proceeded apace without any particular hindrance by the occupying powers. Indeed, developments reached the point where the London Daily Express felt it justified to report to its readers that "the GGS, the mercilessly effective machine which for 100 years drew the plans for European wars is here again" (7-16-51). The early signs pointing to the resurgence of German military activities drew little atteniton in the western press. However, two years ago the New York Post ran two sensational articles by its correspondent William Richardson who wrote that *"the West German Defense Ministry is planning to revive the GGS."*

Mr. Richardson noted that in spite of Bonn's plans to put the GGS in new clothes "it will remain basically the GGS concept of Gneisenau and Scharnhorst." Mr. Richardson brought out the fact that many experts believed that the most dangerous angle about the revived concept of the GGS was precisely that it had been conceived in Bonn by the men who rebelled in 1944 against Hitler. *"Their actions in 1944 made them the darlings of the west. They were feted and honored by Allied Occupation officers and Konrad Adenauer as the good, the democratic elements in Germany, but in a hard-headed sense they had built their entire post-war careers on this foundation of disaffection against authority, the revolutionary approach. It paid off"* (3-17-55).

Richardson referred to the fact that it was not until 1944 that powerful members of the GGS decided to rebel against Hitler; that is, when they knew that Hitler's game was up and that it was essential to plan for the future. Thus, by irony, as Mr. Richardson brings out, the Allies have applauded the so-called rebels against Hitler who—in reality—rebelled because their main concern was the preservation of Germany's military potential above anything else.

In a subsequent report on this subjest (3-22-55) Mr. Richardson observed that the detailed planning which the West German Defense Ministry had undertaken for the new army, ostensibly on a democratic basis, could be used "to conceal and distort the true German defense picture from our own and NATO authority." He noted that the GGS had succeeded in fooling the Allies after World War I and that, therefore, it was certainly not beyond the realm of possibility that they would repeat. To those who find comfort that many of the German generals were not Nazi party members and did not actively participate in some of the more horrifying crimes perpetrated by Hitler's Wehrmacht, Mr. Richardson wrote, "These observations are quite beyond the point. Some of the finest men in western Europe may serve on the GGS, but they are still men who regard Koenigsberg as their mecca, and Marburg home of the Teutonic Knights as their spiritual capital. They are dedicated to a tenth century concept of chivalry, a Bismarckian approach of realpolitik, a 1925 concept of camaraderie and concealment and a 1944 belief that flouting authority does pay."

About the same time that Mr. Richardson made his disclosures, the French newspaper France Soir (2-22-55) carried a report from its correspondent in Bonn entitled "A Vest Pocket General Staff." The correspondent noted that the Bonn Defense Ministry consisted of former members of the GGS who made special efforts to hide their true identity. They are an aristocratic group, he wrote, "the former officers of the GGS coming from that 'General Staff' which was the nursery of the big German military leaders." He estimated that there were about 900 of these high officers but that about 890 remained secluded and are unknown to the outside world while the remaining 10 act as their spokesmen on all matters. They are the specialists on "public relations." They are the ones who tell all that needs to be known about what the German military is doing and planning.

The "New" Structure

Reports concerning the internal organization and structure of the German military leadership are pertinent to this survey. In 1949 Hitler's foremost expert on tank warfare, General Heinz Guderian, prepared a memorandum on military organization for American military officials. The essentials of this memorandum take on particular significance when they are compared to the setup which the West German Federal Republic has devised for its own military organization.

Guderian advocated that the three branches of the armed forces—Army, Navy and Airforce—be directly subordinate to the commander-in-chief of all of the armed forces. He proposed that the commander-in-chief of the armed forces should be directly responsible to the Chief of State. This concept of a tightly knit military organization whose sole civilian control would be in the person of the Chief of State was denounced by Cognressman Thomas H. Werdel: *"The German plan outlines a military high command which is the ultimate, the millennium in the complete Prussian GGS concept. It holds that the military should control the destiny of the nation at time of war and have decisive voice on everything which affects the military in time of peace."*

The Bonn Government boasts that its military structure is a radical departure from the past. However, in essential respects there is a startling similarity between the Guderian plan and Bonn's setup. In time of peace the West German Defense Minister possesses the supreme authority of command. It is admitted in the "Bulletin" of the German Government (5-17-56) that "the Defense Minister in his capacity of 'civilian' commander-in-chief enjoys a standing which from a political point of view puts him in a strong position." Thus, the defense minister has approximately the same function in times of peace as Guderian's Chief-of-State.

Directly subordinate to the minister of defense is the so-called Inspector General of all of the armed forces. Just as Guderian sought the abolishment of the independent high commands of the various branches of the armed forces, so does the new setup in West Germany enable the Inspector General of the armed forces to dominate all of the branches. The Inspector General in turn is directly accountable to the all powerful Minister of Defense. The centralization of the armed forces is the very heart of the plans advocated by West Germany's Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss. Time Magazine (10-29-56) discussed the Strauss plan and noted that it was *"tantamount to a German General Staff."* The New York Times (1-17-57) reported that Herr Strauss wanted to streamline the command structure in which authority was broadly dispersed. *"His idea is to centralize the military leadership in the person of a dynamic officer."* In this connection the New York Times reported (2-12-57) Strauss as stating that under his plan *"the top military officer (Inspector General) would have some of the duties assigned to the chief of the old German General Staffs . . . It appeared that the Inspector General's role would be determined in a large measure by the personalities of the officer and the defense minister."* In other words, ultimate control over the German military leadership will depend upon personalities and not law. Certainly this is not a departure from the past.

At the end of May, Herr Strauss announced that final reorganization of the military leadership had been achieved. General Heusinger becomes the Inspector General and all military branches which heretofore had a certain amount of independence, will be subordinated to his command. General Heusinger's powers are enhanced by the fact that he will not only rule over the armed forces but also over the civilian sections of the Defense Ministry. If General Heinz Guderian were alive today, he would be the first to congratulate Herr Strauss. It is significant that in all of the defense planning including organizational problems, Chancellor Adenauer's Government has employed the services of some of the highest officers of Hitler's GGS including Field Marshal von Manstein, General Franz Halder, and General Walter Wenck.

"Ideology"

Ideological questions are also important as regards the new German Army. German officers are becoming more and more articulate in expounding theories as to what kind of army the Germans should have. The New York Herald Tribune (12-9-53) reported that there were strong cliques among former German officers who show no enthusiasm for democratizing the German army and *"would like to see the return of the more Spartan disciplinary notions of the past."* The Tribune story disclosed that the German Soldier Calendar for 1954, distributed annually by the German veterans paper Soldaten Zeitung, carried as its frontispiece a flattering full page portrait of former Grand Admiral Raeder, a convicted war criminal and one of Hitler's closest military associates. At the same time this calendar published an article by the West German Defense Ministry on the problem of "democratizing" the new German army. One former Major General Wilhelm Soeth, a holder of the Knights Cross of the Iron Cross and a commander of one of Hitler's panzer divisions, expressed his idea of democratization as follows: *"The officer should be exactly like the prewar officer who stood the test superbly while on the front in World War II . . ."*

The re-establishment of Germany's military glory and the "honor" of her soldiers is a favorite theme among the German brass. In July 1952, the two leading figures of the present German military setup, Generals Heusinger and Speidel, declared that it would be impossible to recruit desirable officers for West German military contingents "unless a substantial number of war criminals are released from Allied jails" (New York Times, 7-24-52). The position taken by Heusinger and Speidel has received the full support of leading German politicians including Chancellor Adenauer.

The granting of sovereignty to West Germany and the statements of Allied authorities repeated over and over again to the effect that the security of the west-

". . . The Soviet price has been neutrality for Germany. The three major Western powers have rejected it.

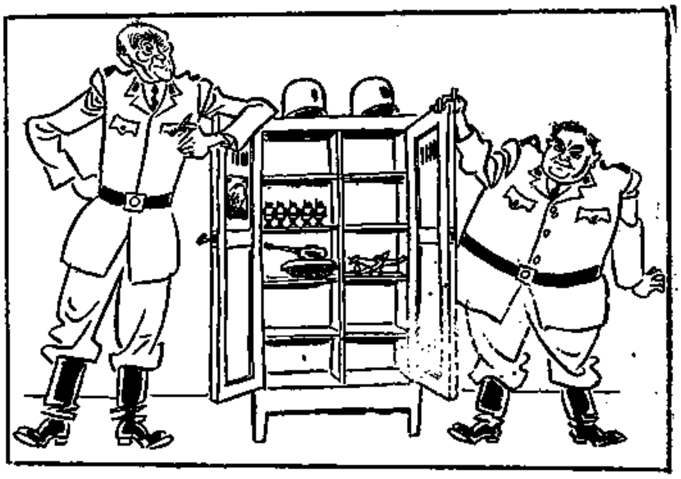
"Reports reaching this capital indicate that the Soviet price may be more attractive in the future to smaller members of the Atlantic alliance than it has been in the past.

"This is because Dr. Konrad Abenauer, Chancellor of West Germany, a member of the alliance, has been talking about atomic weapons for the new West German forces. The Continental powers do not like the idea of a nuclear power in the center of Europe.

"This is not solely because confidence in West Germany's good intentions is less in the capitals of smaller nations than it is in Washington or London. A more important reason is that West Germany's emergence as a nuclear power would insure that any war fought in Europe would be a nuclear war."

(Drew Middleton, N. Y. Times, 4-15-57)

INSPECTION



Nothing to Hide — Yet!

StN-Karikatur, Eckart Munz

ern world depended upon Germany's fighting power, has increased the arrogance of the German military. No longer do they stress democratization; instead they deride the "fandangled ideas" of the Allies. An effective fighting machine, they say, cannot be built on the "anarchic liberalism" preached by the West. The "traditionalists" have become more prominent in the councils of the German Defense Ministry and publications representing the old German Officer Corps denounce what they call "alien influences" at work. Demands have been put forth to put an end at once to the so-called defamation of the German military, to grant full equality to all of the former members of the Waffen SS and to free all German war criminals. The Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung demanded greater awareness of the fact that *"the Bonn Government is living off the dividends of the moral capital that the German armies have built up in the world in the last* 200 *years"* (New York Herald Tribune, 1-16-56).

The speed with which the traditionalists have come to the forefront has alarmed some sections of the German people. This is reflected in the demand made by the Sociel Democratic Party for parliamentary investigation of militaristic and nationalistic indoctrination of the officer corps of the new army. The immediate cause for this demand stems from the activities of the so-called Democratic Workers Association, founded in 1951 under the patronage of high officials in the Federal Chancellory. The activities of this organization include lectures and briefings for German army officers. According to the New York Times (3-7-57), the Association has attained a "preëminent position in the education of the Officer Corps."

The "New" Leadership

Intimately connected with the ideological battles of the traditionalists is the question of leadership responsible for the West German armed forces. Here again the data on hand concerning the top brass is scanty. The Germans just do not like the kind of publicity and are extremely sensitive to inquiries. We do know this, however, that nearly half of the members of Hitler's German General Staff and High Command were alive at the end of the war and had escaped charges of war crimes. Even in the majority of cases where members of the GGS were put on trial, they were given comparatively light sentences and subsequently freed. Germany will have no difficulty in finding the personnel to lead the armed forces, especially since there are about 1700 former generals available.

What has been the attitude of the Bonn Government toward the staffing of "new" personnel for the army? According to former Defense Minister Blank, *"we will make no blanket discrimination among the applicants. We will judge every applicant on an individual basis according to his military ability and his human qualities. That will be the solution of the problem of the reenlistment of members of the Waffen SS"* (New York Herald Tribune, 12-29-53).

The Waffen SS was adjudged as a notorious criminal organization at Nuremberg but now those who belonged to it are being welcomed into the ranks of the armed forces. It is true that there is a screening board that is supposed to weed out individuals who are regarded as objectionable. But it remains to be seen how effective this board will be, especially as Germany's militaristic traditions are revived.

At the end of 1954 it was estimated that the personnel section of the Defense Ministry had already recruited 40 generals, 250 colonels and 21,500 other officers. In 1956, according to the German newspaper Die Welt, 31 out of the 38 generals that now head up the new German army, were members of the former GGS. As of October 1, 1956, 100 of 237 colonels and 84 of 225 Lt. Colonels were likewise GGS officers. Six of the generals, 64 colonels and 75 Lt. Colonels led combat units in World War II for a period of more than 3 years. This would clearly indicate that these particular officers were heart and soul with the German war effort at least while the going was good.

While it is not possible to deal in detail with all of the key members associated with the GGS we think it would be instructive to examine briefly the backgrounds of some of them.

The "Big Brass"

General Adolf Heusinger. Heusinger who has been described as the typical Prussian officer, is now the head of the German armed forces. He sparked the campaign for the freedom of German officers who had been charged and imprisoned for war crimes. Heusinger was chief of the operations branch of the Nazi armies under Hitler. He worked out the plans for German aggression against Belgium, Holland, and France. Afterwards, he wrote a book wherein he attacked Hitler for failing to wipe out the British army at Dunkirk.

Gen. Heusinger was a close pal of one of Hitler's top generals, Jodl, who was hanged at Nuremberg for war crimes. Heusinger once characterized Jodl as "a thoroughly decent man."

General Hans Speidel. Recently the central land forces of NATO were placed under the command of Gen. Hans Speidel. The appointment created a furor in Western Europe. The peoples victimized by German aggression were at loss to understand how the principles underlying NATO could be squared with the appointment of this man.

The "public relations experts" have tried to build up Speidel as a scholarly Ph.D. who hated Hitler and loves the French. But facts cannot be whitewashed. Speidel was a member of the old Reichswehr that had been organized by Gen. von Seeckt which, in turn, became the nucleus of Hitler's Wehrmacht. His military qualities were recognized by the GGS in the early 1930s and he was appointed first as an aide to the military attaché of the Reich Embassy in Paris. Subsequently, he was named head of the Western Division of Counter Espionage in the GGS.

During his stay in Paris he directed German espionage activities in all of Western Europe with particular emphasis on the armies of the Western European countries. He advised Hitler of the poor state of preparations of the French army before 1938. It was he who drew up the armistice terms in June, 1940, which turned out to be oppressive and demoralizing for the French people. In addition to these activities, Speidel was responsible for the deportation of thousands of non-Aryans from France and for the brutal murder of many others who resisted the German occupation. The London Daily Express (5-20-57) carried a lengthy article on Speidel's criminal record which was exposed by a series of secret documents made available to that newspaper by Lord Russell of Liverpool.

The Speidel appointment evoked protests from important sections of the press in Western Europe. Political leaders also questioned the propriety and morality of the appointment. Emanuel Shinwell, former British War Minister and Minister of Defense observed in the House of Commons that his appointment was deplorable. "There is no doubt," he declared, "that at least until 1944 he (Speidel) was an ardent supporter of the Nazi creed." This is the man who is now entrusted with the fate of hundreds of thousands of European soldiers.

General Hans Roetiger. Roetiger is the former Panzer General who worked closely with Heinz Guderian. He held various posts during the war. Among his assignments was that of chief of staff under Field Marshal von Kleist and subsequently under Marshal von Kesselring who commanded Hitler's forces in Italy. Kesselring had been sentenced and tried as a war criminal for his brutalities against the Italian people. We are not aware of Roitiger's connections with the outrages perpetrated by von Kesselring. Roetiger is an old military hand having served the GGS in two world wars. He fought both on the Russian and French fronts during World War II. In 1954 he took over the management of the Hamburg branch of the so-called German Society for Military Science. Unquestionably this organization was one of the camouflaged setups that the GGS employed in order to maintain the continuity of the GSS' planning after the défeat. It was at a meeting of this Society that a leading officer of the Defense Ministry, Col. Fett, expressed confidence that the Paris Agreement would enable Germany to achieve Bismarck's plan of assuring the Fatherland "a predominant position in western Europe." One of Roetiger's favorite slogans: "We should take care not to be drowned in tradition, but, rather, to be borne along by it."

General Joseph Kammhuber. Gen. Kammhuber, one of Goering's closets associates, has now been appointed Chief of the German Air Force. During the war he led formations of Goering's Luftwaffe which "distinguished" themselves in the bombing of many European cities. Like his associates mentioned, he served the GGS in two world wars.

In 1940 when the Nazis launched their barbarous air assaults against western Europe, Kammhuber directed a squadron to bomb the German city of Freiburg. It is said that this fake attack was then used by Nazi propaganda as an alibi for the bombing of open cities in western Europe.

Admiral Oskar Ruge. Adm. Ruge took over the German Navy after the former head, Capt. Adolf Zenker, delivered a speech in which he urged the German Navy to remain true to the traditions of Hitler's Grand Admiral Doenitz. Admiral Doenitz was found guilty of war crimes and served a 10 year sentence.

Ruge was a U-boat specialist and responsible for the sinking of many allied ships during the war. Again, as in the case of his associates, he served the GGS in both wars. For his services to Hitler's cause he was promoted to the rank of Vice Admiral. Incidentally, Captain Zenker has now been appointed Commander of Naval Forces in the North Sea.

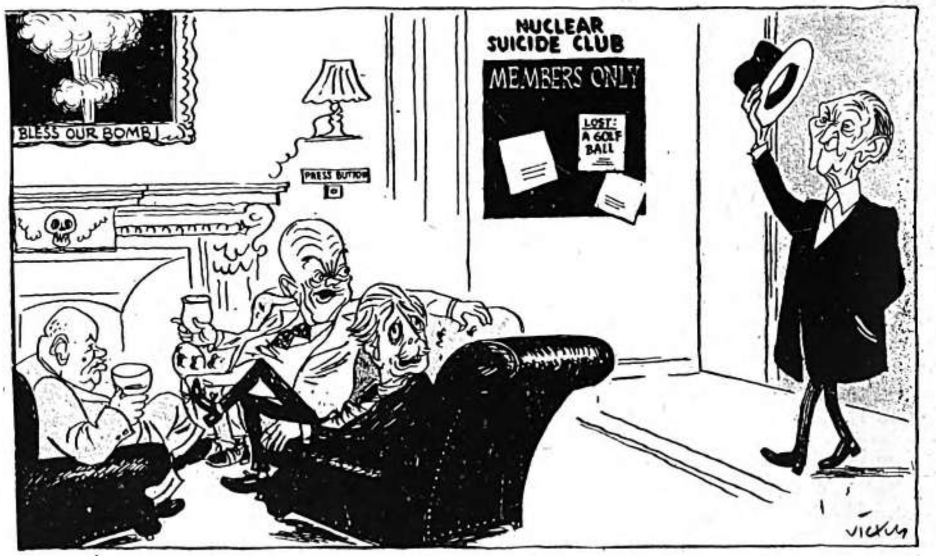
General Walter Wenck. Gen. Wenck had the distinction of commanding Hitler's "last stand army" outside Berlin. Though he is not yet an official member of the German armed forces, he is a great favorite of Chancellor Adenauer and there has been much talk that he would ultimately become the commander-in-chief of all of the armed forces. In March, 1945, after most people recognized that Hitler's game was up, Wenck took over the job of protecting Hitler's last stand in Berlin with the aid of an army made up predominantly of 16 and 17 year olds. One of Wenck's orders of the day called upon these youngsters to save the Fuehrer: "Soldiers of the Army, Group Wenck, you are ordained to liberate the Fuehrer who is battling in Berlin." While the Speidels and the Heusingers speak about their so-called opposition to Hitler during the last days of the war, General Wenck cannot even make that claim. The backgrounds of other leading figures in the new German armed forces were examined in the No. 46 issue of Prevent World War III.

From the foregoing it is clear that the top personnel of the German armed forces consists of individuals who had close ties with German militarism as far back as World War I. In 1952, when the plans for reviving the German army were unfolded, the noted news correspondent Spencer D. Irwin made an observation which deserves to be pondered by all security minded Americans: *"The impression that they (the new leaders of the German armed forces) love the West but despise the East is skillfully planned for Western — especially American, gullibility. But, as we said, a general staff made up of Germans may be called European but it can never be anything but German. For this blindness we may pay a horrible price in the future"* (Cleveland Plain Dealer, 10-12-52).

The Von Bonin Plan

A survey of present trends in the German armed forces would be incomplete

A WELCOME MEMBER?



Vicky in The New Statesman and Nation

without reference to the so-called "affair von Bonin." In 1955, Col. Bogislav von Bonin, working in the West German Defense Ministry, proposed a new strategy for the German armed forces which created a great stir in Germany and among Allied military officials. Von Bonin declared that the NATO concept of mobile strategy was ill suited for Germany. He stated that Western planning concentrated on the defense of other countries in Western Europe at the expense of Western Germany. NATO plans, he alleged, made it inevitable that West Germany would be turned into a major battlefield while NATO forces would, if necessary, withdraw behind the Rhine and regroup there. Von Bonin also declared that the plans for twelve German divisions would represent "an offensive force." By this he did not want to imply that it intended to take the initiative by attacking the Soviet bloc, but rather that it was offensive minded. In other words, von Bonin was stating that from a military point of view the NATO strategy would sacrifice the substance of Western Germany and invite attack from the East.

On the basis of these criticisms and on the allegation that Western Germany was not capable for the time being to produce and support twelve divisions, he recommended a "purely defensive strategy." This would entail the stationing of anti-tank combat groups along the 500 mile long interzonal frontiers. These groups would be aligned in depth with a national militia to repel mass infantry attacks and six armored divisions to mop up any enemy armored break through.

The force required would consist of roughly 150,000 men. It would be purely a German force and would operate separately from NATO units beyond the Rhine. Moreover, it would be exclusively composed of professional volunteer soldiers. The von Bonin plan does not merely constitute a military concept directly opposed to the ideas of NATO but also involves considerations of high politics. In other words, it is a political-military proposition so characteristic of much of the planning of the old GGS.

The political aspect of the von Bonin plan is probably more significant than his military proposals. Basically the political goal is to develop the kind of military force which could perpetuate and consolidate the rebirth of the German military while, at the same time, to open up possibilities for negotiations with the Russians. As the Manchester Guardian (4-14-55) noted: *"Von Bonin's plans could be held to assist a political development in which the West German army would gradually overhaul, balance, and then become superior to the existing cadre army of the People's Police in Eastern Germany. This three-year process would give the Russians plenty of opportunities of making a firm and fair offer to end the cold war in Central Europe and so allow the reunification—'in peace and freedom,' as Dr. Adenauer would have it—of the whole of Germany."*

The Political Objective

Von Bonin believed that the NATO strategy would destroy the possibilities of a reunified Germany with its own national army. He envisaged instead the kind of military setup which would not appear to be offensive to the Russians on the one hand but would also form the nucleus of a larger army if and when this would be required. The British writer Dennis Healey, writing in the New Leader (5-9-55) observed that von Bonin's plan had, in reality, little to do with the defense of West Germany in NATO. *"It is to produce the sort of West German army which can at any moment be taken out of NATO and merged with East German forces to serve for the defense of a neutral united Germany."* In analyzing von Bonin's plan and objectives, Mr. Healey made reference to the work of General von Seeckt who was responsibel for the revival of the German army in spite of the limitations imposed upon it by the Versailles Treaty. Von Seeckt, a typical member of the GGS devoted entirely to its cause, left no stone unturned in the effort to build up Germany's military might. He engineered secret agreements with the new Bolshevik regime in Moscow which enabled the German army to train personnel in Russia. Von Seeckt strongly believed in close understanding and cooperation with the Russians as a means of reviving Germany's power and as a counterweight against the West.

Speaking about von Bonin's plans, Mr. Healey says, if they come true *"It is possible to see von Bonin playing the role of a von Seeckt as commander of the forces of a united Germany and seeking Soviet help to evade any provisions for keeping Germany weak and neutral."*

Like von Seeckt, von Bonin has been strongly attached to the traditions of the GGS. He was the son of a Potsdam officer and belonged to the elite of the officer corps. According to the memoirs of the German General Faber du Faur, von Bonin typifies the spirit of Potsdam in its highest form.

Describing a meeting with von Bonin, General du Faur writes: *"He (von Bonin) told me and his comrades at our officers mess in Potsdam while his blue eyes had a far off look so that they were only seemingly held in place by his own eyelashes, that only Hitler could save us . . ."* von Bonin joined the Nazi party after Hitler came to power. Prof. Gordon Craig, in his study of NATO and the new German army (Princeton University) notes that von Bonin *"had been a fervid supporter of Hitler during most of the war."*

Von Bonin's plan was not the product of a disgruntled officer who was out for personal publicity. On the contrary, it reflected a very strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction among German military leaders who resented any thought that Germany's own interest might be subordinated to the general plans for the defense of Western Europe. A number of German generals had no use for the original EDC setup which would have integrated German armed forces contingents within an overall western defense pattern. They preferred a national German army and General Hans Speidel who now holds a key post in NATO, shared these views.

It is also a fact that the von Bonin plan which was presented to the German Defense Ministry in July, 1954, was not immediately rejected. More than four months elapsed before von Bonin found himself at "odds" with his military superiors. His plan was rejected on technical grounds and he was obliged to resign from his office. That his plan received favorable support in the German military setup is shown by the fact that leading generals and military writers came to his defense. Field Marshal von Manstein, one of Hitler's military strategists in World War II, expressed his sympathy and support. This same gentleman now advises the German Defense Ministry in matters pertaining to German war plans.

Von Bonin "Out" — — His Plan "In"

Leading officials in NATO sighed with relief when von Bonin was dismissed but it seems to us that their optimism was unwarranted. All indications now seem to point to the fact that the von Bonin plan has not been junked. Indeed, from what has been said and done by Defense Minister Strauss it would appear that the von Bonin plan is the essence of the new German strategy. The similarity between von Bonin's and Herr Strauss' attitudes toward key military questions is striking. Just as von Bonin tried to discredit the EDC, so did Herr Strauss describe it as *"a device for recruiting a German suicide squad to cover the retreat of the NATO forces in the event of a Soviet attack."* At noted above, von Bonin protested the NATO strategy alleging that it would sacrifice Germany. Strauss, too, has bitterly criticized NATO planning. Time Magazine (10-29-56) reported Strauss insisting that the new German army must *"be as independent as possible, because he felt that the NATO strategy was not in Germany's best interests."* A subsequent criticism of NATO made by Herr Strauss, was reported in the London Daily Express (1-7-57): *"It is intolerable that we Germans should be the bow-and-arrow footsloggers for the American atomic knights on horseback.*

According to latest reports, Strauss intends to build up anti-tank units that will stand guard over West Germany's eastern frontier. As though he were talking to the Russians, he said that these units were "purely defensive. It couldn't be considered a threat by anyone" (Reporter Magazine, 4-18-57). This was precisely von Bonin's idea and, as advocated by von Bonin, West Germany's Defense Minister also envisaged the creation of a larger German force that would take care of the interior zone of West Germany. This would not require the twelve divisions which had been originally planned and promised by Chancellor Adenauer. It is now common knowledge that Strauss has cast aside these promises (New York Times, 4-15-57). Strauss now conceives of a small professional army consisting of approximately 150,000 men. This is the kind of force which, according to the Christian Science Monitor (3-21-57), might be "acceptable" to the Russians and could be a factor in helping to bring about the reunification of Germany. While the army will be predominantly professional and comparatively small in numbers, just as the old Wehrmacht under von Seeckt, its possibilities for expansion are beyond question. By the same token it is a setup which offers great opportunities to do business with the Russians in the old von Seeckt tradition.

Defense Minister Strauss Speaks

The political character of the "new thinking" with regard to the German army was outlined by Strauss in a rather sensational article which appeared in a German weekly review that is closely associated with the Bonn Government. As noted by the New York Times correspondent (2-19-57), Herr Strauss' article outlines "the basic prerequisites for a return to the Bismarckian policy of strength and the use of this policy to force the western and eastern powers to reunify Germany."

Strauss emphasises, as did von Bonin, that the West German army should be used as a bargaining counter. A united and rearmed Germany, Strauss writes, must decide its own future and if the Germans desire to break away from the western alliance nothing can be done to prevent it. He insists that the Bonn Government must conduct its diplomacy in such a way as to make Germany *"so indispensable to its western friends and so responsible for the potential enemy that both sides would find it worthwhile to talk with Germany."* The potential power of the new German army, according to Strauss, would give the Germans a real opportunity to be heard. Thus, it is clear that the grand strategy of the Defense Minister points toward the establishment of a powerful, rearmed, reunited Germany which could be realized through the old game of playing off East and West against each other.

The "Eastern" Set-Up

We have devoted much of this article to military developments in West Germany primarily because there is more information available as compared with the Eastern Zone. However, it would be wrong, in our opinion, to underrate what is occurring in the eastern zone and the connecting links between military developments there and in West Germany. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1951, the noted British MP R. H. Crossman said, "There is no doubt about it that there is a great knowledge of what is going on in both parts of Germany owing to the fact that German generals on both sides exchange information." In this connection we would remind our readers of the "pioneering" work done by the so-called Brüderschaft organized in early 1950. In the No. 37 issue of Prevent World War III we described the Brüderschaft organization and noted that it was establishing contacts with the military authorities in the eastern zone. In July, 1950, one of the leaders of the Brüderschaft, Franke-Greiksch, declared in Frankfurt, *"I have succeeded in entering into good relations with the Soviets."* The French newspaper L'Aube reported that conversations had taken place between Franke-Greiksch and the chief of the peoples police of East Germany under which all former German officers who were not placed in the West German army, would be accepted in the East German army.

The ties between the GGS and the Soviets have a long history which we need not go into here. However, it should be noted that towards the collapse of Germany in World War II a memorandum issued by the GGC advocated a close cooperation between the Soviets and the Germans. We can also point out to the fact that the late Field Marshal von Paulus, a favorite of the Soviet General Staff after his capture at Stalingrad, worked diligently to cement relations between German officers in the East and in the West. In February, 1955, von Paulus organized a get-together of East and West German officers, including a number of generals who pledged to work for the "glory of the Fatherland."

As in the case of the West German army, the eastern setup is also heavily dominated by former members of the GGS. More than one half of all of the German generals in the Soviet zone come from the old Wehrmacht. It is estimated that of 1500 staff officers 30 per cent were members of Hitler's Wehrmacht. At least 7 of the 30 generals were former members of the GGS.

At this point we would not want to make a final judgment with regard to the nature and direction of German military developments. Yet, the trends are not at all assuring. We say this bearing in mind the tens of millions of people who have suffered by the ruthless wars conceived of and directed by Germany's General Staff.

Inside Germany

PLANNING FOR THE DAY

"Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's followers deliberately sabotaged a Government atomic-powered bill because they feared it would stop the West German armed forces from having nuclear weapons.

". . . They killed a constitutional amendment providing for the development of nuclear power for 'peaceful purposes' . . .

"Parliamentary sources said the rebels (Adenauer's followers) . . . had in mind the possibility that some day West Germany would want to make its own atomic weapons, which would be impossible if the Constitution provided only for peaceful use of nuclear power." (A. P., 7-2-57)

★

PFERDMENGES' "THOROUGHBRED"

". . . To most, his name, Dr. Robert Pferdmenges, means nothing. And in seven years in the German Parliament, he has yet to make a speech.

"Yet Pferdmenges' office in Room 102 H is one of the most important in the capital. For Pferdmenges is Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's closest friend and most trusted adviser . . .

"Pferdmenges is that rarest of rarities—a successful amateur politician. Professionally he is one of Germany's most powerful, and wealthiest, bankers—part owner and manager of the famous Salomon Oppenheim banking house which financed Ruhr industry between wars . . .

"Asked his views of Adenauer's prospects, Pferdmenges replied positively: 'He's still the best horse in our stable. And he will be elected Chancellor again next September.'" (Newsweek, 4-1-57)

★

THOSE "HELPFUL" GERMANS

"The future of the tiny sun-baked port of Elath and a six-mile strip of Israeli coastline are at stake in the current United Nations debate on Israel.

"Elath and the coastal strip lie at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, a narrow 100-mile long body of water that extends north from the Red Sea between Egypt's Sinai Peninsula to the West and the Arabian Peninsula to the East . . .

"With the help of German advisers, the Egyptians established at Ras Nusrani a coastal battery that completely commands the narrow strait . . ."

(Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times, 3-2-57)

★

"SOLIDARITY FOREVER"

"The 'Sudenten German Association' which is the representative body of 2,000,000 ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia who were expelled to West Germany after the war, has publicly declared its solidarity with Hermann Krumey, the ex SS leader arrested here for having been instrumental in the deportation of several 100,000 Hungarian Jews to the Nazi death camps.

"A statement in which the politically influential organization refuses to disavow Krumey was adopted by the presidium of the Waldeck 'Sudeten German Association' of which Krumey has been chairman for several years. In the town of Korbach, a dozen miles from the huge concentration camp he obtained a governmental refugee loan and therewith built up a prospering business as druggist and merchant, without changing his name or concealing his record.

"For a time Krumey was the agent in Vienna of the notorious SS Colonel Karl Adolf Eichmann, chief exterminator of European Jewry. In March, 1944, he was assigned to Budapest, where he selected the Budapest 'Jewish Council,' arranged the mass deportations to Auschwitz and signed the notices ordering Jews to appear for 'resettlement'" . . . (J. T. A., 5-9-57)

★

RED CHINA'S TRADE PARTNER

"West Germany, Communist China's biggest Western trade partner, followed Britain's lead and abolished special restrictions on trade with the Peiping government. The Bonn government is the seventh to break away from the U. S. position . . ."

(N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun, 6-21-57)

★

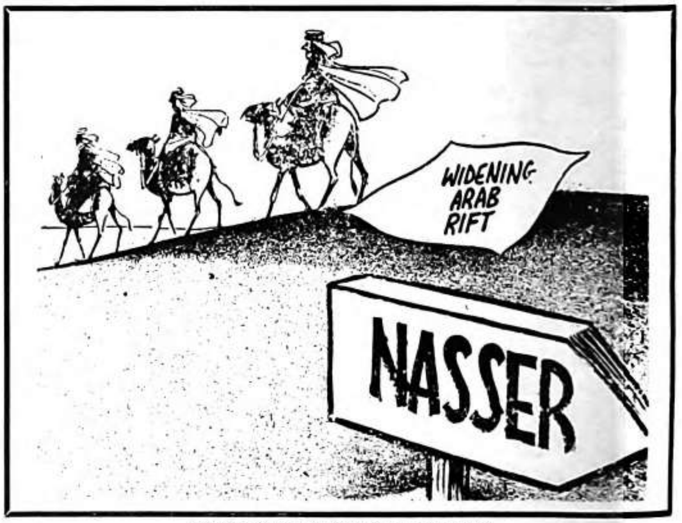
NAZIS AT WORK

"The German police announced that eighty grave stones marking Jewish graves were overturned last night in the foreign cemetery here. A straw figure was hung from a second Jewish memorial. Across its breast was the inscription 'Germany awake, Israel perish.' The police suspected that radical-rightist political groups were responsible." (A. P., 4-20-57)

★

RESURGENCE

"Church and civic leaders are expressing alarm at the outburst of anti-Semitic feeling and Nazi flag-waving recently displayed in various parts of Germany. Bishop Otto Dibelius, head of the German Evangelical Church, warned that recent desecration of Jewish cemeteries in West Germany indicated a 're-growth of anti-Semitic tendencies.'" (Reuters, 5-25-57)



"MODERN WISE MEN"

Fischetti, N. E. A. Servic

LIKE "OLD TIMES"

"Military leaders of Japan and West Germany conferred today for the first time since the two nations were allies in World War II.

"Informed sources said the meeting resulted in agreement to establish mutual exchanges on military matters.

"The meeting was between Gen. Keizo Hayashi, chairman of the Joint Staff Council of the Japanese Defense Forces, and Franz Josef Strauss, West Germany's Minister of Defense . . ." (A. P., 5-22-57)

* * *

TOGETHER AGAIN

"West Germany's big three in banking, split up under the allied decartelization program after the war, will be virtually reunified before the end of the month.

"Joining of the Dresdner, Deutsche, and Commerz banks runs parallel to the remerger of the country's big industrial combines split up under the Allies' postwar 'operation Trust-Bust' . . ."

(N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun, 5-7-57)

* * *

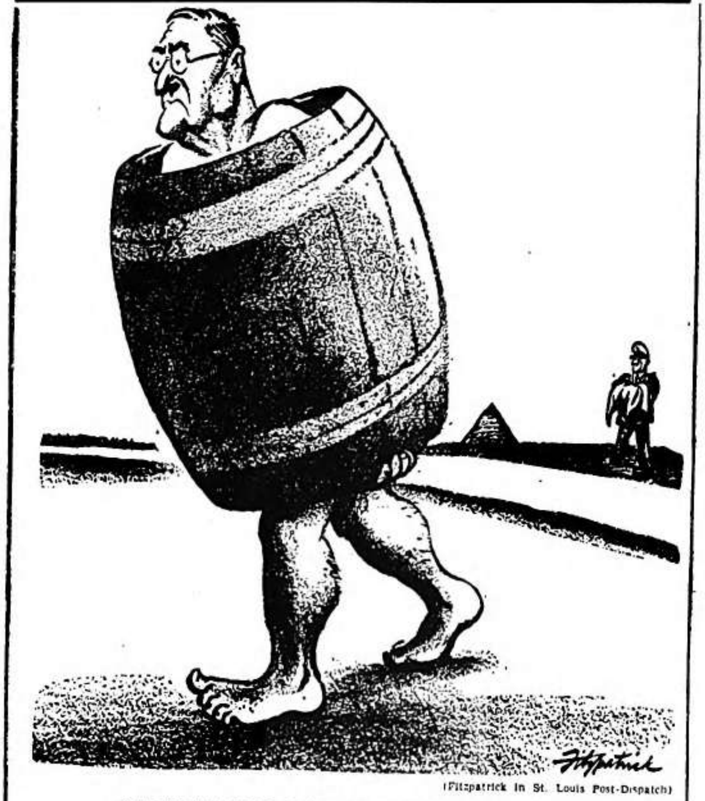
AUSTRIA?—NOT YET . . .

"Nationalist agitators have taken to the hustings in the hope of rekindling enthusiasm for the idea of a 'greater Germany.'

"This 'Grossdeutschland' would include all the eastern territories annexed or conquered by Hitler as of September, 1939. These territories are the Sudetenland, the Lithuanian coastline, and the Polish Corridor.

"The reannexationist ambitions of the nationalists exclude Austria on the ground that Austrians have a right to decide their own political status . . ."

(M. S. Handler, N. Y. Times, 4-11-57)



(Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

RETURN FROM THE BRINK OF SUEZ

* * *

TELL IT TO ADENAUER

"A Cologne policeman and official of a police union has protested the appointment of former Gestapo officials to responsible police jobs in the German states and cities.

"Georg Buerke, chairman of the local police division of the Public Services Union, termed 'intolerable' the appointment of ex-Gestapo men to executive positions in the police hierarchy. He said the trade unions would never agree that such people were 'acceptable' for top jobs. (J. T. A., 5-13-57)

* * *

CARING FOR THE GESTAPO

"Even though Gestapo service was hitherto excluded from the scope of a general pension law passed some years ago, the Hesse Administrative Court has, in effect, removed the 'discrimination' against Gestapo officials and put them on almost the same footing as other public officials with respect to pension benefits." (J. T. A., 2-14-57)

"WE FORGET AT OUR PERIL"

"There have been far too many post-war books, films, and plays written to expound the thesis that the Germans, though misguided and misled, were in the main honest manly types who fought the good fight like any Christian soldier; I do not want to run the risk of seeming to belong to this gang . . .

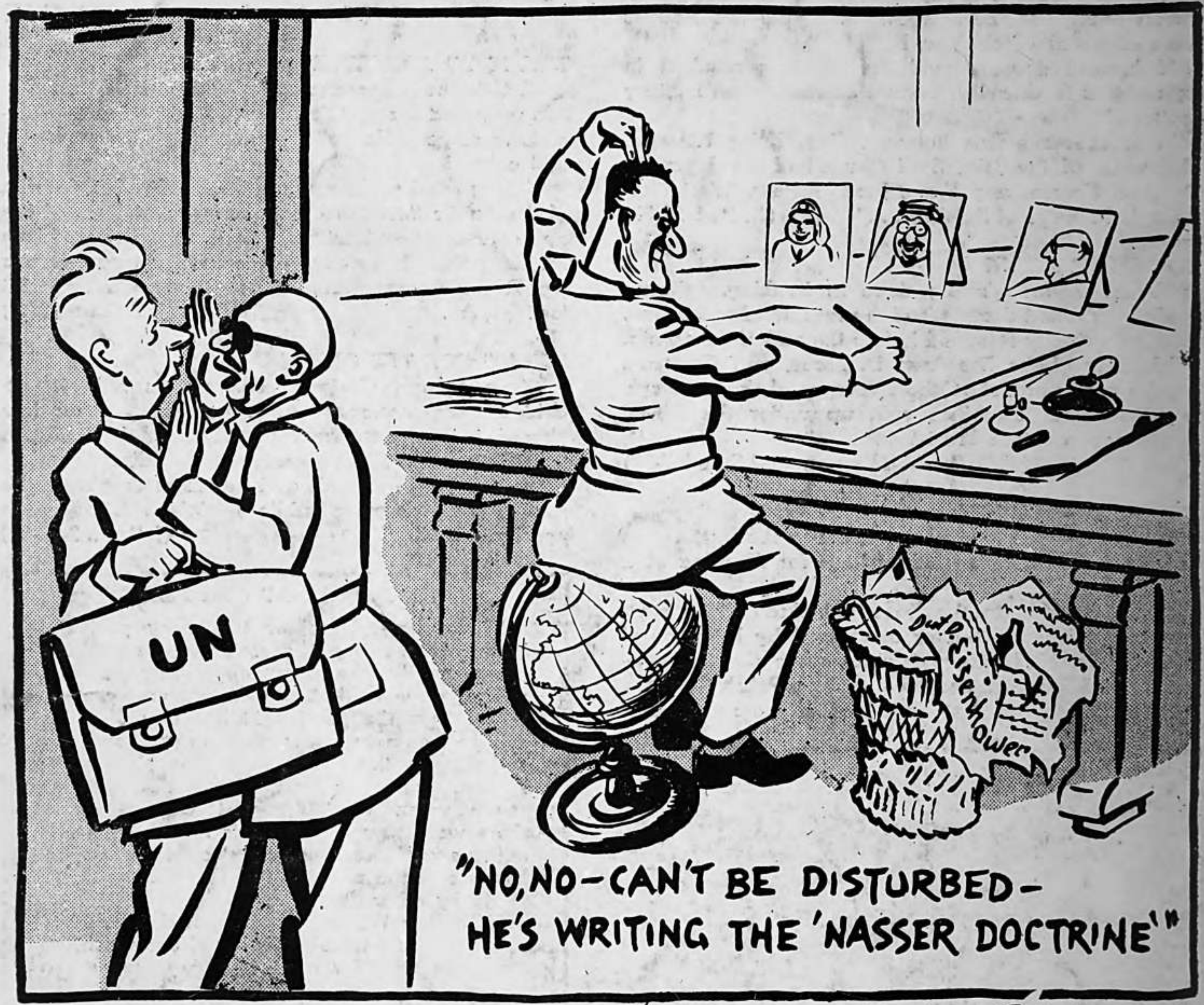
"You will recall a remarkable discovery we made when we conquered Germany—that there were actually no Nazis there at all, just millions of 'decent Germans' suffering terribly because of the awful things they'd been made to do by other people . . .

"Why the Western world should be avid to swallow this particular brand of eye-wash, no man can say. For Nazi Germany was *not* a nation of honest dupes and simple soldiers: they knew, all of them, exactly what they wanted, and they were prepared to go to any lengths to get it. Until they were beaten (when all colours change overnight) they were total enthusiasts for world-domination, whole-hearted agents of a hideous tyranny which, if not finally checked, would have brought the curtain down on human freedom for generations to come.

"They sing sweetly now (and others sing for them): everything now is love, and hands-across-the-trenches. It was, in fact, all a frightful mistake. But twice in this century it has been a mistake: twice these people, and no other, have engulfed the world in misery and bloodshed, in pursuit of their dream of power. The mistake, of course, then as now, was in losing. We forget this at our peril."

(Introduction by Nicholas Monsarrat to "U-BOAT 977," by Heinz Schaeffer)

LOW'S COMMENT ON EGYPT'S ATTITUDE


UN
Dwt D. Eisenhower
"NO, NO—CAN'T BE DISTURBED—
HE'S WRITING THE 'NASSER DOCTRINE'"

Cartoon by Low, The Manchester Guardian

"... At Munich, Chamberlain saw only the risks associated with participating in little wars and forgot that as England abandoned strong points it was more and more exposed to the danger of a world war. America must not make the same error. America must support the outposts of the West such as Israel, whose security and integrity are essential to American strategic interests and to American strategic needs. Traditionally, the United States has been on the side of the underdog. Israel is a small, democratic nation which has hoped for freedom and needs American support for survival. The United States cannot afford to abandon Israel and the values and achievements which it represents."

(Hon. James Roosevelt, Congressional Record, 5-6-57)

"... We have fallen into what may prove to have been an irreparable error in the way we took our stand on the Anglo-French-Israeli intervention. Instead of insisting from the outset that their attack was provoked by Nasser, and that the intervention and the provocations must be cured together, we have insisted that the intervention must be liquidated first before the causes which provoked it are dealt with. We put all our pressure on Britain, France and Israel. We put no pressure on Nasser, and we have cleared Egypt without obtaining any serious assurances from anybody—from Nasser, from Krishna Menon, or from the Soviets—that this would not bring about a return to the status quo ante from which the explosion erupted. ..."

(Walter Lippmann, N. Y. Herald Tribune, March, 1957)